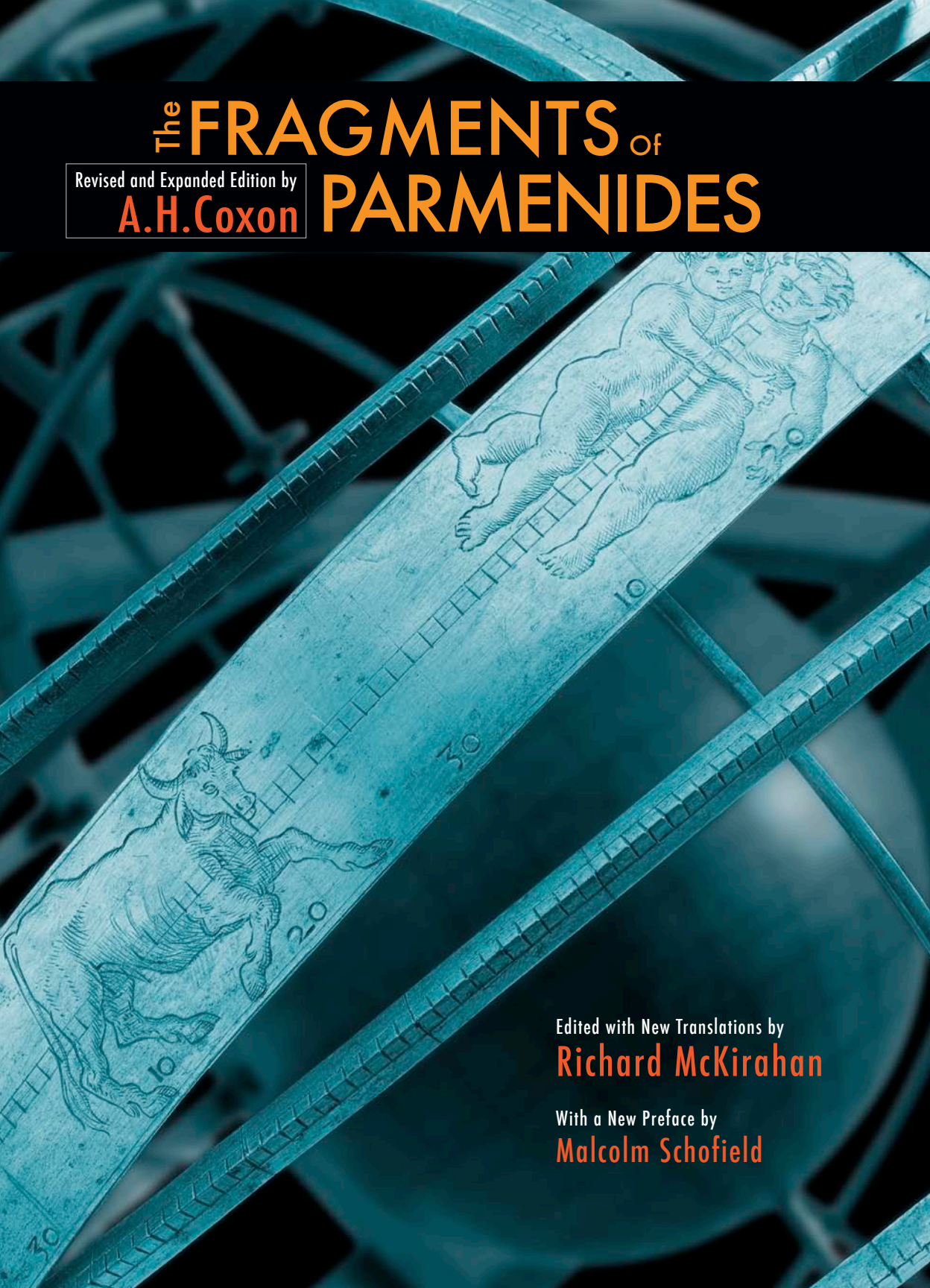
The FRAGMENTS of PARMENIDES

Revised and Expanded Edition by
A.H.Coxon



Edited with New Translations by
Richard McKirahan

With a New Preface by
Malcolm Schofield

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A Critical Text with Introduction and Translation,
the Ancient *Testimonia* and a Commentary

by

A. H. COXON

Revised and Expanded Edition
edited with new Translations by Richard McKirahan
and a new Preface by Malcolm Schofield

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• new English translations of the *testimonia* and of Greek throughout the book by Richard McKirahan;
• a Greek-English Index and an English-Greek Glossary by Richard McKirahan;
• a new Preface by Malcolm Schofield

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The cover image depicts an armillary sphere from 1554, made by Girolamo della Volpaia (c. 1530–1614) of Florence, Italy. A full view of the same armillary is shown on page 367. Photographs courtesy of the Science Museum / Science & Society Picture Library, London, UK.

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Contents

PREFACE TO THE REVISED AND EXPANDED EDITION vii

EDITOR'S NOTE xi

PREFACE xiii

Introduction 1
1. The textual tradition 1
2. Parmenides' poetic dialect 7
3. The form of the poem 9
   (i) Parmenides' debt to Homer 9
   (ii) The way of the goddess and the journey of persuasion 12
   (iii) Cosmology and myth 13
4. Parmenides' criticism of earlier philosophers 18
5. Parmenides' investigation of the nature of Being 20
6. Parmenides' influence on philosophy in the fifth century B.C. 23
7. Parmenides' influence on the theory of Forms 27
8. The criticism of Parmenides' monism in the fourth century B.C. 30
9. Parmenides' philosophy in the Hellenistic and Roman period 34
10. The Biographical tradition 39

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF THE FRAGMENTS 45

THE ANCIENT TESTIMONIA WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION 99

COMMENTARY 269

APPENDIX 389
I Zeno's argument about magnitude 389
II Zeno's argument about numerability 394
III Zeno's paradox of the arrow 395
IV Melissus' argument against pluralism 397

CONCORDANCE 400
I Fragments 400
II Testimonia 401

INDEXES & GLOSSARY 403
I TESTIMONIA 405
   1. *Ancient Authors* 405
   2. *English–Greek Glossary* 406
   3. *Greek–English Index* 421
II COMMENTARY 451
   1. *Subjects* 451
   2. *Greek words and phrases* 452
III PROPER NAMES IN THE INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY AND APPENDIX 457

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Preface to the Revised and Expanded Edition

Malcolm Schofield

Parmenides dominates the whole terrain of Presocratic philosophy like a colossus. Although Aristotle told the story differently, modern accounts of the development of early Greek thought find it hard to avoid presenting Parmenides' poem as the turning-point decisive for understanding of the overall trajectory of the entire enterprise. Consequently monographs and scholarly articles devoted to the poem continue to appear thick and fast. The sheer difficulty and frequent obscurity of the verse are one standing provocation to new attempts at interpretation. But so too are Parmenides' extraordinary combination of abstract logic and metaphysics (in the central philosophical part of the poem) and dense allusiveness to an inherited stock of poetic phraseology and religious imagery (in the proem), with seeming echoes of both in the relatively poorly preserved cosmological speculations which constituted the final section.

None of this intense scholarly activity could flourish, however, without one basic resource: a reliable scholarly edition of the Greek text of the fragments. A. H. Coxon's *The Fragments of Parmenides* immediately established itself as the authoritative modern edition on its appearance in 1986. No subsequent publication has even tried to replace it. *The Fragments* remains indispensable. The original has long been out of print. So a corrected and expanded second edition is timely and indeed badly needed.

With that, this introduction might well conclude: mission accomplished. But for the reader coming fresh to Coxon's work, a few further words may be useful in explaining what its importance consists in.

Fundamental is his presentation of the Greek text itself. Coxon's study of the manuscripts of Simplicius, Sextus, and the other authors who preserve Parmenides' words enabled him to achieve two things above all. First, in the *apparatus criticus* he was in a position to set out the evidence for what the poet wrote (or may have written) more fully (albeit with due economy) and more accurately than in previous editions. Second, he was able to

conclude (I quote): "The evidence of the manuscripts, if combined with that of Parmenides' general dependence on Homer, amply justifies the restoration of epic and Ionic for tragic and Attic forms in the few places where the manuscripts present only the latter." One further major feature is Coxon's inclusion, at the foot of the page, of references to passages of earlier Greek poetry that seem to be echoed by Parmenides, and to passages from later philosophical writers that seem to echo him in their turn. In these references, in the formidable chronological sweep of his Introduction, and in his rich commentary on the fragments (at once philological and philosophical), we get a sense of the apparently dogmatic Parmenides always in conversation with Homer, Hesiod and others before him, and with a whole host of later philosophers from Melissus and Empedocles onwards. Finally, facing the text of the fragments is Coxon's English prose translation, designed to express his understanding of the Greek as accurately as he could.

The book's other major contribution to scholarship is its collection of *testimonia*. Coxon's is a much fuller selection than was provided by Diels and Kranz in *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. It is ordered not thematically (as in Diels-Kranz), but in chronological sequence of the writers who transmit the information: whether in their own extant texts (as with Plato or Aristotle), or—where those texts do not survive—as recorded in later authors (e.g. for Eudemus, in Simplicius; for Posidonius, in Strabo: though here Coxon usefully refers in the first instance to a standard modern collection of fragments and testimonia of the cited author wherever possible). To enhance the accessibility of the new edition, an English translation facing the original Greek or (occasionally) Latin has been prepared by Richard McKirahan.

Coxon himself indicated—in handwritten notes on two copies of the book—where he thought revisions or corrections were needed to the first edition. In this second edition any such instance amounting to more than correction of a typographical error is pointed out in a corresponding footnote (above Richard McKirahan's initials). One extra testimonium is added: Xenocrates, T16a. Really substantial revisions are in fact few and far between. The most significant comes in the commentary on lines 34–41 of Fragment 8, where Coxon had revised his understanding of Parmenides' grammatical construction at lines 35–36, and had rethought the overall purpose of the passage. Here as elsewhere the text of the first edition is preserved in a footnote.

Richard McKirahan's translation of the *testimonia* is not the only extra help offered to the reader. There are also English translations of all Greek words and phrases throughout the Introduction, Commentary and Appendix, and

line numbers have been inserted in the *testimonia* themselves to enhance ease of reference. Highly abbreviated forms of names of ancient authors and works have been spelled out more fully. New supplementary material includes the Greek-English Index and an English-Greek glossary to the translations of the *testimonia*. Finally, as a way of enabling the looking up of page references based on the pagination of the first edition, the original page numbers are provided here in square brackets inside the margins. All involved in the preparation of the second edition of this landmark of Presocratic scholarship share the hope and conviction that, with these improvements in presentation, the book will serve the needs of another generation of students and scholars as effectively as the original publication did its readers in their time.

Malcolm Schofield, August 2009

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Editor's Note

Hopeful of an eventual second edition of *The Fragments of Parmenides,* A. H. Coxon made numerous corrections, changes, and additions in two copies of the first edition subsequently labeled "A" and "B". These, together with the page of addenda and corrigenda that accompany the first edition, are incorporated into the present volume. It appears (partly from the tattered state of "A") that copy A is earlier than copy B, and that the notes in "B" consist of a transcription of the notes from "A" together with additional material. In the few places where the changes indicated in the two volumes differ (pp. 70, 74 and 325) I have placed the material from "B" in the body of the text and the material from "A" in a footnote. Where there are signficant changes from the first edition the corresponding text of that edition is recorded in footnotes. The addenda and corrigenda noted in the first edition are not signalled in this way nor are minor typographical corrections.

I am grateful to Carolyn Coxon for making these two copies available to me, for assistance in decyphering her husband's handwriting, and for everything else she did to make the present volume possible.

Richard McKirahan, September 2009

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Preface

[v]

The text of the fragments of Parmenides (P.) was placed on a firm foundation by Diels (*Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum Libros quattuor priores Commentaria,* 1882; *Parmenides Lehrgedicht,* 1897; *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta,* 1901). Since the latest editions of *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* depart in several places from Diels' own text, it seemed desirable to re-examine the tradition, and the following pages were originally planned as a simple text with fuller critical apparatus than has appeared since *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta* and with epic parallels. A revised collection of *testimonia* was then added, incorporating the Platonic, Aristotelian and Neoplatonic discussions, mostly written with knowledge of the complete text and essential for understanding the fragments, but in the main omitted by Diels. Finally it seemed inescapable to complete the work with an introduction and commentary.

I have consulted the relevant folios of the most important manuscripts of the earlier books of Simplicius' commentary on the *Physics* (Laur. 85,2 and Marc. 227 and 229 = DFE; cf. *Classical Quarterly (CQ)* xviii (1968), 70–75), and also those of Marc. Cl. iv, 15, listed by Diels as G^{iv} but not collated; for the manuscripts of his commentary on the *De caelo,* which are of less significance for Parmenides, I have been content to rely on Heiberg. For the long extract from Parmenides in Sextus Empiricus I have examined Laur. 85,11 and 85,19 and Ven. Marc. 262 (= LNV; cf. *CQ* ib. p. 75). Proclus' commentary on Plato's *Parmenides* still awaits a modern critical edition, although the manuscripts have been described and classified by R. Klibansky and C. Labowsky in *Plato Latinus* III; I have collated the passages referring to Parmenides in the codices of the Latin translation by William of Moerbeke in Oxford, Milan and Rome, i.e. Bodleianus Digbeianus 236; Ambrosianus A167 sup.; Vaticanus Latinus 3074 (= OAV), and in the Greek codices Laurentianus plut. 85,8; Laur. conv. suppr. 103; Ambrosianus B 165 sup.; Vaticanus Rossianus 962 (= flmr); for the Paris manuscript *a* I have relied on the collation of Cousin. Page references are to *Procli Opera Inedita*[2], ed. V. Cousin, Paris 1864. For Proclus' commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* I have made use of the text of Diehl.

[vi]

In the accentuation of ἐστι in the fragments I have followed the rule of Herodian (i, 553) that whether it is orthotone or enclitic depends solely on

[vi] its position, sc. ἔστι when initial or following οὐ, καὶ, εἰ, ἀλλὰ, ὡς, τοῦτο, otherwise enclitic whatever its sense (cf. J. Vendryes, *Traité de l'accentuation grecque,* pp. 109–110; W. S. Barrett, *Euripides' Hippolytus,* Appendix II; etc.).

The inclusion among the *testimonia* of philosophical as well as of purely doxographical material necessitated the substitution of a broadly chronological order for the analytical order adopted by Diels. I have made use of the standard printed editions, but have modified the text in numerous places, particularly in Proclus' commentary on the *Parmenides,* where the readings are based on my own collations. Textual notes are added only where clarity demands it. In citing the text of Aëtius (Aët.) after *Doxographi Graeci* I have included short forms of the chapter-headings, which formulate the questions which the information extracted from the original works has been adapted to answer, and apart from which it cannot be evaluated.

I am indebted to the librarians of the Bodleian Library, the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, the Biblioteca Marciana, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, who have allowed me to consult manuscripts in their keeping; for suggestions on particular points to my former colleagues Professor A. J. Beattie and Mr. D. B. Robinson; for invaluable help and encouragement with publication of the book to Mr. Jonathan Barnes; for co-operation in correcting proofs to Mr. D. B. Robinson; and for generous financial subventions to the British Academy, the Jowett Copyright Trustees, the University of Edinburgh and the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland.

I have made use of the following abbreviations (others are either standard or self-explanatory):

Denniston, *GP*	J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*
(Diels), *Dox.*	H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*
PL	H. Diels, *Parmenides Lehrgedicht*
PPF	H. Diels, *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta*
FdV or *DK*	H. Diels, (-W. Kranz), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*
PdP	*La Parola del Passato*
Schwyzer, *GG*	E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*
Tannéry, *Science Hellène*	P. Tannéry, *Pour l'Histoire de la Science Hellène*
t., tt.	testimonium, testimonia

Edinburgh, September 1986 A. H. C.

Introduction [1]

1. THE TEXTUAL TRADITION

Considering its obscurity, the text of what remains of Parmenides' poem is remarkably well preserved. The latest author known to have used a manuscript of the whole work is Simplicius, who quoted extensively from the most significant part of it on account of its rarity (διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τοῦ Παρμενιδείου συγγράμματος ['on account of the rarity of Parmenides' treatise'], t. 213). In all, Simplicius cites two thirds of our surviving hundred and fifty lines; for nearly three quarters of these, or half of all that survives, he is our sole authority. Fortunately his manuscript was of excellent quality, deriving perhaps from a tradition preserved in the Academy since the time of Plato. In establishing the text of the fragments we have the advantage not only of the generally good manuscript tradition of the authors who quote them, but often also of their discussion and paraphrasing of the argument. Further help derives from the fact that a quarter of our verses survive in more than one author, and that Simplicius reproduces three quarters of those he cites more than once and some of them three or four times. Corruptions can frequently be seen to belong to the medieval manuscript tradition and not to the ancient text of Parmenides. In other places textual variations are recognizably due to citation from memory.

A conspectus of the nearly complete list of quotations from Parmenides made by Diels in *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1901)[1] shows that our fragments come from the following authors (the fragments are numbered as in the present edition; the list is approximately chronological and includes no author all of whose citations derive certainly from other authors still extant):

Plato 7, 1–2; 8, 38, 43–45; 13.

Aristotle 7, 1; 8, 44; 13; 17.

1. The list of sources given in *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* is inadequate.

[2] Theophrastus 17.
Eudemus 8, 43, 44.
Plutarch 1, 29–30; 8, 4; 13; 14; 15.
Soranus (in Caelius Aurelianus' Latin version) 19.
Galen 18.
Sextus Empiricus 1, 1–30; 7, 2–7; 8, 1–2.
Clemens Alexandrinus 1, 29–30; 4; 6; 8, 3–4; 9.
Plotinus 4; 8, 5, 25, 43.
Diogenes Laertius 1, 28–30; 7, 3–5.
Iamblichus 8, 24.
Proclus 1, 29–30; 2; 3; 4; 6, 1; 8, 4, 5, 25, 26, 29–32, 35–36, 43–45.
Damascius 6, 2; 8, 25.
Ammonius 8, 5.
Simplicius 1, 28–32; 3, 3–8; 5; 7, 1–2; 8; 10; 11; 12; 13; 20.

To this list must be added the quotation of fr. 16 by the scholiast on Basil's *Hexahemeron* cited in the third and later editions of *FdV.*

Of the authors listed it may be taken for granted that Aristotle's pupils Theophrastus and Eudemus, as well as Plato and Aristotle, had access to a manuscript of the complete poem, although neither Theophrastus nor Eudemus happens to be our earliest authority for the verses they cite, and although Aristotle himself may well have taken three of his four citations from Plato's dialogues. Others in the list clearly quote Parmenides at second hand and are unlikely to have known the whole poem. Diogenes Laertius (Diog. Laert.), for instance, almost certainly derives his quotations from his doxographical and biographical authorities, i.e. from Peripatetic or Stoic sources; it is not accidental that both are anticipated by Sextus. A similar source is likely for the single line quoted by Galen, and for the six lines quoted by Soranus, which survive only in the Latin translation by Caelius Aurelianus. Damascius, who cites part of fr. 8, 24 from Iamblichus' lost commentary on Plato's *Parmenides,* may owe the two phrases he quotes elsewhere to the same work, though it is at least possible that he had access to the copy of Parmenides subsequently used by his pupil Simplicius. The Alexandrian Ammonius quotes fr. 8, 5 in a similar corrupt form to that given by his pupils Philoponus, Olympiodorus and Asclepius; it seems probable (in spite of Philoponus' language in t. 194) that none of them knew the whole poem. Even the long passage preserved, for the most part uniquely, by Sextus Empiricus is likely to come from the same Stoic author as his commentary on it (t. 136), possibly Posidonius. Plotinus on the other hand, though he cites only isolated passages, shows a familiarity with Parmenides' views which suggests that he had access to a complete

text, as Simplicius perhaps implies that Porphyry also had (in *phys.* (116, 6), t. 210). The same familiarity appears in Plutarch and Proclus and perhaps also in Clement, who is our earliest authority for nearly all that he cites and our only authority for the six and a half lines of fr. 9. [3]

The text of *Plato's* quotations from Parmenides is noticeably inaccurate. It is clear however that this is not due to his having used an inaccurate manuscript, since (a) in two of the passages where his text diverges from the truth he is evidently quoting from memory (fr. 7, 2 διζήμενος for διζήσιος, *soph.* 237[a]; fr. 8, 38 οἷον ἀκίνητον τελέθει τῷ παντὶ ὄνομ᾽ εἶναι, *Tht.* 180[d], adopted by Eusebius and in two places by Simplicius; in the second passage all the manuscripts of Plato, Eusebius and Simplicius have οἷον, but the anonymous commentator on the *Theaetetus* (ed. Diels-Schubart, col. 70, 41) has[2] οἷον and it is certain from Simplicius' paraphrase of Plato's citation, ἀκίνητον … καὶ μόνον, in *phys.* 29, 17, that he read οἷον)[3]; (b) in fr. 7, 1, where the true text οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα survives intact in the oldest manuscripts of Aristotle and (with ὄντα) in one or more of the principal manuscripts in three places of Simplicius, the words τοῦτο δαμῇ had probably already been corrupted to τοῦτ᾽ οὐδαμῇ in the archetype of our manuscripts of Plato[4], as they are in some manuscripts of both Aristotle and Simplicius, but this unmetrical and meaningless phrase cannot have been written by Plato himself; that he wrote τοῦτο δαμῇ is guaranteed by the fact that Simplicius certainly and Aristotle probably (since three of his four citations from Parmenides are anticipated by Plato) quote the text in this form not from a manuscript of Parmenides but from Plato's *Sophist* (in *phys.* 135, 21; 244, 1; *metaph.* N2, 1089[a]4). In the same verse the manuscripts of Simplicius consistently give ὄντα for ἐόντα along with BTW of Plato at *soph.* 237[a] and BT at 258[d], but that Plato himself wrote ἐόντα is guaranteed by W at 258[d].

2. The first edition has 'gives'. (RMcK)
3. The suggestion that this verse stood in the text of Parmenides used by Plato and Simplicius allows too little for the freedom with which Plato quotes from memory. The variation from the text of fr. 8, 38 is comparable with Plato's improvisations on Hes. *op.* 121–123 in *Crat.* 397[e] and *resp.* 468[e] (which have also been mistaken for the authentic text, and in the latter of which he again introduces the verb τελέθειν) or on Hom. Ω 527–528 in *resp.* 379[d] and on Hom., ρ 322–323 in *legg.* 777[a]. Simplicius' citations of Plato's misquotation prove nothing for his own written text of Parmenides.
4. The report in Burnet and Diès that the scribe of W wrote τοῦτ᾽ οὐ δαμῇ at *soph.* 237[a] rests on the existence of a space after οὐ which is certainly not greater than those occurring commonly in this manuscript within individual words, and it seems clear that a single word is intended.

[3] *Aristotle's* citations from Parmenides coincide in part with Plato's and,
[4] in so far as they do so, may well be taken from the dialogues. His quotation of fr. 17 however must come from his own reading of Parmenides. It varies from the text of the same four lines given by *Theophrastus* in having πολυκάμπτων for πολυπλάγκτων and παρίσταται for παρέστηκεν; both of Aristotle's variants are inferior (*see* commentary) and it seems likely that he cited the lines from memory and that his lapses were tacitly corrected by Theophrastus from a written copy.

Six lines of Parmenides are quoted by *Plutarch,* two (frr. 14 and 15) by him alone. In *adv. Colot.* 1114^{c} τοῦ νοητοῦ δ' ἕτερον εἶδος, ἔστι γὰρ οὐλομελές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ' ἀγένητον, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκε, καὶ ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ καὶ μόνιμον ἐν τῷ εἶναι ['the intelligible is a different kind of thing, for it is whole of limb, unmoved ungenerated, as he himself put it, and is like itself and stable in its being'] (t. 113) he has generally been taken to give an alternative version of the whole of the fourth verse of fr. 8, which commences in the text given by Clement, Ps.-Plutarch, Simplicius and Philoponus with οὖλον μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ['entire, unique, unmoved'] (μοῦνον ['alone'] for οὖλον ['entire'], Ps.-Plutarch). R. Westman however has pointed out that the words ἔστι γὰρ are Plutarch's own and that the quotation begins only with οὐλομελές ['whole of limb'].[5] There is no trace of this word in any of the other quotations of the verse, until it reappears three and a half centuries later in two of Proclus' three citations from it (οὐλομελὲς καὶ ἀτρεμές ['whole of limb and unmoved'], tt. 175, 177). In his third citation (t. 180) Proclus gives the whole line in the form οὖλον μουνομελές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ' ἀγένητον ['entire, single-limbed, unmoved and ungenerated'], where the second word appears to be a conscious correction of his earlier version prompted by its incompatibility with οὖλον and by a confused recollection of the true text and of Empedocles fr. 58. If so, οὐλομελές in both Plutarch and Proclus will derive from a fragmentary misquotation from memory, whether its primary source was Plutarch himself or one shared with Proclus, possibly Colotes. The form αἷς ['which'] in fr. 1, 30, given by both Plutarch and Proclus in place of τῇς (so Diogenes; ταῖς, Sextus, Clement, Simplicius), if the agreement is not accidental, may be similarly accounted for.

5. *Plutarch gegen Kolotes,* Helsinki 1955, pp. 236 sq. Westman's observation is confirmed by the phrasing of the preceding clause, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν δοξαστὸν ἀβέβαιον καὶ πλανητόν ['the object of opinion is uncertain and subject to variation']. A close parallel exists in Simpl. in *phys.* 120, 22 (t. 211), ἔστι γὰρ οὖλον, μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ' ἀγένητον καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀίδιον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ μυρία ἄλλα ['for it is entire, unique, unshaken and ungenerated and unmoved and eternal and indivisible and thousands of other things'].

In any case neither it nor οὐλομελές ['ungenerated'] can be treated as evidence of Hellenistic corruption in complete texts of Parmenides' poem. The variant ἀγένητον in the same line of fr. 8 is discussed below; other errors in our text of Plutarch's citations appear to be of medieval origin. [4]

Of the thirty consecutive lines from the prologue and the five and a half lines from frr. 7–8 quoted by *Sextus Empiricus,* four fifths are known from him alone, but it is clear from the manuscript variants that nearly all the errors are medieval and that the text from which Sextus was copying preserved a reliable tradition of Parmenides. That this text was not a manuscript of the poem, but a Hellenistic treatise containing quotations from it, is strongly suggested both by the Stoic character of the exegesis which follows the text and especially by Sextus' apparent unawareness that the last five and a half lines of his quotation cannot have followed immediately on the first thirty. [5]

The fifteen lines of Parmenides quoted by *Clement of Alexandria* present only one serious problem. A number of minor corruptions may safely be regarded as originating in the medieval tradition, but the variant ἀγένητον ['ungenerated'] in fr. 8, 4, where Simplicius has ἀτέλεστον, must go back to Clement himself. This line was quoted in the doxographic tradition (cf. tt. 59, 87) to illustrate Parmenides' agreement with Xenophanes; in this tradition it ends with ἀγένητον ['imperfect'], which was presumably introduced inadvertently, whether by Theophrastus or one of his epitomators, from the preceding verse. The line in this form became generally current as a compendious statement of Parmenides' account of τὸ ἐόν ['Being']; it is cited thus in isolation by Plutarch, Ps.-Plutarch *(strom.),* Aëtius, Proclus, Philoponus and (in two places) Simplicius himself, who has ἀτέλεστον in the three places where he quotes more than the single line. Clement is unique in quoting the line with the variant ἀγένητον along with the preceding line, in which ἀγένητον also occurs. How he came to do this is obscure. It seems unlikely that a variant revealed by its context as false existed in a complete text of the poem. In general Clement's citations from Parmenides appear to come from a complete copy but, if so, the corrupt ἀγένητον seems more likely to derive from misquotation, due presumably to familiarity with the doxographic version of the line, than to have been present in his copy of Parmenides.

The character of *Proclus'* text of Parmenides is more difficult to assess. The twenty-one lines which he quotes (in addition to the three which he copies from Plato's *Sophist*) contain a larger proportion of divergences from what is likely to be the true text, as we know it from Simplicius and elsewhere, than the quotations in any other of our sources. Some of these errors can safely be ascribed to medieval corruption, but there are at least seven places in addition

[5] to those discussed above where the variants are likely to go back to Proclus himself (1, 29, εὐφεγγέος ['brilliant']; 3, 6, παναπειθέα ['wholly without persuasion']; 3, 7, ἐφικτόν ['attainable']; 8, 29, μίμνον ['remaining'] and μίμνει ['it remains']; 8, 30, οὕτως ['thus']; 8, 32, τοὔνεκεν ['on account of this']; 8, 35, ἐφ' ᾧ ['of it']). The longest of Proclus' citations however is of seven and a half lines and most are of hardly more than a line. Certainly in many and possibly in all cases he quotes from memory. It seems probable that most of the variants
[6] are due either to this or (as in the citations from fr. 8, 4 discussed above) to the use of secondary sources, and do not derive from the complete text which it is likely that at some time he had studied. This is well illustrated by his quotations of fr. 8, 29. One of these (ταὐτὸν ἐν ταὐτῷ μίμνον ['remaining the same in the same state'], t. 169) appears to come from an earlier commentary on Plato's *Parmenides* and perhaps reproduces the version given in this source. In three other places (tt. 179, 180, 182) instead of μίμνον ['remaining'] he wrote μίμνει ['it remains']; this is further from Simplicius' text τε μένον and is clearly due to confusion with Xenophanes' phrase αἰεὶ δ' ἐν ταὐτῷ μίμνει ['he always remains in the same place'] (fr. 26). It is likely therefore that Proclus quotes not only l.29 but also the whole of ll.29–32 (t. 179) from memory.

It is not impossible that some of the variant readings discussed above may have found their way into texts of the complete poem; it remains true however that, so far as we can trace the ancient tradition, it shows no clear divergence from that of the rare and excellent copy in the hands of *Simplicius* in the sixth century A.D. This copy itself contained errors. In the hundred lines which Simplicius transcribed from it there are at least three places where the text is probably or certainly wrong and where the error is likely to derive from Simplicius' original (1, 29, εὐκυκλέος ['well-rounded']; 8, 4, ἀτέλεστον ['imperfect']; 8, 57, ἀραιόν ['loose-textured']). Other errors which may go back to it are: fr. 5, 5, πλάττονται ['stray']; 12, 5, μιγέν ['united']. The origin of one of these errors can perhaps be traced. After the first of his citations of fr. 8, 53–59 (t. 204) Simplicius quotes a prose sentence which was written between the verses in his text in such a way as to suggest to him that it derived from Parmenides himself. The sentence lists epithets of the two elemental Forms gathered apparently from later in the poem (*see* the commentary on lines 58–59); since none of these epithets except ἀραιόν occurs in the lines in question, Diels rightly concluded (*PL* 97) that ἀραιόν also is alien to the context and has found its way into the hypermetrical line 57 from the scholium. As regards the date of composition of this scholium, Diels argued (ib. 97–99) that in the Hellenistic period there is no trace of the sympathetic interest in Parmenides' philosophy, especially

in his account of the Beliefs of Mortals, which the scholium reveals, and [6]
that its paraphrastic character points to the second and third centuries, and especially to the Neoplatonists, as a *terminus post quem;* on the other hand it must have been composed well before Simplicius' own time, since its position between the lines presupposes an earlier manuscript in which it was written in the margin, and in which the gloss ἀραιόν had not yet become incorporated into line 57. He therefore attributed the composition of the scholium to the period from the third to the fifth century. Against this it may be noted that more interest is shown in Parmenides' physics by authors such as Posidonius, Cicero, Plutarch, Favorinus, Soranus, Galen than by any Neoplatonist except Simplicius, so that the date of the scho- [7]
lium remains uncertain. Whatever the source, Simplicius' habit of quoting Parmenides at length from a written text rather than, like virtually all his predecessors, in short extracts from memory suggests that his manuscript was in codex-form and was therefore itself copied not earlier than in the third and most probably in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era.

2. PARMENIDES' POETIC DIALECT

The manuscript tradition of the fragments of Parmenides sheds more light on his linguistic practice than has been allowed by Diels and the editors who have followed him. Diels refused as a matter of principle 'to clothe the text, as it has reached us, in the vulgate epic language', on the ground that our knowledge both of the Eleatic dialect and of the conventional epic κοινή ['common dialect'] is insufficient (*PL* 26–27). He accordingly preserved the word-forms presented in the manuscript traditions of the authors by whom the fragments are cited. Two considerations weigh against this procedure: in the first place the recognition of Parmenides' direct dependence on Homer, illustrated in Section 3 (i) below, invalidates Diels' belief in a more obscure literary ancestry for the poem and his consequent supposition that it may have contained Italian dialect forms (e.g. πλάσσονται, fr. 5, 5); and secondly, the manuscripts in fact offer hardly any Attic forms of which the more plausible epic and Ionic form is not attested for Parmenides in either the same or another place.

The 150 surviving lines of Parmenides contain an average of only one non-Homeric word in every three verses; of these 55 words all but five (χνοίῃσιν, δοκίμως, βεβαίως, τόπον, λαιοῖσι) are directly related to or compounded from words used by Homer. There is no sign of the introduction of unfamiliar words which marks the style of Empedocles, and it is improbable that Parmenides introduced local dialect forms of regular epic words. His innovations in

[7] word-forms commonly serve metrical ends (πλῆνται, fr. 1, 13; ὀνόμασται, 11, 1; φῦν, 8, 10; μιγῆν, 12, 5); otherwise he departs from his Homeric and Hesiodic patterns only where his subject pushes him in the direction of a prose diction (e.g. ἀγένητον, κρίσις, διαιρετόν, πεφατισμένον, ἑκάστοτε) or where he adopts an Ionic form in common use (cf. n. on εἰλίξασαι, fr. 1, 19) or in order to make a scientific point (cf. nn. on νυκτιφαές and ἀλλότριον φῶς, fr. 14). Where he has no epic model before him, his language is still Ionic; this is indicated clearly by the preservation by Sextus of the genitive plural πυλέων (scanned as an
[8] iambus, though in both of its occurrences in Homer it is an anapaest, *see* n. on fr. 1, 17) and by Simplicius of the forms ἑωυτῷ and τωὐτόν (fr. 8, 57–58). The antecedents of the contracted form φανὸν (fr. 8, 41), which occurs elsewhere only in Attic, are uncertain, but it is comparable with contractions such as ὁρᾶν, ἐνικλᾶν, ἐᾶν in our text of Homer (δ 540 etc., Θ 408, Π 96).

The evidence of the manuscripts, if combined with that of Parmenides' general dependence on Homer, amply justifies the restoration of epic and Ionic for tragic and Attic forms in the few places where the manuscripts present only the latter, i.e. of ἐς for εἰς (which is Homeric only before a vowel), fr. 1, 10; ἀθανάτῃσι συνήορος for ἀθανάτοισι συνάορος, 1, 24 (cf. βροτείας, fr. 8, 51); δοκεῦντα for δοκοῦντα, 1, 31 (cf. φορεῦνται, 5, 6); αὖτις for αὖθις, 2, 2 (cf. 12, 5); τωὐτὸν for ταὐτὸν, 5, 8–9; 8, 29, 34 (cf. 8, 57–58); τωὐτῷ, 8, 29; αἰθερίην for αἰθερίαν, 9, 1 (cf. δεξιτερὴν, 1, 23; κρατερὴ, 8, 30); καθαρῆς for καθαράς, 9, 2; κρῆσιν for κρᾶσιν, 17, 1 (cf. ἀκρήτοιο, 12, 1). The text so constituted will still be that of 'an Attic copy of the fourth century B.C.' (Diels, ib. 26) and not, at least as regards spelling, the original version which Diels fancied that future excavation might bring to light from the Mouseion of Elea (ib. 27).

The following list contains all the words from the extant fragments of Parmenides of which a form is not found in the *Iliad (Il.)* or *Odyssey (Od.):*

πολύφραστοι (cf. Hes. πολυφραδέεσσι), χνοίῃσιν, Ἡλιάδες, ὑπέρθυρον (cf. Hom. ὑπερθύριον), αἰθέριαι, πολύποινος, ἐπιφραδέως (cf. Hom. ἐπεφράσατ'), βαλανωτόν, ἀχανές, ἀμοιβαδόν (cf. Hom. ἀμοιβηδίς), ἀτρεμές (cf. Hom. ἀτρέμας), πίστις (Hes.), δοκίμως, δίζησις, πειθοῦς (Hes.), παναπευθέα (cf. Hom. ἀπευθέα), ἀνυστόν (cf. Hom. ἀνηνύστῳ), δίκρανοι, παλίντροπος (cf. Hom. πάλιν τρέπε), βεβαίως, ἔθος, πολύπειρον, πολύδηριν, ἀγένητον, ἀνώλεθρον (cf. Hom. ἀνολέθρους), γένναν (cf. Hom. γενεή), αὐξηθέν (Hes. ηὔξετο, Hom. ἀέξω), κρίσις, ἀνόητον, ἀπέσβεσται (cf. Hom. κατέσβεσε), διαιρετόν, ἀκίνητον, ἄπαυστον, ἐπιδεές (cf. Hom. ἐπιδευές), πεφατισμένον, τόπον, ἀλλάσσειν (cf. Hom. ἐπαλλάξαντες), μεσσόθεν (cf. Hes. μεσσόθι), ἰσοπαλές, ἄσυλον, γνώμας, ἀδαῆ (cf. Hom. ἀδαήμων), ἐμβριθές, διάκοσμον, εὐαγέος, λαμπάδος (cf. Hom. λαμπτήρ), περίφοιτα, στεινότεραι (cf. Hom. στεῖνος), μίξιος, νυκτιφαές, ὑδατόριζον, ἑκάστοτε (cf. Hom. ἑκάστοθι), κρῆσιν (cf. Hom. κρητήρ), λαιοῖσι, ἐπίσημον.

3. THE FORM OF THE POEM [9]

(i) *Parmenides' debt to Homer*

Of Parmenides' poem we still have perhaps less than a quarter, and of Greek epic poetry composed between Homer and Parmenides virtually none. Yet it can be shown with reasonable probability that Parmenides drew for much of his phraseology and imagery directly on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.* This is true not only for the more strictly philosophical and scientific parts of the poem but (in spite of the contrary opinion of Diels[6]) also for the prologue.

In the 150 surviving verses of Parmenides' poem there are over a dozen places where it is reasonable to suppose that the poet is borrowing phrases and ideas from identifiable contexts in Homer. They are as follows:

fr. 1, 11. This line consists of a phrase (ἔνθα πύλαι ['there … gates']) apparently derived from Homer's description in *Il.* Θ 14 sq. of the gates of Tartarus (from which Parmenides takes another phrase in fr. 8, 28), immediately followed by a *verbatim* borrowing of almost a whole line from Homer's account of the proximity of evening and dawn in Laestrygonia (κ 86). It is clear that Parmenides makes use of these Homeric phrases to convey the notion of a gateway to a region of perpetual light situated beyond that of becoming and perishing, which is regarded as a place in which souls are punished (*see* the commentary on frr. 1, 11 and 8, 27–28).

fr. 1, 14–21. Parmenides' account of the gateway through which he passed seems clearly to be modelled on that of the gate of heaven in *Iliad* Ε, much of which is repeated in *Iliad* Θ (Ε 745–752 = Θ 389–396; for an argument that Parmenides also uses Θ 399–400 in frr. 1, 3 and 5, 9 *see* the notes there). There are affinities already between his description of his chariot and Homer's description of that of Hera in Ε 722 sq., but the resemblance is much closer in what follows. Hera and Athena drive through the gate of heaven to speak to Zeus, who is on the summit of Olympus; Parmenides drives through the gate

6. 'Auch bei Parmenides sind die nicht gerade seltenen Spuren von Imitation (sc. Homers) nirgends auffallend und jedenfalls viel geringer als selbst in der Elegie; es tritt eher ein Streben nach Variation des überkommenen Formelschatzes hervor'. *PL* 10. 'Es wird klar geworden sein, dass die Conception der Himmelreise sammt den einzelnen Details nicht originell empfunden oder erfunden ist, sondern auf der ekstatischen Poesie der vorangehenden Reformationsepoche beruht.' ib. 21.

[9] of the region of light to visit the goddess who with other divinities inhabits
[10] it. Hera's chariot is described as 'flaming' (φλόγεα); the axle of Parmenides' chariot 'blazes'. The gates of heaven in Homer open of their own accord; so perhaps do the gates in Parmenides (fr. 1, 17–18). The gate in Homer is in the keeping of the Horae (viz. Eunomia, Dike and Eirene, Hes. *theog.* 901–902); that in Parmenides is in the keeping of Dike. When the gate in Homer opens, the Goddesses τῇ ῥα δι᾽ αὐτάων κεντρηνεκέας ἔχον ἵππους ['whereupon (sc. she) applied her goad and drove the horses through them (sc. the gates of Olympus']; when that in Parmenides opens, τῇ ῥα δι᾽ αὐτέων ἰθὺς ἔχον κοῦραι κατ᾽ ἀμαξιτὸν ἅρμα καὶ ἵππους ['whereupon the maidens drove the chariot and mares straight on through the gates along the road']. The phrase τῇ ῥα δι᾽ αὐτάων ['thereupon … through them'] recurs nowhere else in Homer.

fr. 1, 22 and 25. The goddess's welcome to Parmenides seems to be phrased in language derived from that expressing divine welcome or comfort in the *Iliad*. Of Poseidon and Athena comforting Achilles Homer says χειρὶ δὲ χεῖρα λαβόντες ἐπιστώσαντ᾽ ἐπέεσσι ['taking my hand in theirs, they pledged in words'], Φ 286 (the reduplication of χείρ ['hand'] occurs in Homer only here); Parmenides says of the goddess, χεῖρα δὲ χειρὶ δεξιτερὴν ἕλεν, ὧδε δ᾽ ἔπος φάτο ['taking my right hand in hers she spoke as follows']. Charis (Σ 385) and Hephaestus (Σ 424) greet Thetis when she visits them with the verse τίπτε, Θέτι τανύπεπλε, ἱκάνεις ἡμέτερον δῶ ['long-robed Thetis, why are you arriving at our dwelling?']; Homer re-uses this phrase in *Od*. δ 139 (ἱκανέμεν ἡμέτερον δῶ ['arrive at our dwelling']) and ϑ 28 (ἵκετ᾽ ἐμὸν δῶ ['arrived at my dwelling']) but the closer metrical resemblance and the context show that in ἱκάνων ἡμέτερον δῶ ['arriving at our dwelling'] Parmenides had the passage from the *Iliad* in mind.

fr. 1, 26. The phrase μοῖρα κακή ['ill fate'] is used by Homer only of Pisander's death at the hands of Menelaus (Ν 602). When the goddess assures Parmenides that it is no μοῖρα κακή which has set him on the remote road to the gateway, it is reasonable to suppose that the poet uses Homer's expression in order to convey that the road is normally travelled only at death.

frr. 3, 6 and 8, 21. The adjective παναπευϑής ['wholly without report'] occurs only in fr. 3 of Parmenides; Homer uses ἀπευϑής ['not inquired into' / 'not inquiring'] and ἄπυστος ['unknown' / 'ignorant'] both actively and passively but in the latter sense ('unheard of') only to characterize the disappearance of Odysseus. The probability that in writing παναπευϑέα … ἀταρπόν ['path wholly without report'] (fr. 3, 6) Parmenides has in mind

Homer's ὄλεθρον ἀπευθέα θῆκε Κρονίων ['the son of Kronos gave [him] an unreported death'] (γ 88) is converted into virtual certainty by his use in fr. 8, 21 of the noun ὄλεθρος ['perishing'] with the other form of the epithet, itself derived from the allusion to Odysseus in α 242 (οἴχετ᾽ ἄιστος ἄπυστος ['he is gone unseen, unheard of']). [10]

fr. 8, 28. The phrase τῆλε μάλα ['very far away'] occurs once only in Homer, viz. in Θ 14 to describe the remoteness of Tartarus. The contextual aptness makes it virtually certain that Parmenides has this passage in mind, as he also had in fr. 1, 11 (*see* above and n. on fr. 8, 27–28). [11]

fr. 8, 37–38. Homer thrice closes a verse, as Parmenides does here, with the phrase μοῖρα πέδησε ['was bound fast by fate'] but only once continues like Parmenides with an epexegetic infinitive (*Il.* X 5). The similarity in sense of Parmenides' ἀκίνητόν τ᾽ ἔμεναι ['to be changeless'] to Homer's αὐτοῦ μεῖναι ['to remain there'] makes it virtually certain that he had this particular line of Homer in mind.

fr. 8, 41. The phrase διά τε χρόα φανὸν ἀμείβειν ['alter their bright aspect to dark and from dark to bright'] is clearly adapted from Homer's διὰ δὲ χρόα καλὸν ἔδαψεν ['tore asunder his fair flesh'], E 858 (so already Diels).

fr. 14. ἀλλότριον φῶς ['alien light'] has been recognised since Diels as an allusion to Homer's ἀλλότριος φώς ['a man from abroad'] (E 214, π 102, σ 219).

fr. 15. This line also was recognised by Diels as an echo of *Od.* μ 233, πάντῃ παπταίνοντι πρὸς ἠεροειδέα πέτρην ['gazing everywhere towards the misty rock-face'].

fr. 19, 5–6. The collocation 'dirae nascentem' ['furies … nascent'] is a clear allusion to *Il.* Ψ 78–79, where Patroclus says to the dreaming Achilles ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ μὲν κὴρ ἀμφέχανε στυγερή, ἥ περ λάχε γιγνόμενόν περ ['the hateful fate of death that was assigned to me when I was born has opened its jaws to swallow me']. The verbal allusion is confirmed by the relevance of the subject-matter (*see* n. ad loc).

These allusions to particular passages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the narrow compass of 150 lines form a substantial total; taken with the numerous other linguistic parallels with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Homeric Hymns* and Hesiod, they render it extremely improbable that the form and style of Parmenides' poem were determined by any more esoteric models. Diels' comment cited above on the freedom with which Parmenides

[11] adapts Homeric phraseology to his own purpose is not unjustified; it must however be recognised that there are passages in Parmenides, as there are in Aeschylus, probably his exact contemporary, where the poet relies implicitly on his hearers' familiarity with Homeric contexts to make his meaning clear. The influence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* pervades the whole of Greek literature, but in view of Parmenides' Pythagorean associations it is worthwhile to bear in mind the express statement of Iamblichus that the Pythagoreans 'made use of expressions of Homer and Hesiod chosen for the improvement of the soul' (ἐχρῶντο δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου λέξεσι διειλεγμέναις πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ψυχῆς. *V.P.* 164 = *FdV* i, 467, 15).

[12] (ii) *The way of the goddess and the journey of persuasion*

In the prologue to his *Theogony* Hesiod had followed Homer (*Il.* B 484–493) in ascribing his knowledge of the 'true things' which he relates to the divine instruction of the Muses. Later, in the *Works and Days* (10, 661–662), he writes as one already in possession of knowledge. This claim to wisdom, which is implicit also in the title of σοφός ['wise'] or σοφιστής ['sage'] bestowed on the sages of the earlier sixth century (Diog. Laert. i, 22), Parmenides renounces. He follows Hesiod (*theog.* 27–28) in ascribing falsehood as well as truth to divine teaching, but departs from him in representing himself as travelling of his own volition to a goddess who is both the supreme power and the supreme intelligence in the universe (cf. nn. on frr. 1, 22; 12, 3; 13), and who directs him how to search for reality (fr. 3, 1 n.). He thus exhibits the same attitude as was later ascribed to Pythagoras, who was said to have disclaimed the title of σοφός, which he allowed only to God, in favour of that of φιλόσοφος ['lover of wisdom'] (Diog. Laert. i, 12, Cic. *Tusc.* v, 38 = Heracl. Pont. frr. 87–88 W; cf. Diog. Laert. viii, 8 (Sosicrates), Aët. i, 3, 8 = *FdV* i, 454, 35).

The whole of Parmenides' poem except the first twenty-three lines is cast in the form of an address to the poet by the divinity to whom he describes himself in the prologue as having travelled. This journey was identified by the Stoic writer, from whom Sextus Empiricus cited the prologue, with the theoretical study of philosophy (τὴν κατὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον λόγον θεωρίαν ['contemplation through philosophical reason'], t. 136). The correctness of this identification of the journey along the ὁδὸν πολύφημον δαίμονος ['the goddess' way of much discourse'] with the πειθοῦς κέλευθος ['journey of persuasion'] described by the goddess has commonly been taken for granted; nevertheless it flagrantly violates the form of the poem, for it assumes that Parmenides is told by the goddess what way he is to follow, after he has

actually traversed it. Such a confusion can neither be defended by the plea [12]
of archaism nor once admitted be interpreted away. It has however no existence in the poem. By his careful use of tenses in the prologue Parmenides distinguishes clearly between (1) being set on the road to the goddess by the mares (2) being drawn along this road and through the gates, to which it leads, by the mares under the guidance of the Heliades (3) hearing from the goddess about the possible ὁδοὶ διζήσιος ['ways of enquiry'] and about the landmarks on the 'real way' or 'journey of persuasion' which lies before him. Since δίζησις ['enquiry'] is philosophical enquiry, the journey to the gateway must necessarily be in some sense preliminary to the enquiry she describes, and Parmenides' assertion in line 3 that only understanding will take a human being to the goddess (ὁδὸν … ἣ κατὰ πάντ' ἄ<ν>τη<ν> φέρει εἰδότα φῶτα ['way … which carries through every stage to meet her face to face a man of understanding']) cannot allude to the information which she imparts to him. His journey to the goddess results in his discovery of the ways of enquiry, αἵπερ ὁδοὶ μοῦναι διζήσιός εἰσι νοῆσαι ['those ways [13]
of enquiry which are alone conceivable'] (fr. 3, 2). The recognition of these ways is expressly characterized as an act of knowing or conceiving (νοῆσαι), and it is to the first exercise of this faculty that the journey to the goddess is represented as leading. The gateway then is the gateway to the activity of νόος ['mind'] and, however the journey of the prologue is to be understood, it must represent an experience or activity which Parmenides believed had enabled him or would enable him to achieve this awareness and was preliminary to it.

(iii) *Cosmology and myth*

In both ancient and modern times the identification of Parmenides' journey to the goddess with the 'genuine way of enquiry' or 'journey of persuasion' has been most generally associated with the belief that the prologue is an allegory, in which the mares and the Heliades are consciously chosen symbols for aspects of the poet's individuality, the gates are the obstacles between men and the truth, and the regions of darkness and light are the conditions of ignorance and knowledge. The Stoic interpreter whom Sextus quotes went further, identifying the chariot-wheels as the ears, the daughters of the sun as the eyes, and Justice with her keys as the intellect with its sure apprehensions. These latter equations merit no discussion. But if the journey to the goddess is to be seen as other than the journey of persuasion, the validity of the former, more generally accepted equations must also be questioned. Of the main features in the narrative of the prologue: mares

[13] and chariot, the road to the goddess, the goddess herself, the Heliades, the regions of light and night and the gateway between them, all but the team and the Heliades recurred in the goddess's account of the sensible world in the last and longest part of the poem (*see* nn. on frr. 1, 11, 22; 12, 3); and even if the Heliades were not expressly mentioned there, it appears both from Plato and from the doxographic tradition (tt. 2, 47) that it contained allusions to numerous anthropomorphic divinities, so that the Heliades also are likely to have been imagined by Parmenides as on this plane equally real. If the 'Beliefs of Mortals' represents Parmenides' own analysis of the physical world (*see* note on fr. 8, 50–52), it will follow that he conceived his journey as having actually taken place within this world; it is a journey to a divinity and a region to which a literal and not merely an allegorical existence is ascribed on the phenomenal level.

How then is the journey itself to be understood? The question presents itself, since it cannot be supposed that Parmenides thought he had visited
[14] the *moenia mundi* ['walls of the world'] in the flesh and in a sensible or physical chariot, particularly as the present tense φέρουσιν ['carry'] in line 1 implies that he is still standing in the chariot as he writes, with a further journey yet before him, on which the mares are to continue to be his motive power. The journey before him can only be the πειθοῦς κέλευθος ['journey of persuasion']; since this journey is a figure for the methodical pursuit of theoretical philosophy (fr. 8, 1–6), it appears that Parmenides consciously identifies the mares with the force which impels and enables him to philosophise, i.e. with his θυμός ['spirit'], with which he associates them closely in lines 1–2. Here then, in the one feature of the prologue which is unlikely to have recurred later in the poem, is an element of allegory. Now the gateway between the regions of night and day, which Parmenides indicates that he has been allowed to pass through in his lifetime only by a special grace (fr. 1, 26, cf. Sect. (i) above), was described in the Beliefs of Mortals as that through which souls pass on their way from the human to the divine world (*see* nn. on frr. 1, 11; 12, 3). This suggests that Parmenides' representation of himself in the chariot is a symbol for his soul analogous to that in Plato's *Phaedrus* (246^{a} sq.), though his own team is not winged. Since there is evidence that Plato's distinction of the irrational and rational faculties of the soul derives from the early Pythagoreans (Posidonius, frr. 151; 165, 168 EK; cf. Burnet's n. on *Phaedo* $68^{c}2$), with whom Parmenides is known to have associated (tt. 95, 96, 119, 150, 154), and of whose doctrines there are clear traces in the fragments (1, 11; 8, 53; 12, 4–6 nn. and Section 4 below), it is natural to suppose also that, if the mares represent Parmenides' θυμός, the Heliades stand

in the narrative for his intellect, as the charioteer symbolises the intellect [14]
in Plato's myth. The symbolism however extends much further. There is reason to believe that the goddess of the prologue is a personification of the αἰθήρ ['aether'], i.e. of a ring of fire or light embracing and governing the physical universe, like the Necessity of the Pythagoreans (fr. 1, 22 n.); and a treatise ascribed to the rhetorician Menander of Laodicea asserts that the Olympian divinities in Parmenides' cosmology were intended 'physically', i.e. as personifications of physical substances or forces, and that Parmenides made this clear at length (tt. 151–152). Macrobius includes Parmenides among those who followed the Pythagorean teaching that the anthropomorphic representation of the gods is only a concession to human nature (t. 161). This evidence is late and perhaps derives from Porphyry. But the clothing of natural phenomena with human attributes occurs already in Homer (e.g. Hephaestus, Ares, Aphrodite) and much more deliberately in Hesiod, and it was in Italy in the sixth century that it received its first conscious study and extension in the Homeric interpretation of Theagenes of Rhegium (*FdV* i, 51). Parmenides will almost certainly have known his work and [15]
his own anthropomorphism may be influenced by it. It is however at least equally likely, in view of the Pythagorean affinities of his symbols for the soul and for the aether, and in view of Empedocles' similar identification of physical substances with Olympian gods (fr. 6 etc.), that he was writing in a tradition already established as Pythagorean (cf. Tannéry, *Science Hellène,* p. 243). In any event it is clear that Parmenides' description of himself as drawn by sagacious mares guided by solar divinities is of one piece with his later representation of the divine powers in the physical world; both are imaginative projections of phenomenal realities analysable ultimately in terms of the two Forms light and night.

It seems then that the prologue is intended as an account, symbolic in detail but cosmological in its setting, of a journey of the soul from earth to a remote region described as the home of the gods (fr. 1, 25). For the continuance of his journey within the divine world, but also for his future guidance in human life (fr. 8, 61), the goddess he encounters provides him with the instruction which constitutes the rest of the poem. His further journey, along the 'real way' in the region of light, is expressly equated with the assertion of the proposition ὡς ἔστιν ['that it is'] and the consideration of its logical consequences: to discover by argument the character of τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] is identical with moving within the region of light, i.e. within the circle of the αἰθήρ ['aether'], which is the goddess herself. This is not incompatible with the cosmological role of the αἰθήρ; there is no reason to suppose that Parmenides

[15] saw more difficulty in the correlation of mental with spatial movement than Plato saw in correlating the soul's contemplation of reality with the revolution imparted to it by the motion of the heaven (*Phaedr.* 247[a] sq.). With this dual treatment of the 'journey of persuasion' in mind we may go on to ask what psychological process corresponded to or effected the translation of his soul from earth to the gates of heaven.

An essential feature of this journey is that it is an abandonment with divine assistance of earth and of normal human life, for the goddess describes the road as 'far removed from the path of men' (line 27). The qualification for making the journey is an understanding not possessed by most human beings (frr. 1, 3; 5, 4 sq.), which is anterior to the formulation of the most elementary philosophical principle ὅπως ἐστίν τε καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστι μὴ εἶναι ['that a thing is and that it is not for not being'] (fr. 3, 3). This preliminary understanding is shown by comparison of fr. 1, 3 with fr. 5, 4 to be identifiable with the rejection of the reality of sensible objects and an aversion from the regular concerns and pleasures of human life. Now such an aversion was characteristic of the profession of the Pythagorean order; and the Pythagorean life was in fact

[16] known as an ὁδός ['way']: cf. Plat. *resp.* x, 600[b] Πυθαγόρας τε διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτῳ (sc. τῷ ὁδόν τινα βίου παραδοῦναι) ἠγαπήθη καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι, ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πυθαγόρειον τρόπον ἐπονομάζοντες τοῦ βίου διαφανεῖς πῃ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ['Pythagoras was particularly admired for this (sc. for passing on a certain way of life) and even now his followers are easily recognised from others for what they call the Pythagorean manner of life']. *Phaedo* 66[b] (τοὺς γνησίως φιλοσόφους) πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιαῦτα ἄττα λέγειν, ὅτι κινδυνεύει τοι ὥσπερ ἀτραπός τις ἐκφέρειν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ σκέψει, ὅτι, ἕως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν καὶ συμπεφυρμένη ᾖ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ μετὰ τοιούτου κακοῦ, οὐ μή ποτε κτησώμεθα ἱκανῶς οὗ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν · φαμὲν δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ἀληθές … καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ζῶμεν, οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐγγυτάτω ἐσόμεθα τοῦ εἰδέναι, ἐὰν ὅτι μάλιστα μηδὲν ὁμιλῶμεν τῷ σώματι … ἀλλὰ καθαρεύωμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κτλ. ['(sc. genuine philosophers) say something like to this to one another, that there may indeed be a kind of path which can lead us out (sc. of our confused state), one that involves reason and the thought that as long as we possess a body and that our soul is blended together with such an evil thing we will never adequately obtain what we desire—namely, the truth … and during our lifetime it seems that we will be nearest to having knowledge if we have as little contact with the body as possible … and are purified from it']. Olympiod. in *Phaed.* p. 30, 25 Norvin, εἶτα καί φησιν ὅτι ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἰτέον, οὐ τὴν λεωφόρον, τούτεστι καθαρτικῶς ζητέον · ἀτραπὸς γὰρ ἡ ὁδός, τούτεστιν ἡ κάθαρσις, ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ἄγουσα. ['and

then he goes on to say that we must follow this track and not the highway, [16]
that is, we must live a purified life; for the way, namely, purification, that leads to contemplation is the track'] Plato's Pythagoreanizing account of the philosophic life in *Phaedo* 64[a]–69[e] accords closely with Parmenides' account of the journey to the goddess so understood. Not only does Plato's attribution to 'genuine philosophers' of the sentiment κινδυνεύει τοι ὥσπερ ἀτραπός τις ἐκφέρειν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ λόγου ['there may indeed be a kind of path which can lead us out, one that involves reason'] serve to elucidate Parmenides' phrase 'the way accompanied by much discussion, which carries through every stage straight onwards a man of understanding' (fr. 1, 2–3) but other phrases also can be aptly applied to the context of Parmenides' journey, e.g. σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτῷ ταῦτα δόξει, μηδαμοῦ ἄλλοθι καθαρῶς ἐντεύξεσθαι φρονήσει ἢ ἐκεῖ ['for he will strongly believe that he will encounter knowledge nowhere else but there'] (68[b]), ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει ['a person who arrives there purified and initiated will dwell with the gods'] (69[c]); these last phrases allude to the soul's condition after death, but the Pythagorean asceticism was conceived as the study ἀποθνήσκειν τε καὶ τεθνάναι ['dying and being dead'] (*Phaedo* 64[a], 67[e]), and Parmenides himself implies that the journey to the goddess is an anticipation of death (fr. 1, 26 n.). This journey then is simply the Pythagorean κάθαρσις ['purification'], which Plato identifies as the philosopher's study to free the soul from the body and as proceeding by a road which is the sole avenue in human life to the discovery of reality and life with the gods.

This account of Parmenides' journeys leaves the prologue with a dual character, at once literal and symbolic, for the topography of the regions of light and darkness, alluded to there but analysed in detail in the concluding section of the poem, cannot represent a different temporal reality. In genuine allegory the figurative dress can be removed and the authentic sense be expressed in other terms. Such is the case with Parmenides' image of the soul itself, but not with the soul's journeys, which have not only a psychological but also an irreducibly cosmic sense. This treatment of spatial realities as at once objective and symbolic derives however directly from Parmenides' view of the physical world in its entirety, including the goddess and every other divinity, himself and every human soul, as products of the Forms light and dark, which are themselves not separate substances [17]
but only the elements of human experience and symbols or images of Being (fr. 8, 34–41, 53 nn.). In this view the physical universe exists only phenomenally, as an approximation, constructed on dualist principles, to the one reality, the goddess's own analysis of which is one made by a phenomenal

[17] and therefore non-substantial power. Since physical objects have no objectivity save in personal acceptance and imagination, it was not difficult for Parmenides to conflate psychological with spatial events and to combine cosmology and symbol with a freedom which is paralleled only in Plato, who followed him in regarding the natural world as an image, though not in denying it any being whatsoever. Inasmuch as Parmenides' narrative cannot be simply divested of its figurative expression, its character is most properly considered not as allegorical but as symbolical and mythical.

A further question remains, whether the prologue should be read as an account of a revelation or whether its imagery is consciously contrived. It is true that the symbolic elements in the narrative give an impression of contrivance and they may derive in some measure, as Diels argued that they do entirely (*PL* 11–22), from apocalyptic poems already current in Pythagorean circles. The elements are however fused into a poetic unity which appeals to the imagination as well as to the intellect, and it is unlikely that Parmenides would have published his work in verse at all, if it were not the report of the personal encounter it describes with the supreme intelligence in the phenomenal world. It is reasonable to suppose that his first conception of what may be characterised as a metaphysical as opposed to a physical monism was borne in on him with a visionary force. Here however a distinction must be drawn. The prologue may and probably should be read as an account of the way in which the poet at some moment actually experienced his past pursuit of the philosophic life and his first achievement of a state of philosophic illumination. It does no more however than describe the approach to νόος ['mind'], and it is the exercise of this faculty, i.e. the intellectual contemplation of Being (cf. fr. 6), which must be thought of as constituting for him the most authentic visionary experience.

4. PARMENIDES' CRITICISM OF EARLIER PHILOSOPHERS

Both Aristotle and Theophrastus asserted that Parmenides was said to have been Xenophanes' pupil (tt. 26, 41). It seems likely that this report is based only on Plato's observation (t. 11) that 'Eleatic monism began with Xenophanes and still earlier', which alluded to philosophical rather than
[18] historical affiliations. Parmenides may well have known Xenophanes in the latter's old age, but his connections were with the Pythagoreans, and it is unlikely that he learned more from Xenophanes than can still be discerned in the surviving writings of both, which is enough to constitute the basis of Plato's remark. Parmenides' argument for the stillness, invariability and

completeness of Being is expressed in language which clearly derives from [18]
Xenophanes' account of God (*see* commentary on fr. 8, 29–33). Xenophanes however claimed for his theology no higher certainty than that of belief founded on moral or religious fitness, and denied that human beings can have knowledge of the divine. Parmenides sought to counter his scepticism by considering the nature of assertion and by showing that the characteristics which Xenophanes ascribed conjecturally to God must, together with others, be asserted of a transcendent subject not 'probably' but necessarily and that, so far from human beings having no knowledge but only belief about such a reality, it was the only subject of which knowledge was possible. Parmenides' affirmation of the possibility of human knowledge enabled him to reformulate in turn the criterion of right belief as that which was 'like the truth' in a different sense from that envisaged by Xenophanes (*see* nn. on frr. 1, 30; 8, 60).

Parmenides' awareness of Xenophanes' theology and his radical revision of it can be documented from the surviving fragments. His debt to and criticism of the Ionian scientists is expressed more directly, as Simplicius recognised (t. 206), by himself. In fr. 5 he takes to task those philosophers who believe in a reality about which (lines 7–9) no unequivocal and necessarily true assertions can be made: they are without the understanding of the insufficiency of the sensible world which might have set them on the road to the goddess (nn. on frr. 1, 3; 5, 4–6) and they are thereby precluded from the knowledge which Parmenides vindicates for human beings in his polemic against Xenophanes. That this criticism of the 'people without judgement' is not aimed primarily at the man in the street is indicated by the designation of its target in fr. 5, 4 as a way of enquiry, and confirmed by its more explicit repetition in fr. 8, 54 as concerned with those who assume the reality of a single 'Form' or physical substance. Parmenides objects that any sensible substance would both be and not be itself in its transformations (*see* n. on fr. 5, 7–9). His criticism is directed at all philosophers who believe in a sensible reality and who suppose that one thing can change into another, but especially at Anaximenes and Heraclitus, whose theory that the primary substance is transformed by condensation and rarefaction he alludes to in fr. 6. Only Anaximander escapes it, since the Infinite, which in his theory constitutes the ἀρχή ['principle'], is not envisaged as the substance of other things but as radically other than they are, and could [19]
not be termed a 'Form' (μορφή). Parmenides' criticism of Anaximander is to be found especially in his argument (fr. 8, 26–33) that τὸ ἐόν ['Being] is limited or determinate, for Anaximander had given explicit reasons for

[19] conceiving the ἀρχή ['principle'] as ἄπειρον ['unlimited'] (*FdV* 12A15–16). In his cosmology he seems to have accepted Anaximander's revolutionary hypothesis of the spherical form of the physical universe (*see* n. on fr. 9, 5 and cf. t. 41). In so doing he placed himself in the mainstream of scientific astronomy, which had been deserted not only by Xenophanes but also by both Anaximenes and Heraclitus.

It is possible that in his adoption of Anaximander's spherical astronomy Parmenides was preceded by Pythagoras. It is certain in any case that he was deeply influenced both by Pythagorean theory and by the Pythagorean way of life. The latter is alluded to in the chariot-journey of the prologue, in the suggestion that the physical world is the true Tartarus, in the characterisation of birth as στυγερός ['hateful'] and perhaps in his representation of himself as learner rather than teacher (*see* Section 3 (ii) above and notes on frr. 1, 11; 8, 27–28; 12, 4–6); the former appears in his assertion that the real is determinate, in his physical dualism and perhaps in his notion that the physical universe is governed by an embracing ring of light (*see* nn. on frr. 8, 26–41; 12, 3). Implicit criticism of Pythagorean notions is perhaps to be found in his correlation of male with cold and female with warm (fr. 12, 3 n.) and in his argument about the unreality of empty space (introductory n. to fr. 7) and of time (fr. 8, 36–38 n.).

5. PARMENIDES' INVESTIGATION OF THE NATURE OF BEING

Parmenides' poem is dominated by his conviction that human beings can attain knowledge of reality or understanding (νόος). This faith is expressed in the apocalyptic form of the poem, which at the same time offers an analysis of its presuppositions, and which may be regarded as an attempt to answer the questions, 'what must reality be, if it is knowable by the human mind, and what is the nature of human experience?'

The ontological part of the work comprises an account of two intellectually conceivable ways of discovering reality (ἀληθείη), followed by a summary analysis of its character as revealed by pursuing the only way allowed to be genuine. The ways are defined respectively by the formulae 'is and is not for not being', and 'is not and must needs not be', and the recognition that they are mutually exclusive and exhaustive is represented (in opposition to the evidence of the senses) as itself constituting the only criterion (ἔλεγχον, ['test'] fr. 7, 5) for determining what is real: nothing is to be so considered,
[20] unless it either is intrinsically something or of necessity is not anything.

Since the second way is argued to be concerned with nothing and to lead nowhere, reality is to be identified by pursuing the first, i.e. by asking what can and must be made the subject of an unconditional 'is'. [20]

Although Parmenides defines his conception of philosophy in terms of the expressions 'is' and 'is not', he gives no explicit indication of the sense which he conceives these expressions to bear. Modern exegesis has in consequence saddled him with, most generally, an existential understanding of the verb, or else with an archaic failure to distinguish between its existential and copulative uses. It is better to recognise that his approach is purely formal or dialectical, i.e. that, so far from positing any given sense of the verb, he is concerned to determine what sense attaches to it, given its essential role in 'asserting and thinking'. In the prologue and in the cosmological part of the poem he uses the verb 'to be' either with an adverbial qualification or with a further predicate (e.g. frr. 1, 32; 8, 39, 57; 20, 1), but in defining 'the only ways of enquiry which can be thought' (fr. 3, 2), he isolates the expressions 'is' and 'is not' deliberately both from any determinate subject and from any further completion. In so doing he assigns to them no restricted sense but treats them as the marks of 'asserting and thinking', with the possibility and presuppositions of which he is concerned throughout (cf. fr. 3, 8 n.). His aim in defining the 'genuine way of enquiry' as the expression 'is' is to discover (i) what, if anything, can be said and thought 'to be' something without the possibility of denial that it is that thing, and (ii) what this subject can further be said 'to be', i.e. what further predicates can be asserted of it. He answers these questions by converting the verb 'is' to the noun-expression 'Being' (ἐόν) and then arguing for the nature of what this name must denote. The 'is' which constitutes the definition of the way is thus reformulated as the copula with 'Being' as its subject: 'Being is ungenerated and imperishable, complete, unique, unvarying' etc. (fr. 8, 3–5). Initially the nature and number of 'Being', like the sense of 'is', remain wholly undetermined except as what 'is and is not for not being'. Its further determination, culminating in its characterisation as non-physical, is argued in the account in fr. 8 of the many landmarks or monuments on the authentic way of enquiry, i.e. of the terms which can be asserted of the subject, and the question arises, 'how does Parmenides envisage the relation between the subject, 'Being', and the terms joined with it by the copula?'

Among the landmarks on the authentic way are the unity or indivisibility of Being and its uniqueness. If what is is one and unique, Parmenides cannot well suppose that the terms which he predicates of it are the names of distinct attributes, which would have their own being and so be ἐόντα ['Beings']. [21]

[21] He must therefore regard them as alternative names of Being. This was Plato's understanding of his meaning (cf. Sections 7 and 8 below), which is confirmed by Eudemus' assertion that it was Plato himself who first introduced two senses of the verb 'to be' by discriminating between its substantial and attributive uses (cf. Sect. 8). It is confirmed also by the Megarian view of predication as identification (cf. Sect. 6 *ad fin.*), for the Megarians were regarded as latterday Eleatics (tt. 102, 132). Aristotle likewise insists (tt. 19, 21, 27) that Parmenides ascribed to 'being' only a single sense, whence he was led to suppose that what is other than Being itself has no being at all. Thus both the text and the Platonic and Peripatetic exegesis of it indicate that Parmenides' copulative use of 'is' in his account of the authentic way signifies an identity which is the direct expression of the perfect identity of substantial Being.

If this interpretation of it is correct, Parmenides' argument exemplifies that employment of undefined terms in order to establish their denotation, which Plato ironically calls 'impure dialectic', while implying simultaneously that it is what distinguishes dialectic from 'antilogic' (*Tht.* 196$^{d\text{-}e}$). In Parmenides' initial dichotomy between being and not being no assumption is made either about the meaning and proper use of 'is', except that it indicates assertion, or as to what things can be said to be anything. The sense of the verb is then elucidated through the account of the substantive, indivisible Being, to which the use of the verb in assertions offers human beings their only approach, and which is exhibited as both the sole reality and the ground of the (strictly unreal) phenomenon of predication. In Parmenides' ontology the use of the copula in true assertions made about Being on the authentic way, as well as the definition of the way itself, is no less phenomenal in status than its use in empirical assertions, from which the first use differs in affording a way to the apprehension of the one reality. The paradox of Parmenides' philosophy, in which human beings and human experience are nothing, yet capable of a beatific illumination, was grasped and perfectly expressed by Pindar in his valedictory verses (cf. fr. 17, 1 n.):

> ἐπάμεροι · τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὔ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
> ἄνθρωποι · ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ,
> λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστι ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰών.
>
> ['Creatures of a day, what is anyone? What is he not? A dream of a shadow—that is what men are; but when god-given splendor comes a brillant light shines on men, and a gentle life'].
>
> *Pyth.* 8, 95–97.

6. PARMENIDES' INFLUENCE ON PHILOSOPHY IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. [22]

The philosophical effect of the circulation of Parmenides' poem in the Greek world, however this was brought about, was both immediate and decisive. This may be deduced with certainty from the attempts to evade his conclusions which are apparent not only in the systems of Empedocles, Anaxagoras and the atomists, but also in the writings and profession of Protagoras.

The ontological and cosmological speculations of the middle of the fifth century may be classified into those which sought to re-establish the reality of the sensible world in the face of Parmenides' arguments by constructing it out of an infinite plurality of non-sensible 'forms' (ἰδέαι), 'shapes' (ῥυσμοί), or 'seeds' (σπέρματα), each possessed of some of the characters which Parmenides had argued must belong to any real substance, and that of Empedocles, who constructed it from the combinations of four sensible 'roots' (ῥιζώματα) or elements. Empedocles accepted Parmenides' case against monism in physics and his identification of coming-to-be and perishing with the combination and separation of unchanging constituents (fr. 8, 54 n.), but he differed from him in giving these elements a real or substantial being (αὐτὰ γάρ ἐστιν ταῦτα ['for just these things are'], fr. 21, 13) and in envisaging the unity of reality only as a recurrent phase in the history of the world. In the phase of cosmic unity the four elements were indistinguishably combined into the homogeneous sphere which he identified as the supreme divinity, while sensible substances were formed from the elements during the world's approaches to and recessions from this state.

Whereas Empedocles thus preserved the uniqueness of Parmenides' One Being at the expense of its timelessness, Leucippus and Anaxagoras maintained it as unchanging by multiplying it indefinitely. According to the doxographic tradition (*FdV* 67A1; 4; 10) Leucippus was a pupil of Zeno, and the direct derivation of atomism from Eleaticism is attested by Theophrastus (t. 43). Leucippus sought to construct a real physical world, which was intellectually credible, by maintaining the existence of empty space, which Parmenides had denied, and by placing within it an infinite plurality of Parmenidean units, the differing positions and arrangements of which constituted sensible bodies. He admitted that empty space was 'Not-being' (μὴ ὄν) but expressly contradicted Parmenides' principle that this could not also 'be'. Each of the indivisible 'figures' (ἄτομοι, ? sc. ἰδέαι) or 'atoms' he described as eternally 'full' and indivisible like Parmenides' ἐόν ['Being'], from which however they differed in having magnitude, in moving ceaselessly in the void and in being infinite in number and infinitely [23] various in form (Theophrastus, ib.).

[23] Unlike Leucippus, Anaxagoras accepted Parmenides' thesis that there can be no empty space and that the physical world is 'full'. Citing Parmenides' principle that what is cannot not be, he concluded from it that there can be no least magnitude (οὔτε γὰρ τοῦ σμικροῦ ἐστι τό γε ἐλάχιστον ἀλλ' ἔλασσον ἀεί, τὸ γὰρ ἐὸν οὐκ ἔστι τὸ μὴ οὐκ εἶναι κτλ. ['for of the small there is no smallest, but always a smaller, for what-is cannot not be' etc.], fr. 3) and consequently no substance with a spatially separate existence (ὅτε τοὐλάχιστον μὴ ἔστιν εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο χωρισθῆναι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι κτλ. ['since there cannot be a smallest, nothing can be separated or come to be by itself'], fr. 6). He therefore sought to establish the reality of sensible substances by positing that of a variety of self-identical χρήματα ['things'], each existing as an infinite plurality of infinitely small 'seeds' (σπέρματα), all of which were eternally 'together' (ὁμοῦ), i.e. were incapable both in practice and in principle of spatial isolation from each other. Like Empedocles and the atomists, he accepted Parmenides' analysis of becoming and perishing as the aggregation and separation of unchanging substances, but unlike the atomists he envisaged these 'seeds' as identical in kind with substances which we perceive. 'How', he asked in accordance with Parmenides' argument that what is must be ungenerated, 'could hair come from not-hair and flesh from not-flesh?' (fr. 10). The hair and flesh we know through the senses must therefore come from the concrescence of infinitesimal 'seeds' of hair and flesh, and disappear through their dispersal, and similarly with other substances of which the macroscopic structure is uniform or 'homoeomerous'. Among these real χρήματα, the inextricable conglomeration of which corresponds to the indivisible unity of Parmenides' Being (ἀλλ' ὅπωσπερ ἀρχήν, εἶναι καὶ νῦν πάντα ὁμοῦ ['but as in the beginning now too all things are together'], Anaxag. fr. 6; ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν ['since it is now all together'], Parm. fr. 8, 5), 'aether' and 'air' were dominant (fr. 1). These were opposite in character and, like Parmenides' pair 'light' and 'night', with which they are identical, the source of the oppositions in the sensible world. Only mind (νοῦς) had the property, which Parmenides attributed to Being, of being μόνος αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ ['alone and by itself'] and πᾶς ὅμοιος ['all … alike'] (fr. 12), i.e. of complete separation from all else. The reality of other things rested not on their separability but on their distinguishability in kind, i.e. on their having the basic attribute of determinacy which Parmenides ascribed to τὸ ἐόν; they could therefore be described as ἐόντα χρήματα ['things that are'] (fr. 17).

Mid-fifth century science was concerned essentially to apply Parmenides' analysis of the nature of Being to the physical universe or to physical substances or their constituents; the characters asserted of Being in Parmenides'

poem (ungenerated and indestructible, whole, unique, unmoving, determi- [23]
nate, non-temporal, inseparable, one, indivisible) are consequently, together [24]
with their opposites, its central topics. The impact of Parmenides' thought is shown perhaps most clearly, however, in its appearance at the same time in the writings of Protagoras, who rejected the possibility of scientific and philosophical knowledge entirely and sought to eliminate both from education (Plato, *Protag.* 318^{e}). Protagoras claimed (ib. 317^{b}) the traditional pre-Pythagorean designation of 'sage' (σοφιστής), thereby distinguishing himself from those who followed Pythagoras in ascribing wisdom to God and only 'philosophy' or the love of wisdom to human beings (cf. Section 3 (ii) above). Porphyry asserted (t. 149) that he argued expressly against Eleatic monism. This is confirmed by the double title of his most famous book and by the scanty remains of this and other works. In the collocation Ἀλήθεια ἢ καταβάλλοντες ['Truth or The Throwers'] (cf. p. 226[7]) Protagoras announces both his rejection of Parmenides' transcendental reality (*see* n. on fr. 1, 29) and his acceptance of Parmenides' pragmatic justification of his physics (fr. 8, 61 n.). Protagoras' agnosticism with regard to the being or not-being of the gods (fr. 1) is directed against Parmenides' 'journey of persuasion' and argument that only the eternal is knowable. Equally his principle that two opposite propositions can be asserted of every subject (fr. 6^{a}), neither of which is truer though one may be more valid than the other, derives immediately from Parmenides' dualist analysis of the physical world, as his elevation of the study of language and convention over that of reality flows from Parmenides' view that physical substances have no objectivity outside of human experience.

Of those who accepted Parmenides' philosophy, who were mentioned by Democritus as conspicuous in his day (Diog. Laert. ix, 42), only Zeno of Elea and Melissus of Samos are known by name. While Protagoras gave the name of 'sophist' a new sense by exploiting Parmenides' thesis that the analysis of human experience should be profitable but could not be true, Zeno came to be regarded as the exemplar in practical life of Parmenides' transcendental philosophy: 'having failed in his attack on the tyrant Demylus he preserved the *logos* of Parmenides intact like fine gold in the fire and demonstrated in act that a great man fears nothing but shame, and only children, weak women and men with effeminate souls are afraid of pain' (t. 117). The moral influence of Parmenides' teaching alluded to here by Plutarch appears again in his reputation as a legislator and exemplar of the Pythagorean life (cf. Sect. 10).

7. The cross-reference was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[24] In his treatise Zeno was concerned, according to Plato, exclusively with the sensible world ('the many'). Both he and Parmenides are represented by Plato (*Parm.* 128[c-e], 135[e]) as apologizing for this and explaining that the book was conceived as a contribution less to philosophy than to a philosophical
[25] debate, and was meant to refute those who argued that Parmenides' monism was self-contradictory, by proving that their belief in the reality of sensibles, if properly examined, led to more contradictions. Some of Zeno's arguments derive from Parmenides' poem (*see* Appendix); others are likely to have been common ground between him and his master in oral discussion (cf. the plural διήλθετε ['you (pl.) went through'], *Parm.* 130[a]1). There is no good evidence that Zeno wrote more than the book which Plato says (*Parm.* 128[d]) was published without his consent in his youth, i.e. probably c. 465 B.C., or that he contributed positively to the Eleatic analysis of τὸ ἐόν ['Being'].

The relation to Parmenides of Melissus (whom Aristotle classes with Xenophanes as μικρὸν ἀγροικότερος ['a bit crude'], *metaph.* A5, 986[b]26) is much less close, since 'he failed to preserve his master's doctrine intact' (Aëtius, *FdV* 30A9). While he accepted Parmenides' criticism of the sensible world and his arguments for the unity, changelessness, immobility, indivisibility and 'fullness' of reality, he refused to follow him in regarding it as non-spatial and non-temporal and conceived of it as, though non-bodily, both extended and infinite. His deduction of the unity of Being from its infinity (frr. 5 and 6) shows him, as Aristotle remarks (t. 26), as concerned rather with the unity characteristic of the material of things, than, like Parmenides, with that belonging to a Form.

Of the later professed followers of Parmenides some, perhaps most, are characterized by Plato as περὶ τὰς ἔριδας ἐσπουδακότων ['specialized in disputation'] (*soph.* 216[b]); with these 'eristics', whose character is further defined in 225[d], he contrasts 'the more moderate character' of the Eleatic visitor to Athens whom he invests with the attributes of the genuine philosopher and in whose mouth he puts his own criticism of Parmenides. In a tradition cited by Cicero and Diogenes Laertius (tt. 102, 139) Socrates' associate Euclides of Megara was reckoned a follower of Parmenides. This tradition is perhaps that of the New Academy (K. Döring, *Die Megariker,* p. 83 n. 4), but it is possible that Plato's allusion in the phrase just cited is to Euclides and his friends, since he speaks as if Parmenides' adherents in Elea itself belonged only to the past (ib. 217[a-b]). Parmenides' influence on Euclides is discernible not only in his passion for argument (ἐριδάντεω Εὐκλείδεω, Μεγαρεῦσιν ὃς ἔμβαλε λύσσαν ἐρισμοῦ ['Euclides the disputatious, who infected the Megarians with a madness for disputation'], Timon fr. 28D) but in his ascription to the Good,

reported by Cicero in the same sentence, of the Eleatic predicates of Being, [25]
'unum et simile et idem semper' ['one and alike and always the same']. That Euclides thought of the Good in terms of the Eleatic ἐόν ['Being'] is implied also in the report of Diogenes Laertius that 'he said that the Good was one and was called by many names, sometimes Wisdom, sometimes God, at other times Mind and so on, while he denied any being to what is opposite to the Good' (ii, 106, cf. vii, 161 = frr. 24–25 Döring); for Parmenides regarded [26]
Being as a unity with many names and no contrary (cf. Sections 5 and 8). Diogenes' statement that Euclides denied being to what was antithetical to the Good (τὰ δ' ἀντικείμενα τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνῄρει μὴ εἶναι φάσκων ['he eliminated what is antithetical to the Good, declaring that it is not']) implies that he identified the one Good with Being, and Aristocles expressly ascribes to the Megarians an acceptance of Eleatic monism (t. 132). Aristocles' evidence has been discounted as a doxographic fiction, but the treatment of predication as identification by Stilpo, the third head of the School (Plut. *adv. Colot.* 22–23= fr. 197 Döring), is a clear indication of a persisting direct Eleatic tradition, which discovered insuperable difficulties not only in the articulation of the sensible world but in that of the Platonic Forms.

7. PARMENIDES' INFLUENCE ON THE THEORY OF FORMS

Aristotle implies, when he characterises Parmenides' ἐόν as αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν ['Being itself'] (tt. 21 *ad fin.*, 27), that, in spite of being no universal, it is in effect a Platonic Form. It is conspicuous however that there is no explicit allusion to Parmenides' ontology in Plato's dialogues until he himself is made the central figure in that which bears his name and which forms the first part of what, in the absence of the unwritten *Philosopher,* may be called an Eleatic tetralogy. The *Sophist* and *Statesman* constitute a dramatic sequel to the *Theaetetus,* which (like the *Sophist*) alludes to the meeting between Socrates and Parmenides in the *Parmenides* (tt. 7, 8). Such cross-references suggest that the varying mis-en-scène of the four dialogues is intended as significant. Two questions present themselves: (i) why does Plato place the formulation of the theory of Forms, as he had outlined it in earlier dialogues beginning with the *Phaedo,* in the mouth of the young Socrates in conversation with Parmenides and Zeno? (ii) why do the *Sophist* and *Statesman* depose Socrates from the central place given him in all earlier dialogues except the *Parmenides* (unless the *Timaeus* is also earlier) in favour of a professed but unorthodox Eleatic? In considering these questions it must

[26] be borne in mind that Plato is always concerned more with philosophical than with historical affiliations.

(i) It seems clear that the least that can be intended by the dramatic setting of the *Parmenides* with its quotation (130^{e}5–6) from the text of the *Phaedo* (102^{b}), where also the origination of the theory of Forms is placed in a mid-fifth century context, is that the theory was a pluralist development of Parmenides' monism, differing from the physical systems outlined in Section 5 above in being sufficiently Eleatic in kind to be proposed to Parmenides and Zeno
[27] themselves. This is confirmed by Socrates' formulation of the theory. He criticises Zeno's thesis that τὰ ὄντα ['things that are'] cannot be many, on the ground that, though sensible individuals are susceptible, as Zeno had argued, of opposite predicates, these predicates themselves, if they are treated as subjects, can be seen to be the names of individual 'Forms', each of which can be defined (135$^{a\text{-}c}$), since each is unambiguously and invariably itself, as no sensible is, and cannot be said to be its opposite (129$^{b\text{-}c}$). The range which Socrates postulates of such 'intelligibles' (λογισμῷ λαμβανομένοις, 130^{a}2, cf. 135^{e}3) comprises the general terms predicated of sensibles in Zeno's book and other pairs of opposites, each of which is regarded as the 'cause' of its variable instances' being so characterized. It is indicated that it may be possible to treat all general terms in the same way and, though it is not expressly stated, it is clear that the 'being' which Socrates attributes to the Forms is Eleatic in the sense that each is regarded as having all the characters which Parmenides had argued to belong to τὸ ἐόν ['Being']. It is consequently not surprising that, although there is no allusion to Parmenides either in the formulation of the theory in the *Phaedo* or in its elaboration in the middle books of the *Republic,* the latter is sometimes expressed in language which derives unmistakably from him (cf. n. on fr. 5, 7–9). It should be observed that in the *Parmenides,* although Plato represents the theory as having been formulated independently of Zeno's criticism of phenomena, Socrates is assumed to be already familiar with Parmenides' poem (128^{a}), and that the account in the *Phaedo* of the genesis of the theory in Socrates' abandonment of his attempt to discover 'causes' (τὰς αἰτίας) or reality (τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν ['the reality of things that are']) among sensibles in favour of looking for them ἐν λόγοις ['in discussions'] (99^{e}l-100^{a}2, cf. *Parm.* 130^{b}l) is in effect a retreat from Anaxagoras to Parmenides, even though the latter is nowhere named. The method of using λόγοι ['discussions'] which Socrates here associates with the theory (99^{e}-100^{b}, 101$^{d\text{-}e}$) is equally clearly a development of that used by Zeno, who argued in each section of his book: 'if what is is many, then each thing must be both x and not-x; but x cannot be not-x; therefore what is is not

many' (*Parm.* 127^{e}). This method derives from Parmenides (cf. fr. 8, 19–20) [27]
and is identical with an essential part of that ascribed to Socrates in *Phaedo* 100^{a} and 101^{d}, which consists in making a hypothesis and positing as true what follows from it and as false that of which the contradictory follows from it, but in rejecting the hypothesis if it leads to two contradictory results (cf. Robinson, *Plato's Earlier Dialectic,* 2nd edition, 133–134).

Plato's enunciation of the theory of Forms thus represents it, even though not explicitly, as thoroughly Eleatic in character. The departure which Socrates is shown as making from Eleaticism lies in his objection to Zeno's assumption that terms asserted truly of a subject are identical with it, e.g. [28]
that things that are said to be like are what like is, and therefore cannot be said to be unlike (*Parm.* 127^{e}). Parmenides himself had regarded the terms asserted either of Being or of the two sensible Forms light and night as alternative names of their subjects (cf. Sections 5 and 8 and fr. 8, 55–56 n.). Socrates points out (128^{e}-130^{a}) that the proposition 'the unlikes cannot be like' is ambiguous, since 'the unlikes' may refer either to ὅ ἐστιν ἀνόμοιον ['that which is unlike'] (129^{a}2), which he also names ἀνομοιότης ['unlikeness'] (^{a}6) and αὐτὰ τὰ ἀνόμοια ['the unlikes themselves'] (^{b}1-2), or to things with unlikeness as an attribute; and similarly with the subjects 'the likes', 'the many', 'the one', etc. This is to distinguish—and for the first time in the history of philosophy—the attributive from the Eleatic identifying sense of the verb 'to be'. At the same time Socrates maintains Parmenides' and Zeno's use of the principle of contradiction as a test of being: where Zeno had followed Parmenides in insisting that nothing can be both x and not-x, Socrates replies that, if 'to be' may express simply the subject's participation in x itself, the subject may in this sense be both x and not-x without contradiction, while the being, in the strict sense, of x is guaranteed by the impossibility of its being not-x. Socrates thus agrees with both Zeno and Parmenides in denying to particulars the status of genuine ὄντα. He accepts Parmenides' analysis of the nature of being, only transferring its applicability from the one substance deduced by him from the verb 'is' (cf. n. on fr. 5, 1), so as to treat as names of separate substances the general terms which complement the verb. At the same time by maintaining that sensibles 'partake of' Forms he endows the former with an ontological status which Parmenides and Zeno had denied them.

(ii) The *Sophist* contains a systematic review (242^{c}-250^{e}) of earlier ontologies, which includes, besides Plato's criticism of Parmenides' monism, which is discussed in Section 8 below, a critique of a pluralist theory ascribed to 'the friends of the Forms' (248^{a} sq.). This theory appears to be

[28] indistinguishable from that ascribed to Socrates in the *Phaedo* and *Republic.* Its discussion leads to a new development in the theory, and this in turn to the modification of the view of 'not-being' which Plato indicates (243[b]) he had earlier accepted, and which is evidently that of Parmenides. It is noteworthy that Plato in this argument expressly classifies the theory of Forms with Parmenides' ontology and finds fault with both as λεγόντων τὸ πᾶν ἑστηκός ['saying that everything is at rest'] (249[c]). This is the most explicit admission in the dialogues of the close relation between the theory of Forms and Eleaticism. Plato's formal critique of Parmenides (244[b]-245[e]) is directed against his monism, his joint criticism of the friends of the Forms and Parmenides against the assumption that τὸ παντελῶς ὄν ['that which wholly is'] or τὸ ὄν τε καὶ τὸ πᾶν is ἀκίνητον ἑστός ['fixedly established as unmoving']. It is this critique of being and not being which justifies the
[29] central place given in the *Sophist* to a dissident Eleatic. The visitor from Elea is represented as the embodiment of the genuine philosopher and so as one who is 'dedicated always through arguments to the Form of Being' (τῇ τοῦ ὄντος ἀεὶ διὰ λογισμῶν προσκείμενος ἰδέᾳ, 254[a]). In making this the ultimate concern of dialectic Plato shows himself still, as earlier in the *Phaedo* and *Republic,* a direct if unorthodox successor to Parmenides, but as now concerned to criticise the concept of which he had originally accepted the essential features of Parmenides' analysis.

8. THE CRITICISM OF PARMENIDES' MONISM IN THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Plato's criticism in the *Sophist* of the immobility of Parmenides' ἐόν is a criticism primarily of the original theory of Forms. It is preceded by a direct criticism of Parmenides' philosophy, which may be regarded as a counterpart to Parmenides' criticism of the theory of Forms in the first part of the dialogue which bears his name. In the *Parmenides* Plato had said of him that he asserted in his poem ἓν … εἶναι τὸ πᾶν ['that the All is one'] (t. 4) and made him speak of his own thesis as περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς αὐτοῦ ['about the one itself'] (t. 5); in the *Theaetetus* he added that Parmenides and his followers maintained ὡς ἕν τε πάντα ἐστὶ καὶ ἕστηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν αὑτῷ οὐκ ἔχον χώραν ἐν ᾗ κινεῖται ['that all things are one, and that it is at rest, itself in itself, having no room in which to move'] (t. 6); and he now says that they argued ὡς ἑνὸς ὄντος τῶν πάντων καλουμένων, ἓν τὸ πᾶν, ἓν μόνον εἶναι ['that all things, as they are called, are just one, the All is one, only one thing is'] (t. 11). Plato's expression in all these passages shows him as preoccupied with Parmenides' monism; he characterises his criticism nevertheless (*soph.* 244[b]) as an attempt to discover what

the Eleatics mean by the phrase τὸ ὄν ['Being'] and considers in turn two of [29]
the characters which Parmenides ascribes to it, uniqueness and wholeness.

He observes first that to say 'all things' are one single thing is to ascribe being to only one thing and to invite the question whether the name 'Being' (ὄν) refers to the same thing as the name 'One' (ἕν), which the Eleatics are committed to answering in the affirmative. This answer presents difficulties, since it is ridiculous for a strict monist to admit the being of two names and even of one; if the name is other than the thing, there are two things, while if it is identical with the thing, then the name is the name either of nothing or only of a name, while the one thing will be the unity of only the name of unity. Secondly, the Eleatics say that the One they identify with Being (τὸ ὂν ἕν ['Being is one']) is the same as the Whole. But if Being is whole, as Parmenides himself says in comparing it to a sphere (fr. 8, 43–45), it must have a centre and extremes and therefore parts. In this case it may have the unity of a whole of parts but it is not the One itself, which (since it cannot be many) must be without parts. We may say then either that Being has unity as an attribute and is one as a whole of parts, or that it is not a whole at all. [30]
But in the former case Being is not identical with the One and the totality of things is more than one. In the latter case, if the Whole has being, Being will be deficient in it and so will have not-being predicable of it, while the sum of things will again be more than one; and if, to avoid these difficulties, we say that the Whole itself has no being, the same must be true of Being, which not only could not be Being but could never come to be it, since what comes to be always comes to be a whole, so that no-one who excludes the Whole from the class of beings may predicate being either of any thing or of any process. Nor can what is not a whole have any quantity, since a quantity is necessarily a whole with that quantity.

In these arguments Plato takes it for granted that Parmenides regards the predicates which he asserts of Being as the names of characters identical with Being itself. This understanding of the copulative 'is' is authentically Parmenidean (cf. Section 5). The gist of Plato's critique of Parmenides' monism is that the many terms which he predicates of Being cannot be simply different names of one and the same substance but must be regarded, like 'Being' itself, as each the name of an individual substance, the character of which a subject may possess (πάθος ἔχειν, πεπονθέναι, 245^{a,b,c}) but with which it may not be identified.

The question of the relation between a subject and its predicates had already been much canvassed before Plato in the second half of the fifth century. Aristotle reports that 'the later of the ancients' had been not less concerned

[30] than Parmenides and Melissus to avoid attributing a plurality of being to any one subject. He regards these discussions as closely related to Parmenides' thesis of the unity of τὸ ἐόν ['Being'], as is clear from his reference to them in the middle of his account of Eleatic monism (*phys.* i, 2 *ad fin.*): 'The later of the old philosophers also (sc. as well as Parmenides and Melissus) were concerned lest the same thing should turn out to be simultaneously one and many. For this reason some of them, e.g. Lycophron, removed the copula (i.e. they reformulated ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι λευκός ['the man is fair'] as ὁ ἄνθρωπος λευκός ['the man fair']), while others paraphrased it as 'the man has the state of fairness'(λελεύκωται) instead of 'the man is fair', and 'the man walks' instead of 'is walking', in order not to cause the one thing to *be* many by attaching the 'is', since they supposed that 'one' or 'being' have only a single sense.' Plato himself criticises those who insisted that 'good is good' and 'man is man' and who forbade 'good' to be predicated of 'man' on the ground that 'it is impossible for the many to be one and the one many' (*soph.* 251^{b}, cf. *Phil.* 14$^{c\text{-}d}$). This was perhaps aimed especially at Antisthenes, but the impossibility
[31] of predicating one term of another was still upheld in the fourth century by the Megarian Stilpo (*see* Section 6). A primary object of the theory of Forms was to overcome this difficulty in the Eleatic logic, in which the predicate in an assertion was regarded as an alternative name for the subject. Eudemus expressly asserted (fr. 37 W, cf. fr. 43 W = t. 36) that Plato was the first to solve the problem of the unity of the subject of predicates by distinguishing the attributive use of 'is' from its substantial use. After alluding (like Aristotle) to Gorgias' pupil Lycophron, Eudemus continues: 'Plato thought that the 'is' in 'the man is fair' does not mean what it does when used of 'man' but, as 'he is understanding' means 'he understands' and 'he is sitting' means 'he sits', so it is with other predicates, even where there is no corresponding verb in use … Plato solved many problems by introducing the double sense (sc. of 'is').' Eudemus refers here to the distinction implied in *Parm.* 128^{e}-131^{a} between the 'being' asserted of the Forms and that denoted by the copula in the assertions of ordinary speech, which in Plato's view express only the relation between their subject and a Form or Forms, and signify strictly not 'being' but 'suffering' or 'becoming'.

Aristotle's extended criticism of Parmenides in Book i of the *Physics* (t. 21) is based on his own more elaborate analysis of the senses of 'is' (the categories) and is directed, like Plato's, against his monism. He describes the Eleatics as maintaining ἓν εἶναι τὰ πάντα ['all things are one'] (185^{a}22), εἶναι ἓν τὸ πᾶν ['the All is one'] (^{b}7), τὰ ὄντα ἓν εἶναι ['the things that are are one'] (186^{a}5), ἓν εἶναι τὸ ὄν ['Being is one'] (187^{a}10). This monistic view

he regards as founded on the tacit supposition that 'being' and 'unity' have [31]
each only a single sense. He criticises first the supposition and then the argument for the conclusion in which it is embodied.

With regard to the supposition, Aristotle insists that 'being' has a plurality of senses and that Parmenides' One Being cannot be identified with or accommodated in any one or any group of the γένη τοῦ ὄντος ['kinds of being'] or categories postulated by himself; the possibility that it may be simply one substance he does not discuss in relation to Parmenides till later, but he refutes it at once for Melissus on the ground that, if Being is, as Melissus says, unlimited, it must be a quantity and therefore plural. Secondly he maintains that 'one', like 'being', has several senses and that Parmenides' conception of unity is equally undifferentiated with his conception of being: if he means that reality is one as continuous, it cannot be indivisible; if that it is one as indivisible, it cannot be either limited or unlimited; if that all things are one in essence though differently named, everything will be identical with everything else and things will not be one but nothing at all. The thesis that everything is one in essence, which is criticised here as contrary to experience, Aristotle accepts for Parmenides in the *Metaphysics* (t. 26) and treats as an indication of [32]
his greater discernment than that of Xenophanes and Melissus. He concludes the first part of his criticism in the *Physics* by insisting that it is not possible to evade the assumption that 'is' has more than one sense by omitting or paraphrasing it, as was done by 'the later of the ancients' (*see* above).

Having criticised the ambiguity of Parmenides' conclusion Aristotle attacks his argument for it as 'eristical', on the ground that his refusal to recognise a plurality of beings resulted from his failure to understand the Aristotelian doctrine that what is predicated identically of a plurality of subjects has a distinct but not a separate being. This doctrine however could not have been formulated before Plato's distinction of the copulative from the substantial sense of 'is', and Aristotle continues with an accurate statement of Parmenides' actual position: he could not treat being as predicable of anything other than itself, since he held that what was other than Being was nothing, while, if being is not a predicate but a subject of predicates, these must either be names of what is other than Being, and so attribute not-being to Being, or they must be different names of Being itself. This, which was Parmenides' own view, Aristotle rejects as ascribing to Being a plurality of senses. In conclusion he observes that, although Parmenides' conception of Being precludes it from having spatial extension, it cannot be, as he asserts, indivisible, since it is impossible to conceive of Being itself (αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν) except as a genus which is logically divisible into species.

[32] In the aporetic chapters of the *Metaphysics* Aristotle treats Parmenides' argument with more apparent sympathy than in the *Physics,* admitting that the question whether being and unity are substances is both important and difficult, and that, if they are, it is problematical how there can be anything besides, since 'what is other than τὸ ὄν is not, so that according to Parmenides' argument it follows of necessity that all the things there are are one and this is τὸ ὄν' ['Being'] (t. 27). Earlier (t. 26) he treats as a mark of philosophical insight the concern with unity of essence or form (τοῦ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἑνός ['the One according to definition']), which he attributes to Parmenides, who 'maintains that what is beside being, i.e. not-being, must be nothing, and therefore thinks that of necessity there is one thing, Being, and nothing else.' The summary of Parmenides' position in the latter passage was adopted nearly *verbatim* by Theophrastus (t. 42) and Eudemus (who substitutes μοναχῶς λέγεται τὸ ὄν ['Being is said in only one way'] for τὸ μὴ ὂν οὐθέν ['Not-being is nothing'], t. 36). According to Simplicius (t. 210) the premises in the Peripatetic summary (τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ὄν ['what is other than Being is not'] and τὸ οὐκ ὂν οὐδέν ['Not-being is nothing'] or μοναχῶς λέγεται τὸ ὄν ['Being is said in only one way']) paraphrase fr. 3, 3–8 of Parmenides. This is misleading, since Parmenides does not identify the
[33] subject of 'is not' as Nothing until fr. 5, 2, while the first premise contains a closer reference to a later passage in the poem than to fr. 3. The proposition that 'what is alongside of Being is not' reflects Parmenides' argument in fr. 8, 12–20, that reason for all its strength 'will not move anything ever to come to be alongside of Being', and that subjects of change, whether past, present or future, have no being (cf. fr. 8, 12–15 n., 19–21 n.). The Peripatetic critical summary of Parmenides' position does not therefore, as Simplicius suggests, allude simply to Parmenides' establishment of the Law of Contradiction in fr. 3 but more closely, as Alexander, Syrianus and Asclepius saw (tt. 208 ad init., 162, 191), to his denial of all being to the sensible world in fr. 8.

9. PARMENIDES' PHILOSOPHY IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIOD

The history of the study of Parmenides' poem after the fourth century B.C. is in part the history of the text, which has been discussed in Section 1 above. It remains to outline the reputation of his philosophical views, so far as the evidence permits, after the radical criticism of Plato and Aristotle.

The Sceptics of the third and second centuries B.C. professed to derive their philosophical practice not only from Xenophanes and Zeno (Diog. Laert. ix, 72) but also from Parmenides. Arcesilaus' custom of arguing on

both sides of a question and refusing to commit himself to either διὰ τὰς ἐναντιότητας τῶν λόγων ['on account of the contradictions of the arguments'] (id. iv, 28) clearly descends in fact from Zeno's dialectical criticism of the physical world, and so from Parmenides' physical dualism and characterisation of human beings on the third way (fr. 5, 4) as 'knowing nothing'. Plutarch expressly names Parmenides among the earlier philosophers whose authority Arcesilaus was in the habit of invoking, to the exasperation of his critics, for his doctrines of ἐποχή ['suspension of judgment'] and ἀκαταληψία ['the impossibility of cognitive impressions'] (t. 94). Cicero, probably here citing Antiochus of Ascalon, likewise names Parmenides in ascribing the same habit also to Carneades and his followers (t. 100), and mentions him again in defending the habit himself (t. 101). That Parmenides was cited as authority since the earliest days of Scepticism is guaranteed by verses placed on the lips of Xenophanes by Timon (fr. 59 D): [33]

> ὡς καὶ ἐγὼν ὄφελον πυκινοῦ νόου ἀντιβολῆσαι
> ἀμφοτερόβλεπτος · δολίῃ δ' ὁδῷ ἐξαπατήθην
> πρεσβυγενὴς ἔτ' ἐὼν καὶ ἀμενθήριστος ἁπάσης
> σκεπτοσύνης · ὅππη γὰρ ἐμὸν νόον εἰρύσαιμι,
> εἰς ἓν ταὐτό τε πᾶν ἀνελύετο · πᾶν δ' ἐὸν αἰεὶ
> πάντῃ ἀνελκόμενον μίαν εἰς φύσιν ἴσταθ' ὁμοίην.
>
> ['that I too, looking in both directions, ought to have
> gained a share of clever intelligence, but being elderly and
> careless I was deceived by a deceptive path away from total
> doubt; for wherever I might direct my intelligence,
> it returned to one and the same totality; and all that is always
> ended up in every way reduced to a single, uniform, stationary nature'].

Though these lines were spoken, as Sextus Empiricus asserts, by Timon's Xenophanes, they are expressed in language which is unmistakably Parmenidean. Xenophanes is represented as lamenting his failure to achieve the complete, sceptical understanding, which considers both sides of every question, and his deception, owing to his early date, by a treacherous way. The allusion to Parmenides is clear in the adjective ἀμφοτερόβλεπτος ['looking in both directions'], which echoes the βροτοὶ εἰδότες οὐδὲν … δίκρανοι ['mortals with no understanding … two-headed'] of fr. 5, in the inverted contrast of a false way leading to monism with the πυκινὸς νόος ['clever intelligence'] of complete scepticism, and especially in the term ἐόν. Timon's surviving express description of Parmenides in [34]

[34] fr. 44D (t. 93), like that of Melissus (fr. 45D), commends him similarly as a partial but imperfect sceptic.

The Stoic exegesis of Parmenides' prologue preserved by Sextus Empiricus (t. 136) shows only a superficial comprehension of his meaning, whether or not it derives from Posidonius. The latter's recognition of Parmenides' place in the history of geography (t. 99) reveals however an awareness of the serious intention of his physics, which appears also in the doxographic summaries and in Favorinus, Soranus, Galen and others. The same awareness appears in Plutarch's defense of Parmenides (t. 113) against the Epicurean Colotes' inclusion of him in his general onslaught on all non-Epicurean thinkers, not excepting Epicurus' forerunner Democritus. Colotes followed Aristotle in maintaining that Parmenides argued fallaciously, and elaborated Aristotle's assertion that he and his followers ὅλως ἀνεῖλον γένεσιν καὶ φθοράν ['eliminated generation and perishing altogether'] (t. 20) into the accusation that he 'abolished fire, water, cliffs and the inhabited cities of Europe and Asia' and 'made human life impossible'. In reply Plutarch justly insists on the systematic and positive character of Parmenides' cosmology, but he misses the ontological force of the criticism, when he denies that Parmenides' thesis that Being is one entails 'the unqualified abolition of everything' and thinks that Colotes is sufficiently answered by the Platonising assertion that Parmenides 'abolishes neither sensible nor intelligible nature but assigns to each what belongs to it'.

A serious interest in Parmenides' metaphysics reappears after the Peripatetic criticism first in the Neoplatonists. Plotinus, who understood fr. 4 as asserting the identity of Knowing and Being, alludes to it several times in the context of his identification of the one Mind with Plato's Being. The multiplication of this by its union with Otherness, while itself remaining one, Plotinus illustrates by citing Parmenides' assertions that Being is 'all together', 'for being is in contact with being' (t. 146). Parmenides' characterisation of Being as motionless Plotinus understands as referring to physical motion and as not excluding the activity which belongs to Mind (t. 144); similarly he understands Parmenides' comparison of Being to a
[35] sphere as illustrating its all-inclusiveness and the fact that knowing is not external to it but within it (ib.). Plotinus thus discriminates Parmenides' Being, which he associates with the life of eternity (t. 142), from the Platonic αὐτὸ τὸ ἕν ['the One itself']. He admits that Parmenides in his poem (as opposed to 'Parmenides in Plato') did not make the distinction, so occasioning the criticisms alluded to by Plato's Zeno that he made the One many (t. 144).

The same identification of Parmenides' ἐόν ['Being'] with Plato's ἓν ὄν [35]
['One Being'] and discrimination of it from Plato's αὐτὸ τὸ ἕν ['the One itself'] or τὸ κυρίως ἕν ['what is strictly One'] occurs regularly in later Neoplatonism. Proclus accepts it from his master Syrianus (tt. 174 *ad fin.*, 179, 183) and it appears likewise in Damascius and Simplicius (tt. 200-201, 213), all of whom show themselves inferior in historical understanding to Plato, who correctly represents Parmenides as treating the One itself as identical with Being (t. 5). Plotinus' observation that Parmenides' Being is many as well as one is also repeated by Syrianus (tt. 162, 164) and elaborated by Proclus and his successors. Proclus' attempt to find Plato in Parmenides leads him here again into clear misinterpretation. After quoting fr. 2 and fr. 8, 25 and 44 as evidence that Parmenides thought of τὸ ἐόν as plural as well as singular, he continues: 'in all these passages Parmenides shows that he assumes that there are many intelligibles and an order among these of first, middle and last, and a unity of them which is beyond expression; he is thus not unaware of the plurality of the things there are, but considers the whole of this plurality as proceeding from the One Being, in which is the source of what there is, its focus and the hidden Being from which all the things which there are receive also their unification … Parmenides is aware that the intelligible plurality proceeds from the One Being and that prior to the many beings stands the One Being upon which the plurality of intelligibles converges. Parmenides is thus far from overthrowing plurality in every sphere by his thesis of the One Being, since he manifestly posits a plurality of beings among intelligibles themselves, while whatever being the many have he bestows on them from the One Being. He is with good reason satisfied to regard this as cause and it is in this sense that he calls Being one' (t. 172). Proclus' assertion in this paragraph that Parmenides maintains the existence of a plurality of intelligibles distinct from τὸ ἐόν, i.e. in effect that the terms which Parmenides predicates of it are names of ὄντα ['Beings'] (cf. also tt. 171, 176), ignores the fundamental difficulty in the Journey of Persuasion pointed out by Plato and Aristotle and amounts to the attribution to Parmenides of a version of the theory of Forms. Proclus commits a further error when he paraphrases Parmenides' comparison of Being with a sphere as τὸ σφαιρικὸν εἶδος … καταφάσκει τοῦ ἑνός ['affirms the spherical form of the One'] (t. 178) and speaks of him as 'calling Being a sphere' (t. 181). It is only a step to the further assimilation of Parmenides [36]
to Plato in the words 'it is clear that he will describe the knowing which belongs to Being as spherical motion' (ib.). Nevertheless, although Proclus attempts to turn Parmenides into a Neoplatonist and shows no interest in

[36] the detail of the physical section of his poem, he quotes from him with a freedom which reveals complete familiarity with the text and a sense of his significance as a historical as well as a Platonic figure.

Proclus' pupil Ammonius the son of Hermias has little to say of Parmenides in his extant writings. He quotes one line (fr. 8, 5), clearly from memory, in a mistaken form (t. 188) which is reproduced by his pupils Asclepius (tt. 189, 191), Philoponus (t. 194) and Olympiodorus (t. 198), none of whom appears to have read the original text of the poem. Philoponus goes out of his way to contradict those who supposed that Parmenides' cosmology 'did not represent his own views but those of people in general' (t. 193), as Simplicius corrects Alexander on the same point (t. 207). Philoponus' earlier belief, acquired perhaps from Ammonius, that Parmenides could not have regarded fire as efficient and formal cause (t. 195), he retracted later (t. 196) in favour of the express assertion of Aristotle to the contrary.

The fullest account of Parmenides' philosophy since Aristotle, and the first to attempt a serious historical assessment, is that of Simplicius. In the general summary with which he accompanies his citation of the whole of Parmenides' account of the authentic way of enquiry (t. 213) Simplicius includes a short discussion of the Platonic and Aristotelian criticisms. Plato's discussion in the *Sophist* he characterises as made from the level of 'the intellectual and articulated order' (τοῦ νοεροῦ καὶ διακεκριμένου διακόσμου ['the intellective and separate ordering']). It is from this posterior order, in which the Forms are distinct from one another, that we ascribe the distinct predicates to the Being in which they are indistinguishably united (t. 211) and which is itself posterior to the Platonic One. Similarly Simplicius suggests that Aristotle's criticism, in so far as it is based on logical division, is inapplicable to Parmenides' Being, which he relates (tt. 209, 213) to the unmoved mover of *metaph.* Λ. Parmenides' comparison of Being with a sphere Simplicius treats (t. 213) as a poetical and mythical locution. Although he avoids Proclus' error with regard to this, in treating as the names of separate Forms the terms which Parmenides predicates of Being his view is open to the same criticism as that of Proclus, with which it is in principle identical. Nevertheless Simplicius shows a clearer comprehension than anyone since Eudemus of the logical issue when he (mistakenly) maintains (t. 211) that Parmenides had made the distinction of subject and
[37] attribute, and contrasts his view with that of the Megarians, who supposed that the predication of different terms of one subject would entail the separation of the subject from itself. Parmenides' failure to formulate the distinction he ascribes simply to his early date, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν οἰκεῖον τὸ

κανονικὸν τοῦτο τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων βραχυλογίας ['since this logical practice did not suit the brevity of speech used by the ancients'] (ib. *ad fin.*). [37]

In his anti-Peripatetic stance (tt. 205, 207) on the question of the efficient cause in Parmenides' cosmology it seems likely that Simplicius misunderstood Parmenides' meaning (*see* n. on fr. 12, 3).

Simplicius' systematic application of the Neoplatonist rule of understanding earlier thinkers sympathetically (εὐγνωμόνως) leads him to give an unduly Neoplatonic interpretation of Parmenides' thought. On the other hand it is the basis of valuable criticism, including his justified complaint (t. 205) against Aristotle's captious understanding of Parmenides' terminology in a physical sense; above all it is the ground of his quotation of the large fragments of the poem, without which our understanding of Parmenides would be conjectural and rudimentary.

For just over a thousand years Parmenides was cited as a philosophic authority. In his own century his poem both revolutionised the study of physics and metaphysics, which it distinguished for the first time, and provided the foundation for the relativism and agnosticism of the sophists. His investigation of the sense of the verb 'to be' and associated attempt to argue rigorously was the precursor of both Platonic and Aristotelian logic. His treatment of Being as substantial was developed by Socrates and Plato into the theory of Forms and lies recognizably, as Simplicius remarked, behind Aristotle's theology. The Sceptics of the third century B.C. and later appealed to his criticism of the sensible world for support, while on the other hand an awareness of his originality as a physicist is shown by various writers from Posidonius to Galen. Finally the reverence for him expressed by Plato ensured that he was still read and cited in support of the revival of Platonic metaphysics and contemplation from the third to the sixth centuries of the Christian era.

10. THE BIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

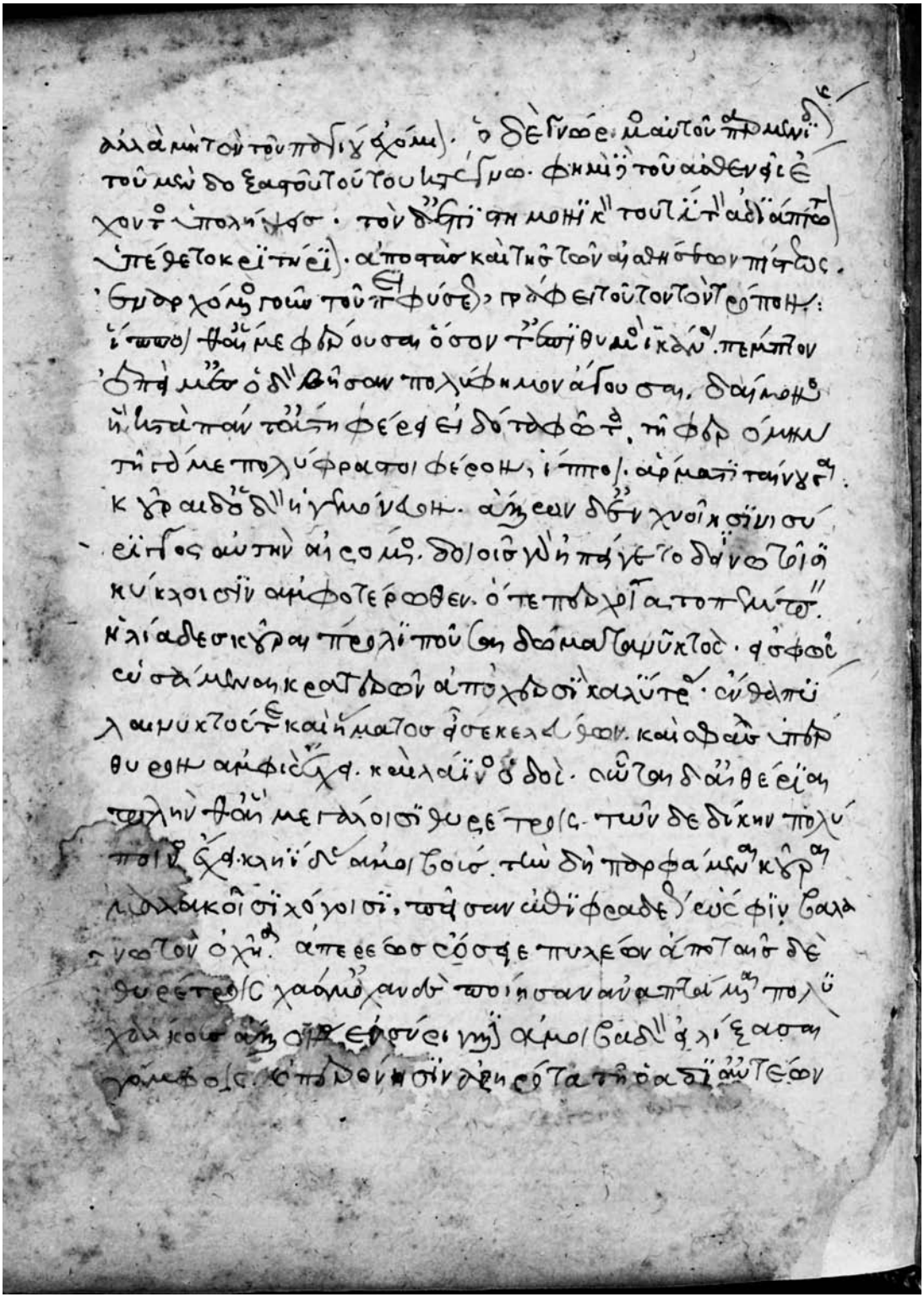
The earliest surviving description of Parmenides' personality, as of his philosophy, is that of Plato at the beginning of the dialogue named after him. This description was composed some eighty years after the event it portrays and, if that event were wholly imaginary, would be likely to be itself a fiction. The evidence that Parmenides visited Athens is only circumstantial. There is independent testimony that Zeno spent some time there and gave instruction not only to Pythodorus son of Isolochus, [38]

[38] with whom the *Parmenides* represents him and his master as staying, and to Callias son of Calliades (Plat. *Alc.* 119[a]), but also to Pericles himself (Plut. *Per.* 4 = t. 118). The year assumed by Plato for the conversation in the *Parmenides* is determined by the data which he gives—Socrates' early youth and the occasion of the Great Panathenaea, which were held only every four years—as 450 B.C. This is an acceptable date for Zeno's visit. There is no other evidence that he was accompanied by Parmenides but, if Plato were not alluding to a historical occasion, it seems likely that he would have anticipated the criticism of Athenaeus and Macrobius (t. 134), that the young Socrates' conversation with Parmenides lacks verisimilitude, by setting the dialogue a few years later. Similarly the later visit to Athens of Cephalus and the philosophers from Clazomenae *(Parm. ad init.)* is a plausible fiction only if an allusion is implied to οἱ Ἀναξαγόρειοι ['the Anaxagoreans'] (Pl. *Crat.* 409[b]) and indirectly to Anaxagoras' principal pupil, Socrates' teacher Archelaus, who may perhaps be thought of as having brought the youthful Socrates to the select and aristocratic gathering in Pythodorus' house, as he later accompanied him to Samos (Diog. Laert. ii, 23). So indirect an allusion to Archelaus seems improbable unless it is also to an actual occasion on which he was widely known to have been present (cf. Taylor, *Plato* p. 352). Plato's later references to Parmenides' nobility of character (tt. 7, 9) appear also to reflect rather the vivid impression of a historic visit than the study of his poem. But in any case, whether Parmenides accompanied Zeno or not, the independently attested fact of the latter's visit makes it likely that Plato's description of neither philosopher was invented by himself. We may therefore reasonably believe that Parmenides was distinguished-looking, white-haired and sixty-five years old in 450 B.C. How much longer than this he lived there is no evidence to show. Apollodorus' assertion (t. 97) that he 'flourished' in 504/501 B.C. will be, as Burnet said (*Early Greek Philosophy* p. 170), a chronological combination with no claim to be accepted as precise. His poem is likely to have been published ca. 480 B.C. (*see* n. on fr. 1, 24). The assertion that he wrote also in prose (t. 41) is no more than a misunderstanding of Plato's allusion to his oral teaching (t. 9), which must have included dialectical exercises of the kind Plato had already ascribed to him (t. 5) and illustrated.

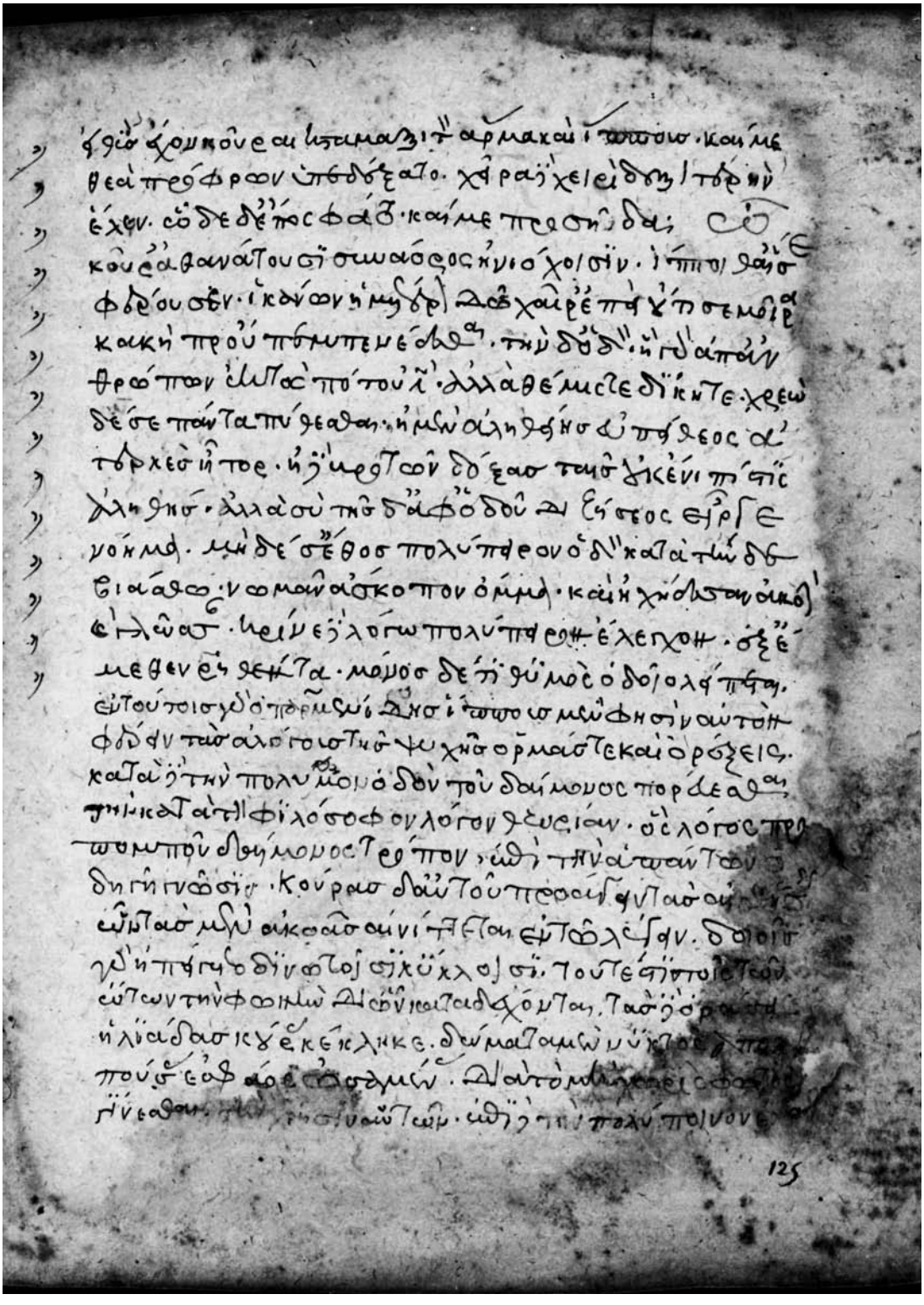
It is unlikely, in spite of the doxographic tradition, that Parmenides was a pupil of Xenophanes (*see* Sect. 4 above). Sotion said (t. 96) that he was converted εἰς ἡσυχίαν ['to stillness'], i.e. to the Pythagorean life (cf. *FdV* i, 105, 17; 471, 12), by Aminias son of Diochaetas, a poor but distinguished Pythagorean, to whom on his death he founded a shrine, so that he might

be worshipped as a hero or demigod. Sotion adds that Parmenides was [39]
able to do this because he himself came of a famous and wealthy family. Parmenides' Pythagorean affinities appear clearly in the fragments of his poem (*see* Sect. 4 above) and in other evidence (tt. 103, 119, 121, 150, 153, 154), which may derive either from Pythagorean tradition or from Timaeus or other historians of the west-Greek world. His fame as a legislator for his native city is first mentioned by Speusippus (t. 16) but recurs in contexts derived probably also from historians (tt. 103, 116, 160). According to Plutarch the magistrates of Elea obliged the citizens to swear every year to abide by Parmenides' laws. Plutarch emphasises (t. 117) that Parmenides' philosophy governed not only his own public conduct but that of his disciple Zeno. The assertion of Alcidamas and Theophrastus (tt. 15, 39, 41) that Empedocles also was his pupil is more credible than Hermippus' denial (t. 95), but Theophrastus' statement that Leucippus 'shared in his philosophy' (t. 43) means probably no more than that Leucippus 'heard Zeno' (*FdV* 67A1).

The only known portrait of Parmenides is a head discovered at Velia in 1966, which appears to fit a herm, found in 1962, with the inscription ΠΑ[Ρ]ΜΕΝΕΙΔΗΣ ΠΥΡΗΤΟΣ | ΟΥΛΙΑΔΗΣ ΦΥΣΙΚΟΣ ['Parmenides son of Pyres, Ouliades, natural philosopher'] (t. 106). The monument dates from the first century of the Christian era. The appellation φυσικός ['natural philosopher'] corresponds to Theophrastus' inclusion of Parmenides in his Φυσικῶν δόξαι ['*Opinions of the Natural Philosophers*'] and may go back to the fourth century (cf. introd. n. to fr. 1). The name of Parmenides' father Pyres is first mentioned by Theophrastus (t. 40) but may derive from the superscription of his poem. The patronymic Οὐλιάδης ['son of Oulis'] however is unparalleled in relation to Parmenides. It appears to recur at Elea in a fragmentary inscription published in 1970 (*PdP* xxv, 1970, 262) mentioning Apollo as ἰατρόμαντις ['physician-prophet'] and is clearly related to the name Οὖλις ['Oulis'] in another inscription of the same Julio-Claudian date from the base of a well-preserved portrait statue, which reads Οὖλις Εὐξίνου Ὑελήτης ἰατρὸς φώλαρχος ἔτει τοϑ' (['Oulis of Hyele, son of Euxinus, physician, pholarch,] in the 379th year'), and in two similar inscriptions on headless herms, Οὖλις Ἀρίστωνος ἰατρὸς φώλαρχος ἔτει σπ' (['Oulis, son of Aristo, physician, pholarch,] in the 280th year') and Οὖλις Ἱερωνύμου ἰατρὸς φώλαρχος ἔτει υμς' (['Oulis, son of Hieronymus, physician, pholarch,] in the 446th year'). These three inscriptions, which were found in the same building as that relating to Parmenides, seem to commemorate physicians who at different dates (of which the interpretation is uncertain) became officials in a religious association with records purporting to date from at



Sextus Empiricus, Codex Laur. 85,19 (= N), f. 124 v., with Parmenides, Fragment 1, 1–20



Sextus Empiricus, Codex Laur. 85,19 (= N), f. 125 r., with Parmenides, Fragment 1, 21–30; 7, 2–7

[39] least 446 years earlier. The qualification ἰατρός ['physician'] suggests that there were also non-medical members of the society, and the undated form of the inscription relating to Parmenides that he was perhaps regarded as its
[40] patron or founder (cf. V. Nutton, *PdP* xxv, 1970, 211–225; G. P. Carratelli, ib. 243–248). Further excavation may throw light on the nature of this society but it seems reasonable to identify it as neo-Pythagorean. The form Οὐλιάδης ['Ouliades'], which derives from Apollo's name as Οὔλιος ['Oulios'] or Healer, occurs as a personal name further east from the fifth century B.C. onwards, notably from Samos in 478 (οἱ περὶ τὸν Σάμιον Οὐλιάδην ['the men of Ouliades of Samos'], Plut. *Aristid.* 23) and again later (of a doctor Οὐλιάδης Οὐλιάδου ['Ouliades, the son of Ouliades'], *IG* xii (7) 231, 8), but also from Athens and elsewhere (*see* M. Gigante, *PdP* xix, 1964, 450–452). It seems likely that the appellation of Parmenides as Οὐλιάδης ['Ouliades, son of Ouliades'] is a survival or revival of an older local tradition and that the implied affiliation with Apollo is an aspect of his Pythagoreanism (cf. Sect. 4 above). The choice of the patronymic will have been partly determined by association with Parmenides' description of Being as οὖλον ['entire'], as Plato relates the unity of Parmenides' personality with his belief in the unity of Being (*see* n. on fr. 5, 6). The portrait head of Parmenides, which the inscription accompanies, preserves however no early tradition of his actual features but is a modification of a portrait of the Epicurean Metrodorus of Lampsacus, deriving probably from the third century B.C. (*see* H. Jucker, *Museum Helveticum* xxv, 1968, 181–185).

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF THE FRAGMENTS [41]

Note: references to sources are given beneath the translation; specimens of parallel epic expressions and of related later arguments are cited separately between the text and the critical apparatus. In the critical appartaus *phys.* standing alone refers to Simplicius. [42]

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Sigla Codicum

[43]

Plato, *Theaetetus, sophistes:* B (s.ix) T (s.x) W (s.xi), ed. Diès.

Aristoteles, *metaphysica:* E (s.x) J (s.x) A^b (s.xii) recc. (ss.xiii-xiv), ed. Jaeger.

Sextus Empiricus, *adv. mathematicos:* N (s.xiii) L (s.xv) E (s.xv), ς = dett. (ss.xv-xvi), ed. Mutschmann.

Eusebius, *praeparatio evangelica:* O (s.xiii) I (s.xv) N (s.xv), ed. Mras.

Theodoretus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio:* K (s.x) B (s.xi) L (s.xi) M (s.xii) S (s.xi) C (s.xi) V (s.xiv), ed. Raeder.

Proclus, in *Plat. Tim. comm.:* C (s.xi-xii) N (s.xiv) P (s.xvi), ed. Diehl.
in *Plat. Parm. comm.:* a (s.xiii) m (s.xv) f (s.xv) r (s.xv); a m = **Φ**, fr = **Σ**.
versio Latina: A (s.xvi) O (s.xiv) C (s.xv) V (s.xv); AOCV = **Λ**.
vid. *Plat, latinus* iii, ed. Klibansky-Labowsky.

Simplicius, in *Ar. de caelo comm.:* A (s.xiii-xiv) B [desinit p. 229, 25 Heib.] (s.xv) D (s.xiv) E (s.xiii) F [incipit p. 365 Heib.] (s.xv), ed. Heiberg. in *Ar. phys. comm.:* D (s.xii-xiii) E (s.xiii) E^a [pp. 20, 1–30, 16; 35, 30–44, 19 Diels] (s.xiii) F (s.xiii) Marc. Cl. iv, 15 (s.xiv-xv), ed. Diels, Mo (Mosquensis Muz. 3649, s.xiii)[8].

8. The reference to Mo was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[44] 1

The mares that carry me kept conveying me as far as ever my spirit reached, once they had taken and set me on the goddess' way of much discourse, which carries through every stage to meet her face to face[9] a man of understanding. On this I was carried, for on this the sagacious mares were carrying me, (5) straining at the chariot and guided by maidens along the way. The axle in the naves kept blazing and uttering the pipe's loud note, driven onwards at both ends by its two metalled wheels, whenever the daughters of the sun made haste to convey me, (10) having thrust with their hands their kerchiefs from their heads and deserted the abode of night for the light.

1–30 Sext. *adv. math,* vii, 111, paraphr. ib. 112–114

9. The first edition had 'straight onwards' instead of 'to meet her face to face'. (RMcK)

1 [45]

Ἵπποι, ταί με φέρουσιν, ὅσον τ᾽ ἐπὶ θυμὸς ἱκάνοι
πέμπον, ἐπεί μ᾽ ἐς ὁδὸν βῆσαν πολύφημον ἄγουσαι
δαίμονος, ἣ κατὰ πάντ᾽ ἄ<ν>τη<ν> φέρει εἰδότα φῶτα ·
τῇ φερόμην, τῇ γάρ με πολύφραστοι φέρον ἵπποι
ἅρμα τιταίνουσαι, κοῦραι δ᾽ ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευον.
ἄξων δ᾽ ἐν χνοίῃσιν ἴ<ει> σύριγγος ἀυτὴν
αἰθόμενος, δοιοῖς γὰρ ἐπείγετο δινωτοῖσιν
κύκλοις ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ὅτε σπερχοίατο πέμπειν
ἡλιάδες κοῦραι προλιποῦσαι δώματα νυκτὸς
ἐς φάος, ὠσάμεναι κράτων ἄπο χερσὶ καλύπτρας.

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1 | ἵπποι, τοὺς Ω 326 | ἵπποι γάρ με Λ 615
ἵπποι θ᾽ οἳ φορέεσκον ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα Β 770
ὅσον τ᾽ ἐπὶ λᾶαν ἵησιν | Γ 12 ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι | Δ 263
ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἱκάνοι | Α 610
2 | ἐκ δ᾽ ἑκατόμβην βῆσαν Α 438 ἀγορὴν πολύφημον ἱκέσθην | β 150
3 δύο φῶτε κατέκτανεν εἰδότε χάρμης | Ε 608 ἵστορα φῶτα | Hes. *op.* 792
4 | τῇ πιθόμην Ι 453
| πᾶν δ᾽ ἦμαρ φερόμην Α 592
5 ἅρμα τιταίνων | Β 390 γέρων δ᾽ ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευεν | ω 225
6 ἀπιόντος ἴει χαλκήρε᾽ ὀιστύν | Ν 650 | αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ᾽ ἐνοπήν Κ13
θῆλυς ἀυτή | ζ 122
7 | ἐντέταται, δοιαὶ Ε 728 δινωτοῖσι λέχεσσι | Γ 391
7–8 σπερχομένη, τοίων γὰρ ἐπείγετο χέρσ᾽ ἐρετάων ν 115
8 | κύκλου ποιητοῖο Ψ 340 | ὤμων ἀμφοτέρωθεν Ψ 628
ὁπότε σπερχοίατ᾽ Ἀχαιοὶ | … φέρειν Τ 317–318
9 προλποῦσ᾽ εὐώδεα Κύπρον | *H. Aphr.* V, 66
Νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς οἰκία δεινὰ | Hes. *theog.* 744
10 | ἐς φάος ἐξαγάγοι μετά δαίμονας *H. Dem.* 338 | νεῖκος ἀπωσαμένους Μ 276
προκατέσχετο χερσί καλύπτρην | *H. Dem.* 197

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1 ταί LE: θ᾽ αἵ N, τε ς φέρουσαι N
3 πάντ᾽ ἄντην Heyne: πάντ᾽ ἄτη N, πάντἀτη L, πάντα τῇ Ες
6 χνοίῃσιν ἴει Diels: χνοῖησινι N, χνοιῆσι(ν) LEς, χνοιῇς ἴει Karsten
7 αἰθόμενος Lς: αἰρόμενος N, αἰθόμενοι E ἠπειγετο N, ἐπήγετο ς
10 εἰς codd. φῶς N κράτων Karsten: κρατερῶν codd.

[46] There stand the gates between the journeys of night and day, enclosed at top and bottom by a lintel and threshold of stone, and themselves fitting closely to a great architrave in the aether. The keys, which allow to open first one gate then the other, retributive justice holds; (15) whom the maidens blandished with soft words and persuaded cunningly to thrust the locked bar for them in a moment from the gates, which swung open and made vacant the gulf of the gateway, turning successively in their sockets the bronze-fitted posts

1–30 Sext. *adv. math.* vii, 111, paraphr. ib. 112–114

[47]

ἔνθα πύλαι νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματός εἰσι κελεύθων,
καί σφας ὑπέρθυρον ἀμφὶς ἔχει καὶ λάινος οὐδός,
αὐταὶ δ᾽ αἰθέριαι πλῆνται μεγάλοισι θυρέτροις·
τῶν δὲ δίκη πολύποινος ἔχει κληῖδας ἀμοιβούς.
τὴν δὴ παρφάμεναι κοῦραι μαλακοῖσι λόγοισι
πεῖσαν ἐπιφραδέως, ὥς σφιν βαλανωτὸν ὀχῆα
ἀπτερέως ὤσειε πυλέων ἄπο · ταὶ δὲ θυρέτρων
χάσμ᾽ ἀχανὲς ποίησαν ἀναπτάμεναι πολυχάλκους
ἄξονας ἐν σύριγξιν ἀμοιβαδὸν εἰλίξασαι

---

11 ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἤματός εἰσι κέλευθοι κ 86
11–12 ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός Θ 15
λάινον οὐδόν | Θ 80
13 | αὐταὶ δὲ χρυσέοισιν Θ 436
| αὖτις δ᾽ ἐξοπίσω πλῆτο χθονί Ξ 438
καλὰ θύρετρα | φ 49
14 κληῖδα φαεινήν | *H. Herm.* 247 ἦλθον ἀμοιβοί | N 793
14–22 αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον Ὧραι,
τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας Οὐρανὸς Οὔλυμπός τε.
ἠμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος ἠδ᾽ ἐπιθεῖναι·
τῇ ῥα δι᾽ αὐτάων κεντρηνεκέας ἔχον ἵππους·
εὗρον δὲ Κρονίωνα θεὸν ἄτερ ἥμενον ἄλλων Ε 749–753
15 | παρφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν Μ 249
μαλακοῖσι καὶ αἱμυλίοισι λόγοισι | θέλγει α 56
16–17 ἄφαρ δ᾽ ὤιξε πύλας καὶ ἀπῶσεν ὀχῆας Ω 446
17 τοὶ δ᾽ ἀπτερέως ἐπίθοντο | Hes. fr. 204, 84 M-W
18 | χάσμα μέγ᾽ Hes. *theog.* 740 πυλύχρυσον πολύχαλκον | Σ 289
18–19 χάλκεος ἄξων | N 30
19 | τερπόμενοι σύριγξι Σ 526
ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ δίκαζον | Σ 506 (ἀμοιβηδὸν Aristarch.)

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13 πλὴν θ᾽ αἳ N
14 Δίκη Chouet: δίκην codd.
16 ὥς φιν N
17 ταῖς δέ θυρέτροις N

[48] (20) fixed to them with pegs and nails. Whereupon the maidens drove the chariot and mares straight on through the gates along the road. And the goddess received me warmly, and taking my right hand in hers spoke as follows and addressed me: 'Welcome, O youth, arriving at our dwelling as consort of immortal charioteers (25) and mares which carry you; no ill fate sent you forth to travel on this way, which is far removed indeed from the step of men, but right and justice. You must be informed of everything,

1–30 Sext. *adv. math.* vii. 111, paraphr. ib. 112–114
28 (χρεώ …)**-32** Simpl. *cael.* 557
28 (χρεώ …)**-30** Diog. Laert. ix, 22

γόμφοις καὶ περόνῃσιν ἀρηρότε · τῇ ῥα δι᾽ αὐτέων [49]
ἰθὺς ἔχον κοῦραι κατ᾽ ἀμαξιτὸν ἅρμα καὶ ἵππους.
καί με θεὰ πρόφρων ὑπεδέξατο, χεῖρα δὲ χειρὶ
δεξιτερὴν ἕλεν, ὧδε δ᾽ ἔπος φάτο καί με προσηύδα ·
ὦ κοῦρ᾽ ἀθανάτῃσι συνήορος ἡνιόχοισιν
ἵπποις θ᾽, αἵ σε φέρουσιν, ἱκάνων ἡμέτερον δῶ
χαῖρ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὔ τί σε μοῖρα κακὴ προὔπεμπε νέεσθαι
τήνδ᾽ ὁδόν, ἦ γὰρ ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἐκτὸς πάτου ἐστίν,
ἀλλὰ θέμις τε δίκη τε · χρεὼ δέ σε πάντα πυθέσθαι,

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20 γόμφοισιν δ᾽ ἄρα τήν γε καὶ ἁρμονίῃσιν ἄρασσεν ε 248 (v. 1. ἄρηρεν)
| πρὸς χρυσῇ περόνῃ Ε 425
γυάλοισιν ἀρηρότα, τόν ποτε Φυλεὺς | Ο 530
οἱ δ᾽ ὑπέρ αὐτέων | Μ 424
21 | ἰθὺς ἔχειν θοὸν ἅρμα Hes. sc. 97
κατ᾽ ἀμαξιτὸν ἐσσεύοντο | Χ 146 ἅρμα καὶ ἵππους | Θ 438
22 | παῖδα δέ τοι πρόφρων ὑποδέξομαι *H. Dem.* 226 (cf. Hes. *theog.* 419)
χειρὶ δὲ χεῖρα λαβόντες ἐπιστώσαντ᾽ ἐπέεσσι Φ 286
22–23 | δεξιτερὴν δ᾽ ἕλε χεῖρ᾽ Ξ 137
δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ καρπῷ ἑλὼν ἐμὲ χεῖρα προσηύδα σ 258
ἔπος τ᾽ ἔφατ᾽ ἔκ τ᾽ ὀνόμαζε | Ζ 253
24 | αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι Γ 158 συνήορός ἐστι θαλείῃ | θ 99
περιγίγνεται ἡνιόχοιο | Ψ 318
25 ἱκάνεις ἡμέτερον δῶ | Σ 385
26 | χαῖρε, γύναι, ἐπεὶ οὔ σε κακῶν *H. Dem.* 213
τὸν δ᾽ ἄγε μοῖρα κακὴ θανάτοιο τέλοσδε | Ν 602
ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασι πέμπε νέεσθαι | δ 8
27 | τὴν ὁδόν, ἦ ζ 165 | οἷον ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων φ 364
| ἐκ πάτου Υ 137
28 ἕκαστα πυθέσθαι | ο 377

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20 ἀρηρότε Bergk: ἀρηρότα NEς, ἀνηρότα L αὐτέων **N**: αὐτῶν LEς
24 ἀθανάτῃσι συνήορος Brandis: ἀθανάτοισι συνάορος codd. (ἀθανάτουσι **N**)
25 ἵπποις Eς: ἵπποι NL θ᾽αἵ **N**: ταί LE, τε ς

[50] both of the unmoved heart of persuasive reality (30) and of the beliefs of mortals, which comprise no genuine conviction; nevertheless you shall learn these also, how it was necessary that the things that are believed to be should have their being in general acceptance, ranging through all things from end to end.

1–30 Sext. *adv. math,* vii. 111. paraphr. ib. 112–114
28 (χρεὼ …)**-32** Simpl. *cael.* 557
28 (χρεὼ …)**-30** Diog. Laert. ix. 22
29–30 Sext. ib. 114; Plut. *adv. Colot.* 1114 D-E; Clem, *strom.* v, 59; Procl. *Tim.* i, 345

2

'It is indifferent to me whence I begin, for to that place I shall come back again.'

Procl. *Parm.* 708

[51]

ἠμὲν ἀληθείης εὐπειθέος ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ
ἠδὲ βροτῶν δόξας, τῆς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθής. 30
ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπης καὶ ταῦτα μαθήσεαι ὡς τὰ δοκεῦντα
χρῆν δοκίμως εἶναι διὰ παντὸς πάντα περῶντα.

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29 | πᾶσαν ἀληθείην λ 507 ἄλκιμον ἦτορ | P 111
30 ἔνι κήδεα θυμῷ | Σ 53 χερνῆτις ἀληθής | M 433
31 | ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπης Θ 33
32 χειμῶνι περῶντα | Φ 283

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29 ἠμὲν: ἡ μὲν Plut., τῶ μὲν vel τὸ μὲν Procl. εὐπειθέος Plut., Sext., Clem., Diog.: εὐφεγγέος Procl., εὐκυκλέος Simpl. (εὐκύκλιος A) ἀτρεμὲς Sext. NLE 114, Clem., Procl., Simpl.: ἀτρεκὲς Plut., Sext. 111 (ἀτερκὲς N), ς 114, Diog.
30 ἠδὲ: ἡ δὲ Plut., Procl. C δόξας Plut., Sext. 114, NE 111, Diog., Simpl.: δόξαι Sext. L ς 111, Procl. C, δόξαις Clem., Procl. NP
τῆς Diog., ταῖς Sext., Clem., Simpl., αἷς Plut., Procl. οὐκέτι Diog.
31 μαθήσεαι DE: μαθήσεται A, μυθήσομαι F δοκοῦντα codd.
32 περῶντα A: περ ὄντα DEF

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2 (5DK)

ξυνὸν δέ μοί ἐστιν
ὁππόθεν ἄρξωμαι · τόθι γὰρ πάλιν ἵξομαι αὖτις.

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2 τόθι γάρ νύ οἱ αἴσιμον ἦεν | o 239
οὐ γὰρ οἶδ᾽ εἰ ἔτι σφιν ὑπότροπος ἵξομαι αὖτις Z 367

1–2 Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ μέγας … ἀρχόμενός τε καὶ διὰ τέλους τοῦτο ἀπεμαρτύρατο πεζῇ τε ὧδε ἑκάστοτε λέγων καί μετὰ μέτρων,
οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε … εἶργε νόημα (fr. 7, 1–2) Plat. *soph.* 237[a]
Phaedo 100[b] 4–5 καὶ εἶμι πάλιν ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα τὰ πολυθρύλητα καὶ ἄρχομαι ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων.[10]

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2 ὁπόθεν ἄρξομαι … αὖθις codd.

10. This reference was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[52] 3

'Come now, I will tell you (and do you preserve my story, when you have heard it) about those ways of enquiry which are alone conceivable. The one, that a thing is, and that it is not for not being, is the journey of persuasion, for persuasion attends on reality; (5) the other, that a thing is not, and that it must needs not be, this I tell you is a path wholly without report, for you can neither know what is not (for it is impossible) nor tell of it …'

1–6, 7–8 Procl. *Tim.* i, 345
3–8 Simpl. *phys.* 116
4 (πειθοῦς ἐστι κέλευθος), **5** (καὶ ὡς …)**-6** Procl. *Parm.* 1078

3 (2 DK) [53]

εἰ δ' ἄγε, τῶν ἐρέω, κόμισαι δὲ σὺ μῦθον ἀκούσας,
αἵπερ ὁδοὶ μοῦναι διζήσιός εἰσι νοῆσαι ·
ἡ μέν, ὅπως ἐστίν τε καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστι μὴ εἶναι,
πειθοῦς ἐστι κέλευθος, ἀληθείῃ γὰρ ὀπηδεῖ,
ἡ δ', ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν τε καὶ ὡς χρεών ἐστι μὴ εἶναι,
τὴν δή τοι φράζω παναπευθέα ἔμμεν ἀταρπόν·
οὔτε γὰρ ἂν γνοίης τό γε μὴ ἐόν, οὐ γὰρ ἀνυστόν,
οὔτε φράσαις.

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1 | εἰ δ' ἄγε, τοὺς ἂν ἐγὼ I 167
ἐκ γάρ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καί μευ ἄκουσον o 318
| φίλε κασίγνητε, κόμισαί τέ με E 359 μῦθον ἀκούσας | Γ 76
2 οὐδὲ νοῆσαι | E 475
4 ἀληθείην ἀποείποι | Ψ 361
ἥ τοι ὀπηδεῖ | ϑ 237
6 κείνου δ' αὖ καὶ ὄλεθρον ἀπευθέα ϑῆκε Κρονίων γ 88 ἔμμεν ἄριστον | π 419
κατὰ παιπαλόεσσαν ἀταρπόν | P 743
7 | Τυδεΐδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνοίης E 85

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3 τὸ γὰρ ἐὸν οὐκ ἔστι τὸ μὴ οὐκ εἶναι Anaxag. fr. 3
7 πῶς γὰρ ἂν μὴ ὄν γέ τι γνωσθείη; Plat. *resp.* v, 477[a]
τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὂν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ὅ τι ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τί μὲν σημαίνει ὁ λόγος ἢ τὸ ὄνομα, ὅταν εἴπω τραγέλαφος, τί δ'ἐστὶ τραγέλαφος ἀδύνατον εἰδέναι Ar. *an. post.* B7, 92[b] 5
7–8 συννοεῖς οὖν ὡς οὔτε φθέγξασθαι δυνατὸν ὀρθῶς οὔτε εἰπεῖν οὔτε διανοηθῆναι τὸ μὴ ὂν αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτό, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀδιανόητόν τε καὶ ἄρρητον καὶ ἄφθεγκτον καὶ ἄλογον; Plat. *soph.* 238c

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3 ὡς Simpl.: om. Procl.
5 ἔστι τε Simpl., ἔστι γε Procl.
6 παναπευθέα ἔμμεν' Simpl. (ἔμμεναι E): παναπειθέα ἔμμεν Procl. *Tim.* **P**, παραπειθέα ἔμμεν **N**, πᾶνα πειθέλημεν C, τοι ἀπειθέα ἔμμεν Procl. *Parm.* **Σ**, ἀπειθέα ἔμμεν **Φ**
7 ἐόν Simpl.: ὄν Procl. ἀνυστόν Simpl.: ἐφικτόν Procl.

[54] 4

'… for the same thing is for conceiving as is for being.'

Clem, *strom.* vi, 23; Plot., v, 1, 8; v, 9, 5 (cf. i, 4, 10; iii, 8, 8; vi, 7, 41); Procl. *Parm.* 1152; *theol. Plat.*, i, 14 (i, 66, 4 Saffrey-Westerink)

5

'It is necessary to assert and conceive that this is Being. For it is for being, but Nothing is not. These things I command you to heed. From this way of enquiry I keep you first of all, but secondly from that on which mortals with no understanding (5) stray two-headed, for perplexity in their own breasts directs their mind astray and they are borne on deaf and blind alike in bewilderment, people without judgement, by whom this has been accepted as both being and not being the same and not the same, and for all of whom their journey turns backwards again.'

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1 (ἔστι …)**-9** Simpl. *phys.* 117
1–2 (… ἔστιν) ib. 86
8–9 (… ταὐτόν) ib. 78

4 (3 DK) [55]

τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ νοεῖν ἐστίν τε καὶ εἶναι.

οὐκοῦν ἐπιστήμη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ὄντι πέφυκε, γνῶναι ὡς ἔστι τὸ ὄν Plat. *resp.* v, 477[b]

ταὐτόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖ νοεῖν τε καὶ εἶναι Procl. *Parm.*,
ταὐτόν ἐστι τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ εἶναι *theol. Plat.*

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5 (6 DK)

χρὴ τὸ λέγειν τε νοεῖν τ᾽ ἐὸν ἔμμεναι, ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι,
μηδὲν δ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν · τά σ᾽ ἐγὼ φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα·
πρώτης γάρ σ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὁδοῦ ταύτης διζήσιος <εἴργω>,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς, ἣν δὴ βροτοὶ εἰδότες οὐδὲν
πλάζονται δίκρανοι, ἀμηχανίη γὰρ ἐν αὐτῶν 5
στήθεσιν ἰθύνει πλαγκτὸν νόον, οἱ δὲ φορεῦνται
κωφοὶ ὁμῶς τυφλοί τε, τεθηπότες, ἄκριτα φῦλα,
οἷς τὸ πέλειν τε καὶ οὐκ εἶναι τωὐτὸν νενόμισται
κοὐ τωὐτόν, πάντων δὲ παλίντροπός ἐστι κέλευθος.

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2 τὰ δέ σε φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα | ρ 279
4 | αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ᾽ αὐτοῖσι A 51 εἰδότα πολλά | ι 281
5 | πλάζεσθαι μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον π 151 ἀήθεσσον γὰρ ἔτ᾽ αὐτῶν | K 493
6 | ῥεῖα δέ τ᾽ ἰθύνει σκολιόν Hes. *op.* 7
ἀμηχανίη δ᾽ ἔχε θυμόν | ι 295
7 τεθηπότες ἠύτε νεβροί | Δ 243 ἄκριτοί εἰσιν | B 796
ἄγρια φῦλα | T 30
9 πάλιν τρέπε μηδ᾽ ἔα ἄντην | ἔρχεσθ᾽ Θ 399–400

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2 οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἴη τό γε μηδέν Melissus fr. 7, 7
6–7 τὴν (sc. Φιλότητα) σὺ νόῳ δέρκευ μηδ᾽ ὄμμασιν ἧσο τεθηπώς Emped. fr. 17, 21

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1 λέγειν τε Karsten: λέγειν τὸ codd. τεὸν F, τὸ ὂν DE
2 μηδὲν δὲ codd. 86, μὴ δὲ οἴδ᾽ D 117, μὴ δέοι δ᾽ E 117, μὴ δὲ οἷδ᾽ F 117
τά σ᾽ ἐγὼ Bergk: τά γ᾽ ἐγὼ D, τοῦ ἐγὼ E, τά γε F
3 εἴργω suppl. Diels
5 πλάζονται Ald.: πλάττονται codd.
6 πλαγκτὸν F (e πλακτὸν factum): πλακτὸν DE φορεῦνται E: φοροῦνται DF
7 ὁμῶς D: ὅμως EF
8–9 τωὐτὸν … τωὐτόν Stein: ταὐτὸν … ταὐτόν codd.

[56] 6

'Gaze on even absent things with your mind as present and do so steadily. For it will not sever Being from cleaving to Being, as either dispersing or gathering in every direction in every way in regular order.'

1–4 Clem., *strom.* v, 15
1 Procl. *Parm.* 1152; Theodoret., *gr. aff. cur.* i, 72 (ex Clem.)
2 Dam. i, 67

6 (4 DK) [57]

λεῦσσε δ᾽ ὅμως ἀπεόντα νόῳ παρεόντα βεβαίως ·
οὐ γὰρ ἀποτμήξει τὸ ἐὸν τοῦ ἐόντος ἔχεσθαι
οὔτε σκιδνάμενον πάντῃ πάντως κατὰ κόσμον
οὔτε συνιστάμενον.

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2 | μοῦνον ἀποτμήξας πόλιος X 456 **3** εὖ κατὰ κόσμον | K 472

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1 τὴν σὺ νόῳ δέρκευ Emped. fr. 17, 21
ὁππότε γὰρ πάσῃσιν ὀρέξαιτο πραπίδεσσιν,
ῥεῖ᾽ ὅ γε τῶν ὄντων πάντων λεύσσεσκεν ἕκαστον
καί τε δέκ᾽ ἀνθρώπων καί τ᾽ εἴκοσιν αἰώνεσσιν Emped. fr. 129, 4–6
2 οὐ κεχώρισται ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ κόσμῳ οὐδὲ ἀποκέκοπται πελέκει οὔτε τὸ θερμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ οὔτε τὸ ψυχρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ Anaxag. fr. 8 (cf. fr. 6)
3–4 πυκνὸν δὲ καὶ ἀραιὸν οὐκ ἂν εἴη Melissus fr. 7, 8

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1 λεῦσ(σ)ε Clem., Theodoret. KBL, Procl. m: λεύσει Theodoret. MSCV, Procl. **Σ**aA
νόῳ Clem., Theodoret.: νόων Procl. βεβαίων Procl. **Φ**
2 ἀποτμήξει Clem.: ἀποτμήσει Dam. ἔχεσθαι Dam.: ἔχθεσθαι Clem.

[58] 7

'For this principle shall never be vanquished, so as to allow things to be that are not, but do you keep your thought from this way of enquiry. And let not habit do violence to you on the empirical way of exercising an unseeing eye and a noisy ear (5) and tongue, but decide by discourse the controversial test enjoined by me. Only one story of the way is still left …'

1–2 Pl. *soph.* 237[a], 258[d] (hinc Simpl. *phys.* 135, 244); Simpl. *phys.* 143–144
1 Ar. *metaph.* N2, 1089[a] 4 (hinc ps.-Alex. ad loc., Syr. lemma)
2–7 Sext. *adv. math,* vii, 111
2 Simpl. *phys.* 78, 650
3–6 (… ῥηθέντα) Sext. ib. vii, 114
3–5 Diog. Laert. ix, 22

7 [59]

οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ, εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα,
ἀλλὰ σὺ τῆσδ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὁδοῦ διζήσιος εἶργε νόημα ·
μηδέ σ᾽ ἔθος πολύπειρον ὁδὸν κατὰ τήνδε βιάσθω,
νωμᾶν ἄσκοπον ὄμμα καὶ ἠχήεσσαν ἀκουὴν
καὶ γλῶσσαν, κρῖναι δὲ λόγῳ πολύδηριν ἔλεγχον
ἐξ ἐμέθεν ῥηθέντα · μόνος δ᾽ ἔτι μῦθος ὁδοῖο
λείπεται.

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1 οὐ μὲν γάρ κε δάμῃ παύροισι βροτοῖσι | I 545
2 ἀλλὰ σὺ τῶν μὲν πάμπαν ἔεργ᾽ ἀεσίφρονα θυμόν Hes. *op.* 335
4 νόον πολυκερδέα νωμῶν | ν 255 οὔτ᾽ ἄσκοπος οὔτ᾽ ἀλιτήμων | Ω 157 θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα | A 157 ἔκαθεν δέ τε γίγνετ᾽ ἀκουή | Π 634
5 δὴ γὰρ ἔλεγχος | Λ 314

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1 δοκεῖ δή μοι τὸ μὲν σύμπαν τέχνη εἶναι οὐδεμία οὐκ ἐοῦσα · καὶ γὰρ ἄλογον τῶν ἐόντων τι ἡγεῖσθαι μὴ ἐόν · ἐπεὶ τῶν γε μὴ ἐόντων τίνα ἄν τις οὐσίην θεησάμενος ἀπαγγείλειεν ὡς ἔστιν; [Hippocr.] *de arte* 2
4 ἀκοὴν ἐρίδουπον Emped. fr. 3, 11

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1 τοῦτο δαμῇ Ar. EJ, Simpl. DE 143, E 135, E 244: τοῦτ᾽ οὐδαμῇ Plat. BTW 237[a], BTW 258[d], Ar. A[b], Syr., Simpl. F 244, τούτου οὐδαμὴ F 143, τοῦτο μηδαμῇ D 135, D 244, Ps.-Alex., τοῦτο δαῇς Ar. recc., τοῦτο … ἐόντα om. in lac. Simpl. F 135 ἐόντα Plat. W 258[d], Ar., Ps.-Alex., Syr.: ὄντα Plat. BTW 237[a], BT 258[d], Simpl.
2 διζήσιος Plat. 258[d], Sext., Simpl.: διζήμενος Plat. 237[a]
3 σ᾽ ἔθος Sext.: σε θεὸς Diog.
5 κρίνε Sext. πολύδηριν Diog.: πολύπειρον Sext.
6–7 (μόνος … λείπεται) = fr. 8, 1–2, q.v.

[60] 8

‘Only one story of the way is still left: that a thing is. On this way there are very many signs: that Being is ungenerated and imperishable, entire, unique, unmoved and perfect;

1–52 Simpl. *phys.* 145–146
1–3 ib. 142
1–3 (… μάλα) ib. 78
1–2 (… λείπεται) = fr. 7, 6–7
3 (ὡς …)**-14** *phys.* 78
3 (ὡς …)**-5** ib. 30
3–4 Clem, *strom.* v, 112 (hinc Eus. *P.E.* xiii, 13, 39)
4 Ps.-Plut. *strom.* 5 (?hinc Theodoret, *gr. aff. cur.* ii, 108); Theodoret. iv, 7 (Aët. i, 3, 13); Procl. *Parm.* 1152; Philop. *phys.* 65; Simpl. *cael.* 557, *phys.* 120
4 (οὐλομελές …) Plut. *Colot.* 1114^{c}
4 (οὐλομελὲς καὶ ἀτρεμὲς) Procl. *Parm.* 1077, 1084
4 (οὖλον μουνογενές τε) Simpl. *phys.* 87

8 [61]

μόνος δ᾽ ἔτι μῦθος ὁδοῖο
λείπεται, ὡς ἔστιν · ταύτῃ δ᾽ ἐπὶ σήματ᾽ ἔασι
πολλὰ μάλ᾽, ὡς ἀγένητον ἐὸν καὶ ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστιν,
οὖλον μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ᾽ † ἀτέλεστον,

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2 σήματα φαίνων | B 353
3 | πολλὰ μάλ᾽ εὐχομένω I 183
4 | οὐδ᾽ ὅτι μουνογενής Hes. *theog.* 426

3–6 ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔστιν οὐσία τις ἀίδιος καὶ ἀκίνητος καὶ κεχωρισμένη τῶν αἰσθητῶν, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων · δέδεικται δὲ καὶ ὅτι μέγεθος οὐδὲν ἔχειν ἐνδέχεται ταύτην τὴν οὐσίαν ἀλλ᾽ ἀμερὴς καὶ ἀδιαίρετός ἐστιν Arist. *metaph.* Λ 7, 1073^{a} 3–7
3–5 ὅτε τοίνυν οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἔστι δέ, ἀεὶ ἦν καὶ ἀεὶ ἔσται Melissus, fr. 2
λέγομεν γὰρ δὴ ὡς ἦν ἔστιν τε καὶ ἔσται (sc. ἡ ἀίδιος οὐσία),
τῇ δὲ τὸ ἔστιν μόνον κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον προσήκει Plat. *Tim.* 37^{e}
4 ὁλόκληρα δὲ καὶ ἁπλᾶ καὶ ἀτρεμῆ καὶ εὐδαίμονα φάσματα Plat. *Phaedr.* 250^{c}

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1 μόνος Sext. (fr. 7, 6), Simpl. F 78, DEF 142, F 145: μοῦνος Simpl. DE 78, DE 145
δ᾽ ἔτι Simpl. 142: δέ τι Sext. NLE (fr. 7, 6), Simpl. 78, 145, δέ τοι Sext. ς (fr. 7, 6)
μῦθος Simpl.: θυμὸς Sext. (fr. 7, 6)
4 οὖλον Clem., Eus. O, Theodoret. iv KBLMC, Procl. Σ A 1152, Philop., Simpl. *cael.*, *phys.*: μοῦνον Ps.-Plut., Eus. IN, Theodoret. ii, *id.* iv SV, om. Procl. Φ 1152
μο(υ)νογενές Clem., Ps.-Plut., Eus., Theodoret., Philop., Simpl.:
μουνομελές Procl. Σ 1152, μουνομελὲ ο A 1152,
οὐλομενές Φ 1084, Φ 1152, οὐλομελές Plut., Procl. 1077, Σ 1084, integrum Λ 1084
ἠδ᾽ ἀτέλεστον Simpl. *phys.* E 30, D 78, DEF 145: ἢ δ᾽ ἀτέλεστον
E^{a} 30, ἢ ἀτέλεστον F 30, ἤδ᾽ ἀτέλεστον F 78, ἢ δι᾽ ἀτέλεστον E 78, periit D 30,
ἠδ᾽ ἀγέν(ν)ητον Simpl. *cael.*, *phys.* 120, Plut., Ps.-Plut., Clem.,
Eus., Theodoret., Procl., Philop.

[62] (5) it never was nor will be, since it is now all together, one, indivisible. For what parentage of it will you look for?

1–52 Simpl. *phys.* 145–146
5–6 (… οὐλοφυές) Ascl. *metaph.* 42
5 Ammon. *de int.* 136 (hinc Olympiod. *Phaed.* 75; Cramer, *anec.* i, 388; Ascl. *metaph.* 38, 202; Philop. *phys.* 65)
5 (ἐπεὶ … πᾶν) Simpl. *phys.* 143; Procl. *Parm.* 665; (ὁμοῦ πᾶν) Plot. vi, 4, 4; Simpl. *phys.* 147
6 (τίνα …)**-10** Simpl. *phys.* 162
6 (τίνα …)**-9** (… οὐκ ἔστι) Simpl. *cael.* 137

οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἦν οὐδ᾽ ἔσται, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν, 5 [63]
ἕν, συνεχές · τίνα γὰρ γένναν διζήσεαι αὐτοῦ;

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6 διζησόμεθ᾽ ἄλλους | π 239

5–10 ἀεὶ ἦν ὅ τι ἦν καὶ ἀεὶ ἔσται· εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πρὶν γενέσθαι εἶναι μηδέν · εἰ τοίνυν μηδὲν ἦν, οὐδαμὰ ἂν γένοιτο οὐδὲν ἐκ μηδενός Melissus fr. 1

5–6 οὕτως οὖν ἀίδιόν ἐστι καὶ ἄπειρον καὶ ἓν καὶ ὅμοιον πᾶν Melissus fr. 7, 1

5 ὅτε τοὐλάχιστον μὴ ἔστιν εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο χωρισθῆναι οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπωσπερ ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ νῦν πάντα ὁμοῦ Anaxag. fr. 6
τό τ᾽ ἦν τό τ᾽ ἔσται χρόνου γεγονότα εἴδη, ἃ δὴ φέροντες λανθάνομεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀίδιον οὐσίαν οὐκ ὀρθῶς Plat. *Tim.* 37[e]

6–15 νήπιοι, οὐ γάρ σφιν δολιχόφρονές εἰσι μέριμναι,
οἳ δὴ γίγνεσθαι πάρος οὐκ ἐὸν ἐλπίζουσιν
ἤ τι καταθνήσκειν τε καὶ ἐξόλλυσθαι ἀπάντῃ Emped. fr. 11
ἔκ τε γὰρ οὐδάμ᾽ ἐόντος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι,
τό τ᾽ ἐὸν ἐξαπολέσθαι ἀνήνυστον καὶ ἄπυστον Emped. fr. 12, 1–2
ταῦτα δεῖ διαλαβόντας συνορᾶν ἤδη περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲν γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος … καὶ εἰ ἐφθείρετο δὲ τὸ ἀφανιζόμενον εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, πάντα ἂν ἀπωλώλει τὰ πράγματα Epic. *ep.* i, p. 5, 12 Us.

6–10 καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ γενητὸν εἶναι δύναται τὸ ὄν. εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἤτοι ἐξ ὄντος ἢ ἐκ μὴ ὄντος γέγονεν. ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος γέγονεν · εἰ γὰρ ὄν ἐστιν, οὐ γέγονεν ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ἤδη · οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος · τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὂν οὐδὲ γεννῆσαί τι δύναται διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφείλειν ὑπάρξεως μετέχειν τὸ γεννητικόν τινος. οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ γενητόν ἐστι τὸ ὄν. Gorg. fr. 3 (*FdV* ii, 280, 27; cf. [Ar.] *MXG* 979[b] 26 sq.)

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5 οὐ γὰρ ἔην, οὐκ ἔσται, ὁμοῦ πᾶν, ἔστι δὲ μοῦνον
Ammon., Ascl., Philop., Olympiod. (οὐκ ἦν Philop., οὐδ᾽ ἔσται Ammon.)

6 ἕν, συνεχές: οὐλοφυές Ascl. γένναν Simpl. *cael., phys.* EF 145:
γέννην *phys.* EF 78, DEF 162, γενεὴν *phys.* D 78, D 145
διζήσεαι *cael., phys.* DE 78, DE 145, DE 162: διζήσεται *phys.* F 78, F 145, F 162

[64] How and whence grown? I shall not let you say or conceive, 'from Not-being', for it cannot be said or conceived that anything is not; and then what necessity in fact could have urged (10) it to begin and spring up later or before from Nothing? Thus it must either be entirely or not be at all. Nor will the strength of conviction ever impel anything to come to be alongside it from Not-being. Therefore justice did not loosen it in her fetters and move it either to come to be or to be perishing (15) but holds it fast, and the decision regarding these things depends on that of the issue, *is or is not.* Now it has been decided, as was necessary, to leave the one way unconceived and nameless, since it is not a real way, and for the other to be a way and authentic.

1–52 Simpl. *phys.* 145–146
6 (τίνα …)**-10** Simpl. *phys.* 162
6 (τίνα …)**-9** (… οὐκ ἔστι) Simpl. *cael.* 137

πῇ πόθεν αὐξηθέν; οὔτ᾽ ἐκ μὴ ἐόντος ἐάσω [65]
φάσθαι σ᾽ οὐδὲ νοεῖν, οὐ γὰρ φατὸν οὐδὲ νοητόν
ἐστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἔστι · τί δ᾽ ἄν μιν καὶ χρέος ὦρσεν
ὕστερον ἢ πρόσθεν τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀρξάμενον φῦν;
οὕτως ἢ πάμπαν πελέναι χρεών ἐστιν ἢ οὐκί.
οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἐκ μὴ ἐόντος ἐφήσει πίστιος ἰσχὺς
γίγνεσθαί τι παρ᾽ αὐτό · τοῦ εἵνεκεν οὔτε γενέσθαι
οὔτ᾽ ὄλλυσθαι ἀνῆκε δίκη χαλάσασα πέδῃσιν
ἀλλ᾽ ἔχει, ἡ δὲ κρίσις περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷδ᾽ ἐστιν,
ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν · κέκριται δ᾽ οὖν, ὥσπερ ἀνάγκη,
τὴν μὲν ἐᾶν ἀνόητον ἀνώνυμον, οὐ γὰρ ἀληθής
ἐστιν ὁδός, τὴν δ᾽ ὥστε πέλειν καὶ ἐτήτυμον εἶναι.

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7 | τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; Φ 150 οὐ γὰρ ἐάσω | P 449
8 | φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα ι 504
11 | ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ πάμπαν *H. Aphr.,* V 233
ἦε καὶ οὐκί | B 238
13 τοῦ εἵνεκα νεῖκος ὄρωρεν | Γ 87
14 ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἀνῆκε πολυτλήμων πολεμίζειν H 152
15 | ἀλλ᾽ ἔχει Hes. *theog.* 425 (cf. Ω 27)
17 | ἄφραστ᾽ ἠδ᾽ ἀνόητα *H. Herm.* 80
| οὐ μὲν γάρ τις πάμπαν ἀνώνυμος ϑ 552
18 ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτήτυμόν ἐστιν | *H. Apoll.* 176

12–13 τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐπαυξήσειε τὸ πᾶν τί κε καὶ πόθεν ἐλθόν;
πῇ δέ κε κἠξαπόλοιτο : Emped. fr. 17, 32–33
παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ὂν τὸ μὴ ὂν οὐθὲν ἀξιῶν εἶναι, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἓν οἴεται εἶναι, τὸ ὄν, καὶ ἄλλο οὐθέν Ar. *metaph.* A5, 986^{b}28

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7 ἐόντος Simpl. *cael.* DE, *phys.* E 78, DEF 162: ὄντος *cael.* AB, *phys.* F 78, DEF 145 ἐάσω *cael.* E, *phys.* DEF 78, DE 145, DE 162: ἐάσσω *cael.* D, *phys.* F 145, F 162, ἐασέω *cael.* AB
10 φῦν *phys.* E 78, E 145, DEF 162: φύν D 145, φυ̂ (sequitur spat. iii litt.) F 145, φῦναι D 78, φυὲν F 78
11 οὐκί Karsten: οὐχί codd.
12 ἐκ μὴ ἐόντος Diels: ἐκ μὴ ὄντος DE 78, DE 145, ἔκ γε μὴ ὄντος F 78, F 145
13 γίγνεσθαι DE 145: γίνεσθαι DEF 78, F 145
15 ἡ δὲ: ἥδε codd. ἐστιν Ald.: ἔνεστιν codd.
16 ἔστιν prius om. F
17 ἀνόητον F: ἀνόνητον DE

[66] And how could what becomes have being, how come into being, (20) seeing that, if it came to be, it is not, nor is it, if at some time it is going to be? Thus becoming has been extinguished and perishing is unheard of.

Nor is it divisible, since it is all alike and not any more in degree in some respect, which might keep it from uniting, or any inferior, but it is all full of Being. (25) Therefore it is all united, for Being draws near to[11] Being.

1–52 Simpl. *phys.* 145–146
21 Simpl. *cael.* 559
22 Simpl. *phys.* 143
22 (ἐπεὶ … ὅμοιον) ib. 86
24 (τὸ γὰρ ἐὸν ἓν πλεῖον ἐόντος) Dam. ii, 146 = Iambl. in *Parm. Plat.* fr. 6 Dillon
25 Simpl. *phys.* 86, 87
25 (ἐὸν … πελάζει) Plot. vi, 4, 4; Procl. *Parm.* 665, 708, 1080; Philop. *phys.* 65; Dam. i, 131

11. The first edition had 'is adjacent to'; Coxon A has 'joins with'. (RMcK)

[67]

πῶς δ’ἂν ἔπειτα πέλοιτο ἐόν; πῶς δ’ ἄν κε γένοιτο;
εἰ γὰρ ἔγεντ’, οὐκ ἔστ’, οὐδ’ εἴ ποτε μέλλει ἔσεσθαι.
τὼς γένεσις μὲν ἀπέσβεσται καὶ ἄπυστος ὄλεθρος.
οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐστιν ὁμοῖον,
οὐδέ τι τῇ μᾶλλον, τό κεν εἴργοι μιν συνέχεσθαι,
οὐδέ τι χειρότερον, πᾶν δ’ ἔμπλεόν ἐστιν ἐόντος·
τῷ ξυνεχὲς πᾶν ἐστιν · ἐὸν γὰρ ἐόντι πελάζει.

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19 πῶς δ’ ἂν ἔπειτ’ Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην; α 65
20 ξεῖν’, οὔ μοι θέμις ἔστ’, οὐδ’ εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι ξ 56
21 | τὼς μὲν τ 234
| οἴχετ’ ἄιστος ἄπυστος α 242 ὄλεθρον ἀπευθέα γ 88
23 | τῆλέ με εἴργουσι ψυχαὶ Ψ 72
24 | αἴ κέ σε χειρότερος Υ 436
25 ὀδύνῃσι πελάζειν | E 766

19–20 τὸ δ’ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἔχον ἀκινήτως οὔτε πρεσβύτερον οὔτε νεώτερον προσήκει γίγνεσθαι διὰ χρόνου οὐδὲ γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲ γεγονέναι νῦν οὐδ’ εἰς αὖθις ἔσεσθαι Pl. *Tim.* 38[a]
21 τό τ’ ἐὸν ἐξαπολέσθαι ἀνήνυστον καὶ ἄπυστον Emped. fr. 12, 2
22 νοῦς δὲ πᾶς ὅμοιός ἐστι Anaxag. fr. 12 *fin.*
23–24 οὐδέ τι τοῦ παντὸς κενεὸν πέλει οὐδὲ περισσόν Emped. fr. 13
πυκνὸν δὲ καὶ ἀραιὸν οὐκ ἂν εἴη. τὸ γὰρ ἀραιὸν οὐκ ἀνυστὸν πλέων εἶναι ὁμοίως τῷ πυκνῷ ἀλλ’ ἤδη τὸ ἀραιόν γε κενεώτερον γίνεται τοῦ πυκνοῦ. κρίσιν δὲ ταύτην χρὴ ποιήσασθαι τοῦ πλέω καὶ τοῦ μὴ πλέω · εἰ μὲν οὖν χωρεῖ τι ἢ εἰσδέχεται, οὐ πλέων · εἰ δὲ μήτε χωρεῖ μήτε εἰσδέχεται, πλέων. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν πλέων εἶναι, εἰ κενὸν μὴ ἔστιν Melissus fr. 7, 8–10

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19 πέλοιτο codd.: πέλοι τὸ edd. κε F: καὶ DE
20 ἔγεντ’ Marc. Cl. iv, 15 : ἔγετ’ D, ἐγένετ’ EF
οὐκ ἔστ’ Ald.: οὐκ ἔστιν F, οὐκ ἐστὶν D, om. E
21 τὼς *phys.* EF: πῶς D, τὸ *cael.*
ἄπυστος *phys.* F, *cael.* A: ἄπτυστος *phys.* DE, ἄπαυστος *cael.* DE
24 πᾶν δ’ ἔμπλεόν ἐστιν *phys.* DE: πᾶν δὲ πλέον ἐστὶν F, τὸ γὰρ ἐὸν ἓν πλεῖον Dam.
25 τῷ *phys.* F 86, F 87, DEF 145: τὸ DE 86, DE 87

[68] Further, it is changeless in the coils of huge bonds, without beginning or cessation, since becoming and perishing have strayed very far away, thrust back by authentic conviction; remaining the same and in the same state, it lies by itself (30) and remains thus where it is perpetually, for strong necessity

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1–52 Simpl. *phys.* 145–146
26–28 Simpl. *phys.* 39–40
26–28 (… ἐπλάγχθησαν) ib. 79–80
26 Procl. *Parm.* 1152; (ἀκίνητον) Plot. v, 1, 8
29–33 Simpl. *phys.* 30
29–32 Procl. *Parm.* 1134
29 ib. 1152, 1177; Simpl. *phys.* 143
29 (ταὐτὸν … μίμνον) Procl. *Parm.* 639; (ἐν ταὐτῷ μένον) Simpl. *phys.* 77
30–33 Simpl. *phys.* 40
30 (οὕτως … μένει) Procl. *Parm.* 1152

αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον μεγάλων ἐν πείρασι δεσμῶν [69]
ἐστιν ἄναρχον ἄπαυστον, ἐπεὶ γένεσις καὶ ὄλεθρος
τῆλε μάλ᾽ ἐπλάγχθησαν, ἀπῶσε δὲ πίστις ἀληθής·
τωὐτόν τ᾽ ἐν τωὐτῷ τε μένον καθ᾽ ἑαυτό τε κεῖται
χοὔτως ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένει · κρατερὴ γὰρ ἀνάγκη 30

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26 μέγας κατὰ δεσμὸς ἐρύκει | Hes. *theog.* 616
28 τῆλε μάλ᾽, ἧχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον **Θ** 14
| τῆλε δ᾽ ἀπεπλάγχθη σάκεος **Χ** 291
29–30 αἰεὶ δ᾽ ἐν ταὐτῷ μίμνει κινούμενος οὐδὲν
οὐδὲ μετέρχεσθαί μιν ἐπιπρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ Xenophan. fr. 26 Diels
30–31 κόπτε δὲ δεσμοὺς | ἀρρήκτους ἀλύτους, ὄφρ᾽ ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένοιεν **Θ** 274–275 (cf. **Ν** 36–37)
Ἄτλας δ᾽ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης
πείρασιν ἐν γαίης Hes. *theog.* 517–518

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29 μόνος αὐτὸς ἐπ᾽ ἐωυτοῦ ἐστιν (sc. νοῦς) Anaxag. fr. 12 *init.*

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26 αὐτοκίνητ᾽ ἄρα κινητὸν (κινητῶν) Procl. ἐμπείρασι *phys.* E[a]39, Procl. f A
28 τῆλε *phys.* E Marc. Cl. iv, 15 80: τῆδε DEF 40, 146, DF 80, τῆ δὲ E[a]40
ἐπλάγχθησαν E[a] F 40, DF 80: ἐπλάχθησαν DE 40, E 80, DEF 146
29 τωὐτόν Karsten: ταὐτόν *phys.*, Procl. τ᾽ ἐν *phys.* E[a] Mo[12] 30, DEF 146, Procl. **Σ** 1177: (idem)que in Procl. **Λ** 1177, τε ὂν ἐν *phys.* DF 30, τε ὂν καὶ ἐν E 30, ὂν ἐν DEF 143, ἐν Procl. 1134, 1152, **Φ** 1177, in **Λ** 639, ἔτ᾽ **Σ Φ** 639
τωὐτῷ Karsten: ταὐτῷ *phys.*, Procl. (αὐτὸ **ΣΦ** 639, ταὐτὸν **Σ** 1134) τε μένον *phys.* E[a]F 30, DEF 143, 146: μένον καὶ DE 30, μίμνον Procl. 639, μίμνει 1134, 1177, μιμ A 1152, μιμήμει m 1152, μίμημα **Σ**a 1152
ἑαυτό τε *phys.* 143, 146, Procl. 1134, rA 1152, **Σ** 1177: αὐτό τε **Φ** 1177, ἑτό τε f 1152, ἕν τε **Φ** 1152, ἑαυτὸ *phys.* 30
30 χοὔτως *phys.* DF 146: οὐχ οὕτως E 146, οὕτως 30, 40, Procl. 1134, **Σ**A 1152, om. **Φ** 1152

12. The reference to Mo was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[70] holds it in the bondage of a limit, which keeps it apart, because it is not lawful that Being should be incomplete, for it is not defective, whereas Not-being would lack everything.

The same thing is for conceiving as is cause of the thought conceived; (35) for not without Being, when predications have been asserted[13] of it, will you find the cause so as to conceive of it.[14] And time is not nor will be

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1–52 Simpl. *phys.* 145–146
29–33 Simpl. *phys.* 30
29–32 Procl. *Parm.* 1134
30–33 Simpl. *phys.* 40
34–36 (… νοεῖν) Simpl. *phys.* 87, 143
35–36 (… νοεῖν) Procl. *Parm.* 1152
36 (ἐστιν …)**-38** Simpl. *phys.* 86–87

13. The first edition had 'one thing has been said of another'; Coxon A has 'assertions have been made'. (RMcK)
14. The first edition had 'conceiving'; Coxon A has 'the cause for conceiving'. (RMcK)

πείρατος ἐν δεσμοῖσιν ἔχει, τό μιν ἀμφὶς ἐέργει, [71]
οὕνεκεν οὐκ ἀτελεύτητον τὸ ἐὸν θέμις εἶναι ·
ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιδεές, μὴ ἐὸν δ᾽ ἂν παντὸς ἐδεῖτο.
τωὐτὸν δ᾽ ἐστὶ νοεῖν τε καὶ οὕνεκέν ἐστι νόημα ·
οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐόντος, ἐν ᾧ πεφατισμένον ἐστίν, 35
εὑρήσεις τὸ νοεῖν · οὐδὲ χρόνος ἐστὶν ἢ ἔσται

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31 | πλείοσί μ᾽ ἐν δεσμοῖσι δέον μ 196
τὼ μέν τε ζυγὸν οἷον ἐύξοον ἀμφὶς ἐέργει **N** 706
32 | οὕνεκά οἱ γ 53
οὐδ᾽ ἀτελεύτητον ὅ τί κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω A 527
34 ἐστι νόημα | Hes. *theog.* 656

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31 τό *phys.* 40, 146, Procl: τε *phys.* 30 μιν *phys.:* μὴν Procl. **Σ**A, μέν **Φ**
32 οὕνεκεν *phys.* D (pr. man.), Marc. Cl. iv, 15 146: οὔνεκεν DEE^{a}F 30, DEF 146, τοὔνεκεν Procl. **Σ**A, τοὔνεκα **Φ**
ἀτελεύτητον *phys.,* Procl. m.: ἀτέλευτον **Σ** aA
τὸ ἐὸν *phys.* E^{a} 30, E^{a}F 40, DEF Mo^{15} 146: τ᾽ἐὸν DE 30, DE 40, τεὸν F 30, τοῖον Procl. **Σ**a, τοῖον εἰ m, το τοῖον A εἶναι *phys.:* εἶπεν Procl. **Σ**A, εἰπεῖν **Φ**
33 ἐπιδεές *phys.* DE 30, DE 40, D 146: ἐπιδευές E^{a}F 30, E^{a}F 40, EF 146
μὴ ἐὸν DEE^{a}F 30, 40: μὴ ὂν DEF 146
34 τωὐτὸν Karsten: ταὐτὸν *phys.*
οὕνεκεν D 146, Marc. Cl. iv, 15 146:
οὔνεκεν DEF 143, EF 146, E 87, οὗ ἕνεκεν F 87, οὗ ἕνεκα D 87
35 ἐόντος ἐν ᾧ *phys.:* ἐόντος ἐφ᾽ ᾧ Procl. A, ὄντος ἐφ᾽ ᾧ **ΣΦ** πεφατισμένον *phys.* F 87, EF 143, DEF 146, Procl. **Σ**A: πεφωτισμένον *phys.* DE 87, D 143, Procl. **Φ**
36 οὐδὲ χρόνος scripsi: οὐδ᾽ εἰ χρόνος *phys.* 146, οὐδὲν γὰρ 86 (Simpl. paraphr.) ἔσται EF 146: ἔστιν D 146, ἔσται πάρεξ DEF 86 (Simpl. paraphr.)

15. The reference to Mo was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[72] another thing alongside Being, since this was bound fast by fate to be entire and changeless. Therefore all those things will be a name,

1–52 Simpl. *phys.* 145–146
36–38 Simpl. *phys.* 86–87
38 Plat. *Theaet.* 180^{d} (hinc Eus. *P.E.* xiv, 4; Theodoret. ii, 15; Simpl. *phys.* 29, 143; anon. in *Theaet.* col. 70, 41)

ἄλλο πάρεξ τοῦ ἐόντος, ἐπεὶ τό γε μοῖρ᾽ ἐπέδησεν [73]
οὖλον ἀκίνητόν τ᾽ ἔμεναι · τῷ πάντ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ ἔσται

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37 οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε | ἄλλα παρὲξ εἴποιμι παρακλιδὸν δ 347–348
37–38 Ἕκτορα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ μεῖναι ὁλοιὴ μοῖρα πέδησεν X 5

38–41 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω · φύσις οὐδενός ἐστιν ἁπάντων
θνητῶν οὐδέ τις οὐλομένου θανάτοιο τελευτή,
ἀλλὰ μόνον μίξις τε διάλλαξίς τε μιγέντων
ἔστι, φύσις δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνομάζεται ἀνθρώποισιν Emped. fr. 8

εἰ γὰρ ἔστι γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ πῦρ καὶ σίδηρος καὶ χρυσός, καὶ τὸ μὲν ζῶον τὸ δὲ τεθνηκὸς καὶ μέλαν καὶ λευκὸν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα φασὶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἀληθῆ, εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ἔστι καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἀκούομεν, εἶναι χρὴ ἕκαστον τοιοῦτον οἷόν περ τὸ πρῶτον ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ μεταπίπτειν μηδὲ γίνεσθαι ἑτεροῖον, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι ὁμοῖον οἷόν πέρ ἐστιν ἕκαστον. νῦν δέ φαμεν ὀρθῶς ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ συνιέναι, δοκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν τό τε θερμὸν ψυχρὸν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν θερμὸν καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν μαλθακὸν καὶ τὸ μαλθακὸν σκληρὸν καὶ τὸ ζῶον ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ ἐκ μὴ ζῶντος γίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἑτεροιοῦσθαι, καὶ ὅ τι ἦν καὶ ὃ νῦν οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅ τε σίδηρος σκληρὸς ἐὼν τῷ δακτύλῳ κατατρίβεσθαι ὁμοῦ ῥέων καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ λίθος καὶ ἄλλο ὅ τι ἰσχυρὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι πᾶν, ἐξ ὕδατός τε γῆ καὶ λίθος γίνεσθαι · ὥστε συμβαίνει μήτε ὁρᾶν μήτε τὰ ὄντα γινώσκειν Melissus fr. 8, 2–3

τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτόματον οὐδὲν φαίνεται ἐὸν ἐλεγχόμενον · πᾶν γὰρ τὸ γινόμενον διά τι εὑρίσκοιτ᾽ ἂν γινόμενον, καὶ ἐν τῷ διά τι τὸ αὐτόματον οὐ φαίνεται οὐσίην ἔχον οὐδεμίην ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ὄνομα [Hippocr.] *de arte* 6 *fin.*

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38 οὖλον *phys.* 146, EF 87: ὅλον D 87, οἷον anon. in *Theaet.* col. 70, 41, οἷον Plat., Eus., Theodoret., *phys.* 29, 143
τ᾽ ἔμεναι Ald. 146: τ᾽ ἔμμεναι *phys.* 87, EF 146, ἔμμενε D 146, τελέθει Plat., Eus., Theodoret., *phys.* 29, 143, τε θέλει anon. in *Theaet.* col. 70, 42 πάντ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ ἔσται F 87: πᾶν τοὔνομ᾽ ἔσται D 87, πάντ᾽ ὀνόμασται E 87, DE 146, πάντ᾽ ὠνόμασται F 146, παντὶ ὄνομ᾽ εἶναι Plat., Eus., Theodoret., *phys.* 29, 143

[74] which mortals, confident that they are real, suppose (40) to be coming to be and perishing, to be and not to be, and to change their place and alter their bright aspect to dark and from dark to bright.

Since now its limit is ultimate, Being is in a state of perfection from every viewpoint, like the volume of a spherical ball, and equally poised in every direction from its centre. For it must not be (45) either at all greater or at all smaller in one regard than in another. For neither has Not-being any being which could halt the coming together of Being, nor is Being capable of being more than Being in one regard and less in another, since it is all inviolate. For it is equal with itself from every view and encounters determination all alike.

1–52 Simpl. *phys.* 145–146
42 (πεῖρας πύματον) Simpl. *phys.* 147
43–45 Plat. *soph.* 244^{e} (hinc [Ar.] *MXG* 2, 976^{a}8; Stob. *ecl.* i, 14, 2; Simpl. *phys.* 52, 89; Procl. *theol. Plat.* iii, 20)
43–44 (… ἰσοπαλὲς) Procl. *Tim.* ii, 69; Simpl. *phys.* 126, 137; (ex Plat. [Ar.] MXG 4, 978^{b}8)
43–44 (σφαίρης … πάντῃ) Procl. *Parm.* 1084, 1129
43 Eudem. fr. 45W; Simpl. *phys.* 127 (ex Plat. Simpl. *phys.* 52; Boeth. *consol.* iii, 12, 99)
43 (εὐκύκλου … ὄγκῳ) Simpl. *phys.* 146 (cf. Plot. v, 1, 8)
44 (μεσσόθεν … πάντῃ) Simpl. *phys.* 107
44 (μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλὲς) Ar. *phys.* iii, 6, 207^{a}17; Eudemus fr. 44W; Procl. *Parm.* 708; Ascl. *metaph.* 202; Simpl. *phys.* 502
44 (οὔτε τι …)**-45** Procl. *Parm.* 665

ὅσσα βροτοὶ κατέθεντο, πεποιθότες εἶναι ἀληθῆ, [75]
γίγνεσθαί τε καὶ ὄλλυσθαι, εἶναί τε καὶ οὐκί,
καὶ τόπον ἀλλάσσειν διά τε χρόα φανὸν ἀμείβειν.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πεῖρας πύματον, τετελεσμένου ἐστὶ
πάντοθεν, εὐκύκλου σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ,
μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ · τὸ γὰρ οὔτε τι μεῖζον
οὔτε τι βαιότερον πελέναι χρεών ἐστι τῇ ἢ τῇ.
οὔτε γὰρ οὐκ ἐόν ἐστι, τό κεν παύοι μιν ἱκνεῖσθαι
εἰς ὁμόν, οὔτ᾽ ἐόν ἐστιν ὅπως εἴη κεν ἐόντος
τῇ μᾶλλον τῇ δ᾽ ἧσσον, ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐστιν ἄσυλον·
οἷ γὰρ πάντοθεν ἶσον ὁμῶς ἐν πείρασι κύρει.

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39 | χλαίνας μὲν κατέθεντο ρ 86
πεποιθότες ἠδὲ βίηφι | M 135
41 διὰ δὲ χρὸα καλὸν ἔδαψεν | E 858
42 | ἔνθ᾽ ἄνδρα κτείνας πύματον Λ 759 εἰ τετελεσμένον ἐστί | Ξ 196
43 | πάντοθεν ἀμβολάδην Φ 364 | ἀσπίδος εὐκύκλου E 797
ἐναλίγκιον ἄντην | ω 371
47 | τῶν δ᾽ ὁμὸν N 333
49 οὔ τινά φησιν ὁμοῖον | οἷ ἔμεναι I 305–306

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49 ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε πάντοθεν ἶσος <ἑοῖ> καὶ πάμπαν ἀπείρων
σφαῖρος κυκλοτερὴς μονίῃ περιηγέι γαίων Emped. fr. 28

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40 οὐκί Karsten: οὐχί codd.
43 πάντοθεν: μεσ(σ)όθεν *phys.* 127, πάντοσ᾽ D 126
σφαίρης Procl., *phys.*: σφαίρας Plat.
44 ἰσοπαγές Ascl.
45 τι βεβαιότερον πέλεν Procl. **ΣΦ**, aliquid firmius approprinquare Λ χρεών Plat. W, Procl., *phys.* DF 146: χρεόν Plat. BT, *phys.* E 146
46 οὐκ ἐόν Ald.: οὔτε ὄν *phys.* DEF ἱκνεῖσθαι DE: κινεῖσθαι F
47 οὔτ᾽ ἐὸν Karsten: οὔτε ὃν DEF κεν Karsten: καὶ ἓν DEF
49 οἷ D: οἱ EF ἰσονόμως F κύρει Stein: κυρεῖ EF, κυροῖ D

[76] (50) Therewith I put a stop for you to my reliable discourse and thought about reality; from this point learn human beliefs, hearing the deceptive composition of my verse. For they resolved to name two Forms (of which it is wrong to name only one, wherein men have gone astray), (55) and they chose opposites in body and assigned them marks separate from one another, on the one hand aetherial fire of flame,

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1–52 Simpl. *phys.* 145–146
50–61 Simpl. *phys.* 38–39
50–52 Simpl. *cael.* 558; *phys.* 30 (cf. 147)
50–51 (… ἀληθείης) Simpl. *phys.* 41
53–59 ib. 30, 180

ἐν τῷ σοι παύω πιστὸν λόγον ἠδὲ νόημα 50 [77]
ἀμφὶς ἀληθείης, δόξας δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦδε βροτείας
μάνθανε κόσμον ἐμῶν ἐπέων ἀπατηλὸν ἀκούων.
μορφὰς γὰρ κατέθεντο δύο γνώμας ὀνομάζειν,
τῶν μίαν οὐ χρεών ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ πεπλανημένοι εἰσίν,
ἀντία δ᾽ ἐκρίναντο δέμας καὶ σήματ᾽ ἔθεντο 55
χωρὶς ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, τῇ μὲν φλογὸς αἰθέριον πῦρ,

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50 ἠδὲ νόημα | *H. Dem.* 329
55 | ἀντία Πηλεΐωνος Υ 80
| καὶ γὰρ ὅτ᾽ ἐκρίνοντο Hes. *theog.* 535
| εἰσάμενος Κάλχαντι δέμας Ν 45
δέελον δ᾽ ἐπὶ σῆμά τ᾽ ἔθηκε | Κ 466

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52 σὺ δ᾽ ἄκουε λόγου στόλον οὐκ ἀπατηλόν Emped. fr. 17, 26

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50 παύω *phys.* DEF 30, F 38, F 41, DEF 146: παύσω *cael., phys.* DEE^a 38, DEE^a 41
51 βροτείας *cael., phys.* 146: βροτείους *phys.* 30, 38 (cf. 147, 29)
53 γνώμας *phys.* DEE^{a}F 39: γνώμαις DEF 30, DE 180, ex γνώμας factum F 180
55 ἀντία DEE^{a}F 39, DEF 180, F 30: ἐναντία DE 30
δ᾽ ἐκρίναντο DEF 180, F 30, F 39: δὲ κρίναντο DE 30,
δ᾽ ἐκρίνοντο DE 39, δὲ κρίνον. το E^a 39
56 τῇ DEF 30, DEE^{a}F 39, EF 180: τὴν D 180

[78] being mild, immensely light, the same with itself in every direction but not the same as the other; that, on the other hand, being likewise in itself the opposites, unintelligent night, a dense and heavy body. (60) This order of things I declare to you to be likely in its entirety, in such a way that never shall any mortal outstrip you in practical judgement.'

50–61 Simpl. *phys.* 38–39
53–59 ib. 30, 180

[79]

ἤπιον ὄν, μέγ᾽ ἐλαφρόν, ἑωυτῷ πάντοσε τωὐτόν,
τῷ δ᾽ ἑτέρῳ μὴ τωὐτόν, ἀτὰρ κἀκεῖνο κατ᾽ αὐτὸ
τἀντία, νύκτ᾽ ἀδαῆ, πυκινὸν δέμας ἐμβριθές τε.
τόν σοι ἐγὼ διάκοσμον ἐοικότα πάντα φατίζω,
ὡς οὐ μή ποτέ τίς σε βροτῶν γνώμῃ παρελάσσῃ.

57 | ἠπίου, ὃς Ψ 281 | ἀθανάτους ὄντας η 94
| ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλ᾽ ἐλαφρὸς Π 745
60 ἐοικότα γὰρ καταλέξω | δ 239

57 ἡ δὲ φλὸξ ἱλάειρα Emped. fr. 85

57 ἤπιον: ἠπιόν E 180 ὃν μέγ᾽ F 30, F 39: τὸ μέγ᾽ DE 30, om. DEE^a 39, DEF 180 ἀραιὸν (ἄρ᾽ D 180) ἐλαφρόν codd., ἀραιὸν secl. Diels ἑωυτῷ DEE^{a}F 39: ἑαυτῷ DEF 30, DEF 180
59 τἀντία F 31, F 39, E 180: ταντία E^a 39, τἀναντία DE 31, DE 39, DF 180 νύκτ᾽ ἀδαῆ E 31, EE^a 39: νύκτ᾽ ἀδα ῆ D 31, D 39, νυκτάδα ἦ F 31, F 39, F 180, νύκτα δ᾽ ἀδαῆ DE 180
60 διάκοσμον E^{a}F: διακόσμον DE
61 παρελάσσῃ E^{a}F: παρελάσῃ DE

[80] 9

'You will understand[16] the aether's origin, and likewise all the signs in the aether and the invisible deeds of the pure torch of the brilliant sun, and whence they sprang; and you will learn of the migratory deeds of the round-faced moon (5) and of its origin; you will understand[17] also the heaven which surrounds them, whence it originated and how necessity led and chained it to control the stars.'

Clem. *strom.* v, 138

16. The first edition had 'know'. (RMcK)
17. The first edition had 'know'. (RMcK)

9 (10 DK) [81]

εἴσῃ δ' αἰθερίην τε φύσιν τά τ' ἐν αἰθέρι πάντα
σήματα καὶ καθαρῆς εὐαγέος ἠελίοιο
λαμπάδος ἔργ' ἀίδηλα, καὶ ὁππόθεν ἐξεγένοντο,
ἔργα τε κύκλωπος πεύσῃ περίφοιτα σελήνης
καὶ φύσιν, εἰδήσεις δὲ καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντα,
ἔνθεν ἔφυ τε καὶ ὥς μιν ἄγουσ' ἐπέδησεν ἀνάγκη
πείρατ' ἔχειν ἄστρων.

3 | ἠύτε πῦρ ἀίδηλον B 455 ἔργ' ἀίδηλα | Hes. fr. 60, 2
Νυκτὸς δ' αὖτ' Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο Hes. *theog.* 124
5 | εἰδήσεις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς η 327
κίονας … αἳ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι | α 53–54
6 | θάμνος ἔφυ ψ 190
6–7 v. ad 8, 30–31, 37–38
7 νίκης πείρατ' ἔχονται ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι H 102

1 αἰθέριον … μένος Emped. fr. 115, 9
1–2 ἄρκιος εἴην
ἀπλανέων τά τε κύκλα τά τ' αἰθέρι σήματ' ἐνισπεῖν Arat. *phaen.* 460
2 ἄνακτος … ἀγέα κύκλον Emped. fr. 47

1–2 αἰθερίην … καθαρῆς scripsi: αἰθερίαν … καθαρᾶς cod.
3 ὁππόθεν Sylburg: ὁπόθεν cod.
4 περίφοιτα Scaliger: περὶ φοιτὰ cod.
6 ἔνθεν ἔφυ τε: ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ἔφυγε cod., corr. Sylburg

[82] 10

'… how earth and sun and moon and universal aether and celestial galaxy and extreme olympus and the stars' hot power started to come into being.'

Simpl. *cael*. 559

10 (11 DK) [83]

πῶς γαῖα καὶ ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη
αἰθήρ τε ξυνὸς γάλα τ᾽ οὐράνιον καὶ ὄλυμπος
ἔσχατος ἠδ᾽ ἄστρων θερμὸν μένος ὡρμήθησαν
γίγνεσθαι.

1–4 εἴπατε δ᾽, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γένοντο
καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος οἴδματι θυίων
ἄστρα τε λαμπετόωντα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν Hes. *theog.* 108–110
2 γαῖα δ᾽ ἔτι ξυνὴ πάντων καὶ μακρὸς ὄλυμπος **O** 193
3 | ἔσχατοι, οὐδέ ζ 205
ἱερὸν μένος ἠελίοιο | *H. Apoll.* 371, cf. 374
διώκειν ὁρμήθησαν | **K** 359 αὐτοσχεδὸν ὡρμήθησαν | **N** 496

1–4 εἰ δ᾽ ἄγε τοι λέξω πρῶθ᾽ † ἥλιον ἀρχὴν †
ἐξ ὧν δῆλ᾽ ἐγένοντο τὰ νῦν ἐσορῶμεν ἅπαντα,
γαιά τε καὶ πόντος πολυκύμων ἠδ᾽ ὑγρὸς ἀὴρ
Τιτὰν ἠδ᾽ αἰθὴρ σφίγγων περὶ κύκλον ἅπαντα Emped. fr. 38

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3 θερμὸν AF: θερμῶν DE γίγνεσθαι DE: γίνεσθαι AF

[84] 11

'Now since light and night have been given all names, and the names corresponding to their potencies have been given to these things and those, all is full of light and invisible night together, both of them equal, since in neither is there Nothing.'

Simpl. *phys.* 180

11 (9 DK) [85]

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ πάντα φάος καὶ νὺξ ὀνόμασται
καὶ τὰ κατὰ σφετέρας δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖς,
πᾶν πλέον ἐστὶν ὁμοῦ φάεος καὶ νυκτὸς ἀφάντου
ἴσων ἀμφοτέρων, ἐπεὶ οὐδετέρῳ μέτα μηδέν.

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1 | αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ε 76
3 ἀκήδεστοι καὶ ἄφαντοι | Z 60

2, 4 ταῦτα γὰρ ἶσά τε πάντα καὶ ἥλικα γένναν ἔασι,
τιμῆς δ' ἄλλης ἄλλο μέδει, παρὰ δ' ἦθος ἑκάστῳ Emped. fr. 17, 27–28
4 οὐδέ τι τοῦ παντὸς κενεὸν πέλει οὐδὲ περισσόν Emped. fr. 13

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1 ὀνόμασται (in ὠνόμασται mutatum) F: ὠνόμασται DE
2 τὰ om. E
4 ἶσον D

[86]

12

'For the narrower rings became filled with unmixed fire and those over them with night, in which moves a proportion of flame. Between these is the divinity who governs all things. For everywhere she initiates hateful birth and union, (5) sending female to unite with male and male conversely with female.'

1–3 Simpl. *phys.* 39
2–6 ib. 31

13

'First of all the gods she devised love.'

Plat. *symp.* 178^{b} (? hinc Sext. *adv. math,* ix, 9; Stob. *ecl.* i, 9, 6); Ar. *metaph.* A4, 984^{b}26; Plut. *amat.* 13; Simpl. *phys.* 39

12 [87]

αἱ γὰρ στεινότεραι πλῆντο πυρὸς ἀκρήτοιο,
αἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇς νυκτός, μετὰ δὲ φλογὸς ἴεται αἶσα ·
ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τούτων δαίμων, ἣ πάντα κυβερνᾷ ·
πάντῃ γὰρ στυγεροῖο τόκου καὶ μίξιος ἄρχει
πέμπουσ᾽ ἄρσενι θῆλυ μιγῆν τό τ᾽ ἐναντίον αὖτις
ἄρσεν θηλυτέρῳ.

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1 τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθ᾽ ὕδατος ἐκχυμένοιο | Φ 300
ἄκρητον γάλα πίνων | ι 297
2 ὑψηλαί τε πύλαι σανίδες τ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇς ἀραρυῖαι Σ 275
μετὰ δ᾽ ἔσσεται, ἣν τότ᾽ ἀπηύρων | I 131
ἴεται αἰνῶς | β 327 ληίδος αἶσαν | Σ 327

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1 πλῆντο Bergk: παηντο E[a], πάηντο D[1], πύηντο D[2]E, om. F spatio relicto ἀκρήτοιο Stein: ἀκρήτοις DE[a], ἀκρίτοις EF
2 τῇς scripsi: ταῖς codd. ἴεται DEF 31, 39: οἴεται E[a] 39
4 πάντῃ Mullach: πάντα DEF, πάντων Mo[18] ἄρχει DE: ἀρχὴ F
5 μιγῆν Bergk: μιγὲν DEF αὖτις F: αὖθις DE

13

πρώτιστον μὲν ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων.

ἦ τοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ᾽, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ᾽ εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ …
ἠδ᾽ Ἔρος … Hes. *theog.* 116–120
| αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσομαι O 349

πρώτιστον Plat., Ar. recc., Plut., Sext., Simpl.: πρῶτον Ar. EA[b], πρώτιστα Stob.

18. The reference to Mo was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[88]

14

'… an alien light wandering darkly bright around the earth.'

Plut. *adv. Colot.* 15, 1116[a]

15

'… ever gazing towards[19] the rays of the sun.'

Plut. *aet. rom.* 76, 282 B, *de fac. lun.* 16, 929 B

16

'… rooted in water.'

Schol. Basilii XXV (ed. Pasquali, Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, Nachrichten, 1910, p. 201)

19. The first edition had 'on'. (RMcK)

14 [89]

νυκτιφαὲς περὶ γαῖαν ἀλώμενον ἀλλότριον φῶς

αἰεὶ γὰρ περὶ νῆσον ἀλώμενοι ἰχθυάασκον δ 368
ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ὁρώμενος ἀλλότριος φώς σ 219

κυκλοτερὲς περὶ γαῖαν ἑλίσσεται ἀλλότριον φῶς Emped. fr. 45

νυκτιφαὲς Scaliger: νυκτὶ φάος codd.

15

αἰεὶ παπταίνουσα πρὸς αὐγὰς ἠελίοιο

πάντῃ παπταίνοντι πρὸς ἠεροειδέα πέτρην μ 233
ὄρνιθες δέ τε πολλοὶ ὑπ᾽ αὐγὰς ἠελίοιο | φοιτῶσ᾽ β 181

ἀθρεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἄνακτος ἐναντίον ἀγέα κύκλον Emped. fr. 47

ἀεὶ codd.

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16 (15A DK)

ὑδατόριζον (sc. τὴν γῆν)

[90]

17

'For as is the temper which it has of the vagrant body at each moment, so is mind present to men; for it is the same as the awareness belonging to the nature of the body for all and each; for the preponderant is the thought the mind conceives.'

Ar. *metaph.* Γ5, 1009^{b}22 (hinc Alex., Ascl. ad loc.); Theophr. *de sens.* 3

18

'… in the right parts boys, in the left girls.'

Galen. in *epid. vi comm.* ii, 46 (CMG v. 10, 2, 2, p. 119)

17 (16 DK) [91]

ὡς γὰρ ἑκάστοτ᾽ ἔχῃ κρῆσιν μελέων πολυπλάγκτων,
τὼς νόος ἀνθρώποισι παρέστηκεν · τὸ γὰρ αὐτό
ἐστιν ὅπερ φρονέει μελέων φύσις ἀνθρώποισιν
καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ παντί · τὸ γὰρ πλέον ἐστὶ νόημα.

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1 πολυπλάγκτους ἀνθρώπους | υ 195
2 τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων σ 136
ἀλλά τοι ἤδη | ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος Π 852–853

1–2 πρὸς παρεὸν γὰρ μῆτις ἀέξεται ἀνθρώποισιν Emped. fr. 106
ὅσον ἀλλοῖοι μετέφυν, τόσον ἄρ σφισιν αἰεὶ
καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ἀλλοῖα παρίσταται Emped. fr. 108
4 αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιόν ἐστι νόημα Emped. fr. 105, 3

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1 ἑκάστοτ᾽ Ar. EJ, Theophr.: ἕκαστος Ar. E^2, Alex., ἑκάστῳ Ar. A^b, ἕκαστον (om. κρᾶσιν) Ascl. ἔχῃ Ar. E: ἔχει A^b J, Alex., Ascl., ἔχειν Theophr. κρῆσιν desiderabat Diels: κρᾶσιν Ar., Theophr., Alex.
πολυπλάγκτων Theophr.: πολυκάμπτων Ar., Alex., Ascl.
2 τὼς Ar. EJ, Theophr.: τ᾽ ὣς Ar. A^b, ὣς Ar. E^2, Alex.
παρέστηκε Theophr.: παρίσταται Ar., Alex., Ascl.

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18 (17 DK)

δεξιτεροῖσιν μὲν κούρους, λαιοῖσι δὲ κούρας

δεξιτεροῖσι et δ᾽ αὖ codd., corr. Karsten

[92]

19

'When woman and man together mingle the seeds of love, the potency from the diverse blood within the veins lends form and, if it maintains due measure, fashions well-constituted bodies. For if, when the seed is mingled, the potencies should conflict (5) and should not produce a single potency in the mingled body, furies will vex the nascent child with double seed.'

Cael. Aurelianus *tardae passiones* iv, 9, 134 (p. 902 Drabkin)

20

'Thus, I say, according to belief these things originated and now are and in later times hereafter, having received their sustenance, will end. On them men bestowed a name to give its mark to each.'

Simpl. *cael.* 558

19 (18 DK) [93]

femina virque simul Veneris cum germina miscent,
venis informans diverso ex sanguine virtus
temperiem servans bene condita corpora fingit.
nam si virtutes permixto semine pugnent
nec faciant unam permixto in corpore, dirae
nascentem gemino vexabunt semine sexum.

5–6 ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ μὲν κὴρ
ἀμφέχανε στυγερή, ἥ περ λάχε γιγνόμενόν περ Ψ 78–79

20 (19 DK)

οὕτω τοι κατὰ δόξαν ἔφυ τάδε καί νυν ἔασι
καὶ μετέπειτ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τελευτήσουσι τραφέντα ·
τοῖς δ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ ἄνθρωποι κατέθεντ᾽ ἐπίσημον ἑκάστῳ.

1 οἵ τοι ἔασιν | H 295
2 τελευτήσουσιν Ἀχαιοί | β 306

1 ἔφυ τάδε AE²F: ἐφύτα δὲ DE
καί νυν Gaisford: καὶ νῦν ADEF

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THE ANCIENT TESTIMONIA WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[95]

Testimonia

PLATO

1. *Symposium* 178^{b}2–^{c}2

(178^{b}2) Parents of Eros do not exist nor are they spoken of by any prose writer or poet. Instead Hesiod declares that first Chaos came to be,

(178^{b}5) … and next
broad-breasted Earth, secure dwelling place forever for all,
and Eros.

He says that after Chaos these two came to be: Earth and Eros. But Parmenides (178^{b}10) says of the generation [of Eros]: "First of all the gods she devised love" (fr. 13). But Acusilaus agrees with Hesiod. (178^{c}1) Thus it is agreed on many sides that Eros is among the most ancient gods.

2. *Symposium* 195^{c}1–5

(195^{c}1) I say that he (i.e., Eros) is the youngest of the gods and that he [stays] young forever, and that the old things that Hesiod and Parmenides tell about the gods came to be through Necessity, not Eros, if they were telling the truth. For they would not have castrated and imprisoned one another, or [done] all (195^{c}5) those many other violent [deeds] if Eros had been present among them.

3. *Parmenides* 127^{a}7–^{c}5

(127^{a}7) Antiphon declared, then, that Pythodorus said that (127^{b}1) both Zeno and Parmenides once came to the Great Panathenaea, that Parmenides was already quite elderly, very gray but noble in appearance, about sixty-five years old, that Zeno was then close to forty, tall (127^{b}5) and pleasant to see, and that the story went that he had been Parmenides' young lover. He said that they were staying with (127^{c}1) Pythodorus outside the city wall in the Ceramicus, and that Socrates had come there along with a few others because they were eager to hear Zeno's writings, for it was then that he and Parmenides brought them [to Athens] for the first time. Socrates was (127^{c}5) then very young.

PLATO

1. *symposium* 178^{b}2–^{c}2

(178^{b}2) γονῆς γὰρ Ἔρωτος οὔτ᾽ εἰσὶν οὔτε λέγονται ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἰδιώτου οὔτε ποιητοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ Ἡσίοδος πρῶτον μὲν Χάος φησὶ γενέσθαι,

(178^{b}5) αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

Γαῖ᾽ εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί,

ἠδ᾽ Ἔρος, φησί, μετὰ τὸ Χάος δύο τούτω γενέσθαι, Γῆν τε καὶ Ἔρωτα. Παρμενίδης δὲ τὴν (178^{b}10) Γένεσιν λέγει

πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων (fr. 13).

(178^{c}1) Ἡσιόδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀκουσίλεως ὁμολογεῖ. οὕτω πολλαχόθεν ὁμολογεῖται ὁ Ἔρως ἐν τοῖς πρεσβύτατος εἶναι.

2. *symposium* 195^{c}1–5

(195^{c}1) φημὶ νεώτατον αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν Ἔρωτα) εἶναι θεῶν καὶ ἀεὶ νέον, τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ πράγματα περὶ θεούς, ἃ Ἡσίοδος καὶ Παρμενίδης λέγουσιν, Ἀνάγκῃ καὶ οὐκ Ἔρωτι γεγονέναι, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι ἀληθῆ ἔλεγον · οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκτομαὶ οὐδὲ δεσμοὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἄλλα (195^{c}5) πολλὰ καὶ βίαια, εἰ Ἔρως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν.

3. *Parmenides* 127^{a}7–^{c}5

(127^{a}7) ἔφη δὲ δὴ ὁ Ἀντιφῶν λέγειν τὸν Πυθόδωρον ὅτι ἀφίκοιντό ποτε εἰς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα (127^{b}1) Ζήνων τε καὶ Παρμενίδης. τὸν μὲν οὖν Παρμενίδην εὖ μάλα ἤδη πρεσβύτην εἶναι, σφόδρα πολιόν, καλὸν δὲ κἀγαθὸν τὴν ὄψιν, περὶ ἔτη μάλιστα πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα · Ζήνωνα δὲ ἐγγὺς τῶν τετταράκοντα τότε εἶναι, εὐμήκη (127^{b}5) δὲ καὶ χαρίεντα ἰδεῖν, καὶ λέγεσθαι αὐτὸν παιδικὰ τοῦ Παρμενίδου γεγονέναι. καταλύειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔφη παρὰ τῷ (127^{c}1) Πυθοδώρῳ ἐκτὸς τείχους ἐν Κεραμεικῷ · οἳ δὴ καὶ ἀφικέσθαι τόν τε Σωκράτη καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ <οὐ> πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀκοῦσαι τῶν τοῦ Ζήνωνος γραμμάτων · τότε γὰρ αὐτὰ πρῶτον ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων κομισθῆναι · Σωκράτη δὲ εἶναι (127^{c}5) τότε σφόδρα νέον.

4. *Parmenides* 128^{a}4; 128^{a}8–^{b}8; 128^{c}6–^{d}2

(128^{a}4) "Parmenides," Socrates said, "I understand … (128^{a}8) for you declare in your poems that the All is one (128^{b}1) and do a fine and excellent job of providing proofs for that claim; he, on the other hand, declares that it is not many, and he too provides a vast number of impressive proofs. So, with one of you saying one, and the other not many, and each of you speaking in a way that makes (128^{b}5) you seem to have said none of the same things—although you are saying practically the same things—what you have said appears to have been said beyond [the comprehension of] the rest of us."

"Yes, Socrates," said Zeno, "but you have not completely perceived the true meaning of what I wrote …. (128^{c}6) In truth this treatise is a kind of assistance for Parmenides' account against those who try to make fun of (128^{d}1) him on the grounds that if it is one it results that his account has many ridiculous [consequences] that contradict it."

5. *Parmenides* 135^{c}8–^{d}1; 135^{d}3–8; 136^{d}4; 136^{e}1–4; 136^{e}8–137^{a}6; 137^{a}7–^{b}4

(135^{c}8) "Socrates, that's because you are trying to define something beautiful, just, good, and (135^{d}1) each one of the Forms too soon," he said, "before getting proper training …. (135^{d}3) But while you are still young, pull yourself up and get more training through something that seems useless—(135^{d}5) what the many call idle talk. Otherwise, the truth will escape you."

"What manner of training is that, Parmenides?" he asked.

"Just what you heard from Zeno." …

(136^{d}4) And he (i.e., Antiphon) said that Zeno laughed and said … (136^{e}1) "The many don't know that without this comprehensive and indirect method it is impossible to encounter the truth and be intelligent. And so, Parmenides, I join with Socrates in begging you, so that I too may be your student again after all this time …." (136^{e}8) So Parmenides said, "I must obey. And yet I think I am experiencing the same thing as the horse in Ibycus' poem (137^{a}1) to which he compared himself—an old race horse about to compete in a chariot race and trembling at what [he knows] from experience is about to happen—and declared that he himself, at such an advanced age, is being compelled against his will to enter [the lists of] Love. I too, when I remember, find myself (137^{a}5) quite afraid about how at my age I must swim safely through such a vast and formidable sea of arguments ….

(137^{a}7) Well, then, where (137^{b}1) shall we begin? What shall we hypothesize first? Since we have in fact decided to play this laborious game, is it all right with you if I begin with myself and my own hypothesis—hypothesizing about the one itself [and consider] what must result, if it is one or if it is not one?"

4. *Parmenides* 128^{a}4, 128^{a}8–^{b}8, 128^{c}6–^{d}2 [95]
(128^{a}4) μανθάνω, εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτη, ὦ Παρμενίδη, … (128^{a}8) σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἓν φῂς εἶναι τὸ (128^{b}1) πᾶν, καὶ τούτων τεκμήρια παρέχῃ καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ · ὅδε δὲ αὖ οὐ πολλά φησιν εἶναι, τεκμήρια δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πάμπολλα καὶ παμμεγέθη παρέχεται. τὸ οὖν τὸν μὲν ἓν φάναι τὸν δὲ μὴ πολλά, καὶ οὕτως ἑκάτερον λέγειν ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν (128^{b}5) αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι [96]
δοκεῖν σχεδόν τι λέγοντας ταὐτά, ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους φαίνεται ὑμῖν τὰ εἰρημένα εἰρῆσθαι. Ναί, φάναι τὸν Ζήνωνα, ὦ Σώκρατες, σὺ δ' οὖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ γράμματος οὐ πανταχοῦ ᾔσθησαι …. (128^{c}6) ἔστι δὲ τό γε ἀληθὲς βοήθειά τις ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα τῷ Παρμενίδου λόγῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας (128^{d}1) αὐτὸν κωμῳδεῖν ὡς εἰ ἕν ἐστι, πολλὰ καὶ γελοῖα συμβαίνει πάσχειν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐναντία αὑτῷ.

5. *Parmenides* 135^{c}8–^{d}1, 135^{d}3–8, 136^{d}4, 136^{e}1–4, 136^{e}8–137^{a}6, 137^{a}7–^{b}4
(135^{c}8) πρὼ γάρ, εἰπεῖν, πρὶν γυμνασθῆναι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁρίζεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖς καλόν τέ τι καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἓν (135^{d}1) ἕκαστον τῶν εἰδῶν … (135^{d}3) ἕλκυσον δὲ σαυτὸν καὶ γύμνασαι μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς δοκούσης ἀχρήστου (135^{d}5) εἶναι καὶ καλουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀδολεσχίας, ἕως ἔτι νέος εἶ · εἰ δὲ μή, σὲ διαφεύξεται ἡ ἀλήθεια. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος, φάναι, ὦ Παρμενίδη, τῆς γυμνασίας; οὗτος, εἶπεν, ὅνπερ ἤκουσας Ζήνωνος … (136^{d}4) καὶ τὸν Ζήνωνα ἔφη γελάσαντα φάναι … (136^{e}1) ἀγνοοῦσιν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ ὅτι ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς διὰ πάντων διεξόδου τε καὶ πλάνης ἀδύνατον ἐντυχόντα τῷ ἀληθεῖ νοῦν σχεῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ Παρμενίδη, Σωκράτει συνδέομαι, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς διακούσω διὰ χρόνου … (136^{e}8) τὸν οὖν Παρμενίδην, ἀνάγκη, φάναι, πείθεσθαι. καίτοι δοκῶ μοι τὸ τοῦ Ἰβυκείου ἵππου πεπονθέναι, (137^{a}1) ᾧ ἐκεῖνος ἀθλητῇ ὄντι καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὑφ' ἅρματι μέλλοντι ἀγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ δι' ἐμπειρίαν τρέμοντι τὸ μέλλον, ἑαυτὸν ἀπεικάζων ἄκων ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω πρεσβύτης ὢν εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἰέναι · κἀγώ μοι δοκῶ μεμνημένος (137^{a}5) μάλα φοβεῖσθαι πῶς χρὴ τηλικόνδε ὄντα διανεῦσαι τοιοῦτόν τε καὶ τοσοῦτον πέλαγος λόγων … (137^{a}7) πόθεν οὖν δὴ (137^{b}1) ἀρξόμεθα καὶ τί πρῶτον ὑποθησόμεθα; ἢ βούλεσθε, ἐπειδήπερ δοκεῖ πραγματειώδη παιδιὰν παίζειν, ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἄρξωμαι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑποθέσεως, περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς αὐτοῦ ὑποθέμενος, εἴτε ἕν ἐστιν εἴτε μὴ ἕν, τί χρὴ συμβαίνειν;

6. *Theaetetus* 180^{d}7–^{e}4; 181^{a}6–^{b}1

(180^{d}7) But I almost forgot, Theodorus, that there are others who have declared the contraries of these [opinions],

(180^{e}1) "alone, unmoved is that for which as a whole the name is 'to be'" (fr. 8, 38)

and all the other [claims] that the Melissuses and the Parmenideses [of the world] maintain in opposition to all these people (i.e., the Heracliteans), to the effect that all things are one, and that it (i.e., the one thing) is at rest, itself in itself, having no room in which to move …. (181^{a}6) But if the partisans of the whole appear to speak more truly, we will take refuge with (181^{b}1) them from those who move the unmoved.

7. *Theaetetus* 183^{e}3–184^{a}3

(183^{e}3) And although I feel ashamed at the thought that we might be considering in a crude way Melissus and the others who say that the All is one and at rest, I feel less ashamed than [at the thought that we might be doing so to] (183^{e}5) just one person, namely Parmenides. Parmenides seems to me, in the words of Homer, to be "both venerable" "and awesome" (*Iliad* 3, 172). I met the man when I was quite young and he was quite elderly, (184^{a}1) and he seemed to me to have a kind of depth that was entirely noble. So I am afraid we might not understand what he says and fall much farther short [of understanding] what he meant.

8. *Sophist* 217^{c}4–7

(217^{c}4) … or [do you prefer to proceed] by questions, as (217^{c}5) Parmenides once did in my presence in going through some fine arguments, when I was young and he was quite elderly?

9. *Sophist* 237^{a}3–9

(237^{a}3) This statement dares to hypothesize that what-is-not is, since otherwise falsehood would not prove to be a thing-that-is. (237^{a}5) But when we were boys, my boy, the great Parmenides testified this to us from start to finish, speaking both in prose and in meter:

For this principle shall never be vanquished, so as to allow things to be that are not,

but do you keep your thought from this way when you are inquiring (fr. 7, 1–2).

6. *Theaetetus* 180^{d}7–^{e}4, 181^{a}6–^{b}1 [96]
(180^{d}7) ὀλίγου δὲ ἐπελαθόμην, ὦ Θεόδωρε, ὅτι ἄλλοι αὖ τἀναντία τούτοις ἀπεφήναντο,

(180^{e}1) οἷον ἀκίνητον τελέθει τῷ παντὶ ὄνομ᾽ εἶναι (fr. 8, 38),

καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα Μέλισσοί τε καὶ Παρμενίδαι ἐναντιούμενοι πᾶσι τούτοις διϊσχυρίζονται, ὡς ἕν τε πάντα ἐστὶ καὶ ἕστηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν αὑτῷ οὐκ ἔχον χώραν ἐν ᾗ κινεῖται … (181^{a}6) ἐὰν δὲ οἱ τοῦ ὅλου στασιῶται ἀληθέστερα λέγειν δοκῶσι, φευξόμεθα παρ᾽ (181^{b}1) αὐτοὺς ἀπ᾽ αὖ τῶν τὰ ἀκίνητα κινούντων.

7. *Theaetetus* 183^{e}3–184^{a}3
(183^{e}3) Μέλισσον μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ ἓν ἑστὸς λέγουσι τὸ πᾶν, αἰσχυνόμενος μὴ φορτικῶς σκοπῶμεν, ἧττον (183^{e}5) αἰσχύνομαι ἢ ἕνα ὄντα Παρμενίδην. Παρμενίδης δέ μοι φαίνεται, τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου, ‘αἰδοῖός τέ μοι᾽ εἶναι ἅμα ϑεινός τε᾽ (Γ 172). συμπροσέμειξα γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ πάνυ νέος πάνυ (184^{a}1) πρεσβύτῃ καί μοι ἐφάνη βάθος τι ἔχειν παντάπασι γενναῖον. φοβοῦμαι οὖν μὴ οὔτε τὰ λεγόμενα συνιῶμεν, τί τε διανοούμενος [97] εἶπε πολὺ πλέον λειπώμεθα.

8. *sophistes* 217^{c}4–7
(217^{c}4) … ἢ δι᾽ ἐρωτήσεων, οἷόν (217^{c}5) ποτε καὶ Παρμενίδῃ χρωμένῳ καὶ διεξιόντι λόγους παγκάλους παρεγενόμην ἐγὼ νέος ὤν, ἐκείνου μάλα δὴ τότε ὄντος πρεσβύτου;

9. *sophistes* 237^{a}3–9
(237^{a}3) τετόλμηκεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὑποθέσθαι τὸ μὴ ὂν εἶναι · ψεῦδος γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἐγίγνετο ὄν. Παρμενίδης (237^{a}5) δὲ ὁ μέγας, ὦ παῖ, παισὶν ἡμῖν οὖσιν ἀρχόμενός τε καὶ διὰ τέλους τοῦτο ἀπεμαρτύρατο, πεζῇ τε ὧδε ἑκάστοτε λέγων καὶ μετὰ μέτρων ·

οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ, φησιν, εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα,
ἀλλὰ σὺ τῆσδ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὁδοῦ διζήμενος εἶργε νόημα (fr. 7, 1–2).

10. *Sophist* 241^{d}5–7
(241^{d}5) In defending ourselves we will have to put father Parmenides' account to the test and argue fiercely that what-is-not in some way is, and in turn that what-is somehow is not.

11. *Sophist* 242^{c}4–9; 242^{d}2–3; 242^{d}4–6; 243^{a}2–^{b}7; 243^{d}6–244^{a}2; 244^{b}6–245^{e}5
(242^{c}4) *Visitor*: It strikes me that Parmenides has been casual in discussing with us, and (242^{c}5) so has everyone who has ever set out to reach a decision in the matter of determining how many things there are and what sorts of things they are.
Theaetetus: How?
Visitor: Each of them appears to me to tell us a story, as if we were children. One tells us that the things-that-are are three … (242^{d}2) Another says that they are two … (242^{d}4) And our Eleatic tribe, (242^{d}5) beginning with Xenophanes and even earlier, supposing that "all things," as they are called, are just one, relate [their theory] this way, in stories …. (243^{a}2) It is hard to say whether or not any one of these thinkers has spoken truly, and it would be inappropriate for us to criticize so strongly such renowned men of long ago. But it would be irreproachable to declare this.
(243^{a}5) *Theaetetus*: What?
Visitor: That they have looked down on most of us and have not shown us respect. For they do not care whether we follow them as they speak (243^{b}1) or are left behind, but each group simply proceeds with its own [account].
Theaetetus: What do you mean?
Visitor: When one of them makes pronouncements, saying that many things, or one, or two are or have come to be or are coming to be, or talks of hot being mixed together with cold—(243^{b}5) from somewhere or another hypothesizing that there are separations and combinations, do you ever understand what in heaven's name they mean by any of these things, Theaetetus?
…
(243^{d}6) I say that this is how we should pursue our inquiry, interrogating them as follows as if they were here: Listen, all you who declare that all things are hot and cold or some such pair. What is (243^{e}1) this thing you pronounce about them both when you say that both of them are and each of them is? What are we to suppose this being of yours to be? Is it a third thing alongside those other two, so that according

10. *sophistes* 241^{d}5–7 [97]
(241^{d}5) τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς Παρμενίδου λόγον ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν ἀμυνομένοις ἔσται βασανίζειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τό τε μὴ ὂν ὡς ἔστι κατά τι καὶ τὸ ὂν αὖ πάλιν ὡς οὐκ ἔστι πῃ.

11. *sophistes* 242^{c}4–9; 242^{d}2–3; 242^{d}4–6; 243^{a}2–^{b}7; 243^{d}6–244^{a}2; 244^{b}6–245^{e}5
(242^{c}4) *Ξένος*. εὐκόλως μοι δοκεῖ Παρμενίδης ἡμῖν διειλέχθαι (242^{c}5) καὶ πᾶς ὅστις πώποτε ἐπὶ κρίσιν ὥρμησε τοῦ τὰ ὄντα διορίσασθαι πόσα τε καὶ ποῖά ἐστιν. *Θεαίτητος*. πῇ; *Ξένος*. μῦθόν τινα ἕκαστος φαίνεταί μοι διηγεῖσθαι παισὶν ὡς οὖσιν ἡμῖν, ὁ μὲν ὡς τρία τὰ ὄντα … (242^{d}2) δύο δὲ ἕτερος εἰπὼν … (242^{d}4) τὸ δὲ παρ' (242^{d}5) ἡμῖν Ἐλεατικὸν ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Ξενοφάνους τε καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀρξάμενον, ὡς ἑνὸς ὄντος τῶν πάντων καλουμένων οὕτω διεξέρχεται τοῖς μύθοις. … (243^{a}2) ταῦτα δὲ πάντα εἰ μὲν ἀληθῶς τις ἢ μὴ τούτων εἴρηκε, χαλεπὸν καὶ πλημμελὲς οὕτω μεγάλα κλεινοῖς καὶ παλαιοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν · ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον (243^{a}5) ἀποφήνασθαι, *Θεαίτητος*. τὸ ποῖον; *Ξένος*. ὅτι λίαν τῶν πολλῶν ἡμῶν ὑπεριδόντες ὠλιγώρησαν · οὐδὲν γὰρ φροντίσαντες εἴτ' ἐπακολουθοῦμεν αὐτοῖς λέγουσιν εἴτε ἀπολειπόμεθα περαίνουσι τὸ (243^{b}1) σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι. *Θεαίτητος*. πῶς λέγεις; *Ξένος*. ὅταν τις αὐτῶν φθέγξηται λέγων ὡς ἔστιν ἢ γέγονεν ἢ γίγνεται πολλὰ ἢ ἓν ἢ δύο, καὶ θερμὸν αὖ ψυχρῷ (243^{b}5) συγκεραννύμενον ἄλλοθί πῃ διακρίσεις καὶ συγκρίσεις ὑποτιθείς, τούτων, ὦ Θεαίτητε, ἑκάστοτε σύ τι πρὸς θεῶν συνίης ὅτι λέγουσιν; … (243^{d}6) λέγω γὰρ δὴ ταύτῃ δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν μέθοδον ἡμᾶς, οἷον αὐτῶν παρόντων ἀναπυνθανομένους ὧδε · φέρε ὁπόσοι θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἤ τινε δύο τοιούτω τὰ πάντ' εἶναί φατε, τί ποτε (243^{e}1) ἄρα τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν φθέγγεσθε, λέγοντες ἄμφω καὶ ἑκάτερον εἶναι; τί τὸ εἶναι τοῦτο ὑπολάβωμεν ὑμῶν; πότερον τρίτον παρὰ τὰ δύο ἐκεῖνα,

to you we are to suppose that the All is three and no longer two? For surely you are not calling either one of the two (243^{e}5) being and also saying that they both equally are, since in that case either way they would be one thing and not two.
Theaetetus: True.
Visitor: But you do want to call both of them being?
Theaetetus: Perhaps.
(244^{a}1) *Visitor*: But, we'll say, in that case, friends, you would also be saying very clearly that the two are one.
…
(244^{b}6) Well, then, shouldn't we do our best to find out from the people who say that the All is one what they mean by being?
Theaetetus: Of course.
Visitor: Then they should answer this [question]: Do you say that only one thing (244^{b}10) is? We do, they'll say, won't they?
Theaetetus: Yes.
Visitor: Well then, do you call being something?
Theaetetus: Yes.
(244^{c}1) *Visitor*: Is that just what [you call] one, so that you are using two names for the same thing? Or what?
Theaetetus: How will they answer that question?
Visitor: Clearly for anyone who makes the hypothesis in question (244^{c}5) it is not the easiest thing in the world to answer the present question—or any other question, either.
Theaetetus: Why not?
Visitor: To agree that there are two names is surely ridiculous for a person who has posited that there is one thing and nothing else.
(244^{c}10) *Theaetetus*: Of course.
Visitor: And it's completely [ridiculous] to agree with anyone who asserts that (244^{d}1) there is any name which does not have an account.
Theaetetus: What do you mean?
Visitor: If he supposes that the name is different from its thing, then surely he's speaking of two things.
(244^{d}5) *Theaetetus*: Yes.
Visitor: And further if he supposes that the name is the same as the thing, he'll either be compelled to say that it is the name of nothing, or else, if he says that it's the name of something, then it will result that the name is only a name of a name, and of nothing else.
(244^{d}10) *Theaetetus*: Yes.

καὶ τρία τὸ πᾶν ἀλλὰ μὴ δύο ἔτι καθ' ὑμᾶς τιθῶμεν; οὐ γάρ που τοῖν [97]
γε δυοῖν καλοῦντες θάτερον ὂν ἀμφότερα ὁμοίως εἶναι λέγετε. (243^{e}5)
σχεδὸν γὰρ ἂν ἀμφοτέρως ἓν ἀλλ' οὐ δύο εἴτην.' *Θεαίτητος.* ἀληθῆ [98]
λέγεις. *Ξένος.* 'ἀλλ' ἆρά γε τὰ ἄμφω βούλεσθε καλεῖν ὄν;' *Θεαίτητος.*
ἴσως. (244^{a}1) *Ξένος.* 'ἀλλ', ὦ φίλοι', φήσομεν, 'κἂν οὕτω τὰ δύο λέγοιτ'
ἂν σαφέστατα ἕν' … (244^{b}6) τί δέ; παρὰ τῶν ἓν τὸ πᾶν λεγόντων ἆρ'
οὐ πευστέον εἰς δύναμιν τί ποτε λέγουσι τὸ ὄν; *Θεαίτητος.* πῶς γὰρ
οὔ; *Ξένος.* τόδε τοίνυν ἀποκρινέσθωσαν. 'ἕν πού φατε μόνον (244^{b}10)
εἶναι;' 'φαμὲν γάρ', φήσουσιν. ἦ γάρ; *Θεαίτητος.* ναί. *Ξένος.* 'τί δέ;
ὂν καλεῖτέ τι; *Θεαίτητος.* ναί. (244^{c}1) *Ξένος.* 'πότερον ὅπερ ἕν, ἐπὶ
τῷ αὐτῷ προσχρώμενοι δυοῖν ὀνόμασιν, ἢ πῶς;' *Θεαίτητος.* τίς οὖν
αὐτοῖς ἡ μετὰ τοῦτ', ὦ ξένε, ἀπόκρισις; *Ξένος.* δῆλον, ὦ Θεαίτητε,
ὅτι τῷ ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν (244^{c}5) ὑποθεμένῳ πρὸς τὸ νῦν ἐρωτηθὲν
καὶ πρὸς ἄλλο δὲ ὁτιοῦν οὐ πάντων ῥᾷστον ἀποκρίνασθαι. *Θεαίτητος.*
πῶς; *Ξένος.* τό τε δύο ὀνόματα ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι μηδὲν θέμενον πλὴν
ἓν καταγέλαστόν που. (244^{c}10) *Θεαίτητος.* πῶς δ' οὔ; *Ξένος.* καὶ
τὸ παράπαν γε ἀποδέχεσθαί του λέγοντος ὡς (244^{d}1) ἔστιν ὄνομά
τι, λόγον οὐκ ἂν ἔχον. *Θεαίτητος.* πῇ; *Ξένος.* τιθείς τε τοὔνομα
τοῦ πράγματος ἕτερον δύο λέγει πού τινε. (244^{d}5) *Θεαίτητος.*
ναί. *Ξένος.* καὶ μὴν ἂν ταὐτόν γε αὐτῷ τιθῇ τοὔνομα, ἢ μηδενὸς ὄνομα
ἀναγκασθήσεται λέγειν, εἰ δέ τινος αὐτὸ φήσει, συμβήσεται τὸ ὄνομα
ὀνόματος ὄνομα μόνον, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς ὄν. (244^{d}10) *Θεαίτητος.* οὕτως.

Visitor: And that the one is the name of the one, and also the one of the name.
Theaetetus: It will have to be.
Visitor: Well then, will they say that the whole is different from the one thing-that-is, or the same as (244^{d}15) it?
(244^{e}1) *Theaetetus*: Of course they'll say [that it is the same], and they do say [so].
Visitor: But suppose a whole is, as Parmenides actually says, "Like the volume of a spherical ball … in one regard than in another" (fr. 8, 43–45)—(244^{e}6) if that-which-is is like that, then it has both a center and extremities. And if it has those then it absolutely must have parts, mustn't it?
Theaetetus: Yes.
(245^{a}1) *Visitor*: But further, nothing prevents a thing that has parts from having the attribute of [being] one [applying] to all its parts, and in that way being one, since it is all and also whole.
Theaetetus: Of course.
(245^{a}5) *Visitor*: But something that has those attributes can't be just the one itself, can it?
Theaetetus: Why not?
Visitor: A thing that's truly one in the strict sense, must surely be said [to be] completely without parts.
(245^{a}10) *Theaetetus*: Yes indeed.
(245^{b}1) *Visitor*: But the kind of thing in question, which consists of many parts, will not fit that account.
Theaetetus: I understand.
Visitor: Now if the whole[20] has the attribute of [being] one in this way (i.e., by consisting of many parts), will it be one (245^{b}5) and whole? Or are we not to say that that-which-is is whole at all?
Theaetetus: You have offered me a hard choice.
Visitor: Quite right. If that-which-is has the attribute of being one merely in a way, it will evidently be not the same as the one, and so everything will then be more than one.
(245^{b}10) *Theaetetus*: Yes.
(245^{c}1) *Visitor*: Further if that-which-is is not whole by virtue of having the attribute due to that (i.e., the whole itself), but rather is the whole itself, that-which-is will turn out to be less than itself.
Theaetetus: Certainly.

20. With Schleiermacher's text (misrepresented by Burnet, corrected by Strachan), which Coxon came to prefer, 'the whole' is replaced by 'that-which-is'. (RMcK)

[98]

Ξένος. καὶ τὸ ἕν γε ἑνὸς ἓν ὂν μόνον καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτὸ ἓν ὄν. *Θεαίτητος*. ἀνάγκη. *Ξένος*. τί δέ; τὸ ὅλον ἕτερον τοῦ ὄντος ἑνὸς ἢ ταὐτὸν (244[d]15) φήσουσι τούτῳ; (244[e]1) *Θεαίτητος*. πῶς γὰρ οὐ φήσουσί τε καί φασιν; *Ξένος*. εἰ τοίνυν ὅλον ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ Παρμενίδης λέγει, ‘πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρης … τῇ ἢ τῇ’ (fr. 8, 43–45), (244[e]6) τοιοῦτόν γε ὂν τὸ ὂν μέσον τε καὶ ἔσχατα ἔχει, ταῦτα δὲ ἔχον πᾶσα ἀνάγκη μέρη ἔχειν · ἢ πῶς; *Θεαίτητος*. οὕτως. (245 [a]1) *Ξένος*. ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε μεμερισμένον πάθος μὲν τοῦ ἑνὸς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς μέρεσι πᾶσιν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει καὶ ταύτῃ δὴ πᾶν τε ὂν καὶ ὅλον ἓν εἶναι. *Θεαίτητος*. τί δ’ οὔ; (245[a]5) *Ξένος*. τὸ δὲ πεπονθὸς ταῦτα ἆρ’ οὐκ ἀδύνατον αὐτό γε τὸ ἓν αὐτὸ εἶναι; *Θεαίτητος*. πῶς; *Ξένος*. ἀμερὲς δήπου δεῖ παντελῶς τό γε ἀληθῶς ἓν κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον εἰρῆσθαι. (245[a]10) *Θεαίτητος*. δεῖ γὰρ οὖν. (245[b]1) *Ξένος*. τὸ δέ γε τοιοῦτον ἐκ πολλῶν μερῶν ὂν οὐ συμφωνήσει τῷ [ὅλῳ] λόγῳ. *Θεαίτητος*. μανθάνω. *Ξένος*. πότερον δὴ πάθος ἔχον τὸ ὅλον (ὂν Schleiermacher)[21] τοῦ ἑνὸς οὕτως ἕν τε (245[b]5) ἔσται καὶ ὅλον ἢ παντάπασι μὴ λέγωμεν ὅλον εἶναι τὸ ὄν; *Θεαίτητος*. χαλεπὴν προβέβληκας αἵρεσιν. *Ξένος*. ἀληθέστατα μέντοι λέγεις. πεπονθός τε γὰρ τὸ ὂν ἓν εἶναί πως οὐ ταὐτὸν ὂν τῷ ἑνὶ φανεῖται καὶ πλέονα δὴ τὰ πάντα ἑνὸς ἔσται. (245[b]10) *Θεαίτητος*. ναί. (245[c]1) *Ξένος*. καὶ μὴν ἐάν γε τὸ ὂν ᾖ μὴ ὅλον διὰ τὸ πεπονθέναι τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πάθος ᾖ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ὅλον, ἐνδεὲς τὸ ὂν ἑαυτοῦ συμβαίνει. *Θεαίτητος*. πάνυ γε.

21. This textual remark was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

(245^{c}5) *Visitor*: And so according to this account, because it is deprived of itself, that-which-is will not be a thing that is.
Theaetetus: Yes.
Visitor: And all things prove to be more than one, since that-which-is and the whole have each got their own separate nature.
(245^{c}10) *Theaetetus*: Yes.
Visitor: But if the whole is not at all, these same (245^{d}1) things hold of that-which-is and in addition to the fact that it is not, it could never even come to be a thing that is.
Theaetetus: Why not?
Visitor: Whenever anything has come to be, it always has come to be a whole. So (245^{d}5) we must not call either being or coming to be a thing that is unless we suppose the whole to be among the things-that-are.
Theaetetus: That seems entirely right.
Visitor: And further what is not whole must not be of any quantity at all, since if it were of a certain quantity, no matter what, it would have to be, as a whole, (245^{d}10) of that quantity.
Theaetetus: Exactly.
Visitor: And thousands more things, each of them involving endless puzzles, (245^{e}1) will arise for anyone who says that what-is is either some pair of things or only one.
Theaetetus: The ones that have just now come to light show that well enough. One is connected to another, and each brings greater difficulty (245^{e}5) and uncertainty about what we had said just before.

12. *Sophist* 258^{c}6–^{d}7
(258^{c}6) *Visitor:* I suppose you know that we have disobeyed Parmenides and gone far beyond what he prohibited?
Theaetetus: How so?
Visitor: By continuing to go ahead in our inquiry and demonstrating to him more than what he forbade us to consider.
Theaetetus: How?
(258^{d}1) *Visitor*: Because, on the one hand he somewhere declares:

> For this principle shall never be vanquished, so as to allow things to be that are not,
> but do you keep your thought from this way of enquiry (fr. 7, 1–2).

Theaetetus. Indeed he does say that.
(258^{d}5) *Visitor*: But we have not only demonstrated that things-that-are-not are; we have also declared what the form of what-is-not actually is.

(245^{c}5) *Ξένος*. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν λόγον ἑαυτοῦ στερόμενον οὐκ [98]
ὂν ἔσται τὸ ὄν. *Θεαίτητος*. οὕτως. *Ξένος*. καὶ ἑνός γε αὖ πλείω τὰ
πάντα γίγνεται, τοῦ τε ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ὅλου χωρὶς ἰδίαν ἑκατέρου φύσιν
εἰληφότος. (245^{c}10) *Θεαίτητος*. ναί. *Ξένος*. μὴ ὄντος δέ γε τὸ παράπαν
τοῦ ὅλου, ταὐτά τε (245^{d}1) ταῦτα ὑπάρχει τῷ ὄντι, καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ εἶναι μηδ'
ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ ὄν. *Θεαίτητος*. τί δή; *Ξένος*. τὸ γενόμενον ἀεὶ γέγονεν
ὅλον · ὥστε οὔτε οὐσίαν (245^{d}5) οὔτε γένεσιν ὡς οὖσαν δεῖ προσαγορεύειν
τὸ ὅλον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι μὴ τιθέντα. *Θεαίτητος*. παντάπασιν ἔοικε ταῦθ'
οὕτως ἔχειν. *Ξένος*. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁποσονοῦν τι δεῖ τὸ μὴ ὅλον εἶναι · [99]
ποσόν τι γὰρ ὄν, ὁπόσον ἂν ᾖ, τοσοῦτον ὅλον ἀναγκαῖον (245^{d}10) αὐτὸ
εἶναι. *Θεαίτητος*. κομιδῇ γε. *Ξένος*. καὶ τοίνυν ἄλλα μυρία ἀπεράντους
ἀπορίας (245^{e}1) ἕκαστον εἰληφὸς φανεῖται τῷ τὸ ὂν εἴτε δύο τινὲ εἴτε ἓν
μόνον εἶναι λέγοντι. *Θεαίτητος*. δηλοῖ σχεδὸν καὶ τὰ νῦν ὑποφαίνοντα ·
συνάπτεται γὰρ ἕτερον ἐξ ἄλλου, μείζω καὶ χαλεπωτέραν (245^{e}5) φέρον
περὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀεὶ ῥηθέντων πλάνην.

12. *sophistes* 258^{c}6–^{d}7

(258^{c}6) *Ξένος*. οἶσθ' οὖν ὅτι Παρμενίδῃ μακροτέρως τῆς ἀπορρήσεως
ἠπιστήκαμεν; *Θεαίτητος*. τί δή; (258^{c}10) *Ξένος*. πλεῖον ἢ 'κεῖνος
ἀπεῖπε σκοπεῖν ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔτι ζητήσαντες ἀπεδείξαμεν
αὐτῷ. *Θεαίτητος*. πῶς; (258^{d}1) *Ξένος*. ὅτι ὁ μέν πού φησιν ·

οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ, εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα,
ἀλλὰ σὺ τῆσδ' ἀφ' ὁδοῦ διζήσιος εἶργε νόημα (fr. 7, 1–2).

Θεαίτητος. λέγει γὰρ οὖν οὕτως. (258^{d}5) Ξένος. ἡμεῖς δέ γε οὐ μόνον
τὰ ὄντα ὡς ἔστιν ἀπεδείξαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὃ τυγχάνει ὂν τοῦ μὴ
ὄντος ἀπεφηνάμεθα.

XENOPHON

13. *Memorabilia* i, 1, 13–15
[13] He was surprised that it was not evident to them that humans cannot discover these things—since even those who pride themselves most highly for speaking about them do not hold the same opinions, but behave towards each other like madmen …. [14] Of those who concern themselves with the nature of all things, some hold that what-is is only one, others that it is unlimited in number; some hold that everything is always being moved while others that nothing could ever be moved; and some hold that all things come to be and perish while others hold that nothing could ever have come to be [15] or could ever perish.

ISOCRATES

14. *Oration* xv, 268, 1–8 (353 B.C.)
(268, 1) I would therefore advise the young to spend some time on these studies but not to let themselves be dried up with these matters or run aground on the doctrines of the ancient sophists, (268, 5) of whom one declared that the number of things is unlimited, while Empedocles held that there are four together with Strife and Love among them, Ion, that there are no more than three, Alcmaeon, that there are only two, Parmenides and Melissus, that there is one, and Gorgias, that there is nothing at all.

ALCIDAMAS

15. Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* viii, 56, p. 419, 3–5 Long
(419, 3) In his treatise on nature, Alcidamas declares that Zeno and (419, 5) Empedocles were students of Parmenides at the same time, and afterwards departed.

XENOPHON [99]

13. *memorabilia* i, 1, 13–15

[13] ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις εὑρεῖν · ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τούτων λέγειν οὐ ταὐτὰ δοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὁμοίως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους … [14] τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἓν μόνον τὸ ὂν εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε κινηθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάντα γίγνεσθαί τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὔτ' ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν οὔτ' [15] ἀπολεῖσθαι.

ISOCRATES

14. *oratio* xv, 268, 1–8 (353 B.C.)[22]

(268, 1) διατρῖψαι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς παιδείας ταύτας (sc. τοὺς ἐριστικοὺς λόγους καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τὴν γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν μαθημάτων) χρόνον τινὰ συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν τοῖς νεωτέροις, μὴ μέντοι περιιδεῖν τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὑτῶν κατασκελετευθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις μηδ' ἐξοκείλασαν εἰς τοὺς λόγους τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν, (268, 5) ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄπειρον τὸ πλῆθος ἔφησεν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τέτταρα καὶ νεῖκος καὶ φιλίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, Ἴων δ' οὐ πλείω τριῶν, Ἀλκμέων δὲ δύο μόνα, Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Μέλισσος ἕν, Γοργίας δὲ παντελῶς οὐδέν.

ALCIDAMAS [100]

15. Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* viii, 56, p. 419, 3–5 Long

(419, 3) Ἀλκιδάμας δὲ ἐν τῷ Φυσικῷ (*Or. Att.* ii, 156[b]6 Sauppe) φησι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ζήνωνα καὶ (419, 5) Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἀκοῦσαι Παρμενίδου, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀποχωρῆσαι.

22. The date of the oration was not given in the first edition. (RMcK)

SPEUSIPPUS

16. fr. 1 Lang = fr. 3 Tarán
(Diog. Laert. 449, 5) He (i.e., Parmenides) too is said to have given laws to his fellow citizens, as Speusippus declares in his book *On Philosophers*.
Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* ix, 23, p. 449, 5–7 Long

XENOCRATES

16a. catalogue of books … (Diog. Laert. 171, 2) 'On Parmenides' [Writings]', one volume.
Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers,* iv, 13, p. 171, 2 Long

ARISTOTLE

17. *Protrepticus* fr. 5, 11–13 Ross
(5, 11) Others [declare that the goal of mathematics] is wisdom concerning nature and truth of that kind—the kind of wisdom that Anaxagoras and Parmenides introduced.
Iamblichus *On the General Principles of Mathematics* 79, 12–15F

18. *De philosophia* fr. 9, 2–6 Ross
(9, 2) Parmenides and Melissus [declare that motion] does not exist. Aristotle has called them restive against nature and unnatural—restive because they hold that everything is at rest; unnatural (9,5) because nature is the principle of motion, which they eliminated by declaring that nothing is moved.
Sextus Empiricus *Against the Mathematicians* x, 46

19. *On Sophistical Refutations* 33 $182^{b}22$–27
($182^{b}22$) Even the people with the most experience appear to fail to notice some [cases of homonymy]. A sign of this is that they often fight about words, for example, whether 'being' and 'one' signify the same thing in all cases, ($182^{b}25$) or [whether they have] different [significations]; for some think that 'being' and 'one' signify the same thing; while others refute Zeno's argument and Parmenides' by declaring that one and being are said in many ways.

SPEUSIPPUS [100]

16. fr. 1 Lang = fr. 3 Tarán
(Diog. Laert. 449, 5) λέγεται δὲ καὶ (sc. Παρμενίδης) νόμους θεῖναι τοῖς πολίταις, ὥς φησι Σπεύσιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ φιλοσόφων.
Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* ix, 23, p. 449, 5–7 Long

XENOCRATES

16a. (Diog. Laert. 171, 2) librorum catalogus … περὶ τῶν Παρμενίδου α′ …
Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* iv, 13, p. 171, 2 Long[23]

ARISTOTELES

17. *protrepticus* fr. 5, 11–13 Ross
(5, 11) οἱ δὲ (sc. φασὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν μαθημάτων εἶναι) τὴν περὶ φύσεώς τε καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀληθείας φρόνησιν οἵαν οἵ τε περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Παρμενίδην εἰσηγήσαντο.
Iamblichus *de communi mathematica scientia* 79, 12–15F

18. *de philosophia* fr. 9, 2–6 Ross
(9, 2) μὴ εἶναι δὲ (sc. φασὶ κίνησιν) οἱ περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Μέλισσον, οὓς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης στασιώτας τε τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἀφυσίκους κέκληκεν, στασιώτας μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως, ἀφυσίκους (9, 5) δὲ ὅτι ἀρχὴ κινήσεώς ἐστιν ἡ φύσις, ἣν ἀνεῖλον φάμενοι μηδὲν κινεῖσθαι.
Sextus Empiricus *adversus mathematicos* x, 46

19. *de sophisticis elenchis* 33 182^{b}22–27
(182^{b}22) τὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους φαίνεται λανθάνειν · σημεῖον δὲ τούτου ὅτι μάχονται πολλάκις περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, οἷον πότερον ταὐτὸ σημαίνει κατὰ πάντων τὸ ὂν καὶ (182^{b}25) τὸ ἕν, ἢ ἕτερον. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ ταῦτὸ σημαίνειν τὸ ὂν καὶ τὸ ἕν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Ζήνωνος λόγον καὶ Παρμενίδου λύουσι διὰ τὸ πολλαχῶς φάναι τὸ ἓν λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὄν.

23. This testimonium was not included in the first edition. (RMcK)

20. *On the Heavens* iii, 1 $298^{b}14$–24

[Of the earliest thinkers who philosophized about the truth,] ($298^{b}14$) some of them ($298^{b}15$) eliminated generation and perishing altogether. They declare that none of the things-that-are either is generated or perishes, but they only seem to us [to do so]—for example, Melissus and Parmenides. But even if what they say is excellent in other ways, we must not suppose that they are speaking about nature. For that some of the things-that-are are ungenerated and altogether unmoved ($298^{b}20$) is a claim that belongs to an inquiry different from natural philosophy and prior to it. But because they supposed that there is nothing apart from the substance of sensible things, and because they were the first to think that [there must be] entities of this sort (i.e., ungenerated and imperishable) if there is to be any knowledge or wisdom, they thus transferred to the former (i.e., the sensibles) the accounts derived from the latter.

21. *Physics* i, 2–3 $184^{b}15$–17; $184^{b}25$–$185^{a}10$; $185^{a}20$–32; $185^{b}5$–10; $185^{b}16$–25; $186^{a}4$–7; $186^{a}22$–$^{b}17$; $187^{a}1$–11

($184^{b}15$) There must be either one principle or more than one. If one, it must be either unmoved, as Parmenides and Melissus declare, or moved, as the natural philosophers hold …. ($184^{b}25$) Now to consider whether what-is is one and unmoved is not to consider nature. ($185^{a}1$) For just as a geometer has no argument against a person who eliminates the principles [of geometry]— ather, this is the concern of a different science or of one common to all—the same holds for a person who investigates principles. For there is no longer a principle if there is only one thing, which is one in this way, since a principle must be the principle of one or more things. ($185^{a}5$) To consider therefore whether [what-is] is one in this way would be like discussing any other thesis stated for the sake of argument (such as the thesis of Heraclitus, or if anyone were to state that what-is is one man) or like refuting a contentious argument—and this holds for both arguments, Melissus's and Parmenides': not only do they assume false premises; ($185^{a}10$) they are invalid ….

($185^{a}20$) Since what-is is said in many ways, the most appropriate starting point of all [is to determine] in what way it is being said by those who say that all things are one. [Is the claim] that all things are substance, or quantities, or qualities? And, further, are all things *one* substance—one man, for example, or one horse, or one soul—($185^{a}25$) or a quality, and this just one—for example, white or hot, or something else of this kind? For all these [claims] differ greatly and moreover they

20. *de caelo* iii, 1 298^{b}14–24 [100]

(298^{b}14) οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν πρότερον φιλοσοφησάντων περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας) (298^{b}15) ὅλως ἀνεῖλον γένεσιν καὶ φθοράν · οὐθὲν γὰρ οὔτε γίγνεσθαί φασιν οὔτε φθείρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, ἀλλὰ μόνον δοκεῖν ἡμῖν, οἷον οἱ περὶ Μέλισσόν τε καὶ Παρμενίδην, οὕς, εἰ καὶ τἆλλα λέγουσι καλῶς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ φυσικῶς γε δεῖ νομίσαι λέγειν · τὸ γὰρ εἶναι ἄττα τῶν ὄντων ἀγένητα καὶ ὅλως ἀκίνητα (298^{b}20) μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἑτέρας καὶ προτέρας ἢ τῆς φυσικῆς σκέψεως. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ διὰ τὸ μηθὲν μὲν ἄλλο παρὰ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν οὐσίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι, τοιαύτας δέ τινας νοῆσαι πρῶτοι φύσεις, εἴπερ ἔσται τις γνῶσις ἢ φρόνησις, οὕτω μετήνεγκαν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν λόγους.

21. *physica* i, 2–3 184^{b}15–17; 184^{b}25–185^{a}10; 185^{a}20–32; 185^{b}5–10; 185^{b}16–25; 186^{a}4–7; 186^{a}22–^{b}17, 187^{a}1–11) [101]

(184^{b}15) ἀνάγκη δ᾽ ἤτοι μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ πλείους, καὶ εἰ μίαν, ἤτοι ἀκίνητον, ὥς φησι Παρμενίδης καὶ Μέλισσος, ἢ κινουμένην, ὥσπερ οἱ φυσικοί … (184^{b}25) τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰ ἓν καὶ ἀκίνητον τὸ ὂν σκοπεῖν οὐ περὶ φύσεώς ἐστι σκοπεῖν · (185^{a}1) ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ τῷ γεωμέτρῃ οὐκέτι λόγος ἔστι πρὸς τὸν ἀνελόντα τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλ᾽ ἤτοι ἑτέρας ἐπιστήμης ἢ πασῶν κοινῆς, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῷ περὶ ἀρχῶν · οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἀρχὴ ἔστιν, εἰ ἓν μόνον καὶ οὕτως ἓν ἔστιν. ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ τινὸς ἢ τινῶν. (185^{a}5) ὅμοιον δὴ τὸ σκοπεῖν εἰ οὕτως ἓν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην θέσιν ὁποιανοῦν διαλέγεσθαι τῶν λόγου ἕνεκα λεγομένων (οἷον τὴν Ἡρακλείτειον, ἢ εἴ τις φαίη ἄνθρωπον ἕνα τὸ ὂν εἶναι), ἢ λύειν λόγον ἐριστικόν, ὅπερ ἀμφότεροι μὲν ἔχουσιν οἱ λόγοι, καὶ ὁ Μελίσσου καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδου · καὶ γὰρ ψευδῆ λαμβάνουσι (185^{a}10) καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστοί εἰσιν … (185^{a}20) ἀρχὴ δὲ οἰκειοτάτη πασῶν, ἐπειδὴ πολλαχῶς λέγεται τὸ ὄν, πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ λέγοντες εἶναι ἓν τὰ πάντα, πότερον οὐσίαν τὰ πάντα ἢ ποσὰ ἢ ποιά, καὶ πάλιν πότερον οὐσίαν μίαν τὰ πάντα, οἷον ἄνθρωπον ἕνα ἢ ἵππον ἕνα ἢ ψυχὴν (185^{a}25) μίαν, ἢ ποιὸν ἓν δὲ τοῦτο, οἷον λευκὸν ἢ θερμὸν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι τῶν τοιούτων. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα διαφέρει τε πολὺ καὶ ἀδύνατα λέγειν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔσται καὶ οὐσία

are all impossible to hold. For if [all things] are going to be substance and also quantity and quality, then, no matter whether or not these are detached from one another, there will be many things-that-are. But it is absurd if all things are quality or quantity, regardless of whether substance exists (185^{a}30) or not—if we may call the impossible absurd. For none of the others exists separately except substance; for everything is said of substance as subject ….

(185^{b}5) Again, since one too is itself said in many ways just as what-is is [said in many ways], we must consider in what way they say that the All is one. Now the continuous is said to be one; also the indivisible, and further things whose essence has one and the same account, like liquor and drink. If [their claim is that the all is] (185^{b}10) continuous, the one [turns out to be] many; for the continuous is divisible ad infinitum …. (185^{b}16) But further, if [their claim is that the all is] indivisible, nothing will be a quantity or a quality, and so what-is will not be unlimited, as Melissus says—or, indeed, limited, as Parmenides says; for it is the limit that is indivisible, not the limited.

Further, if all things-that-are are (185^{b}20) one in account, like clothes and garments, then it results that they are stating Heraclitus's doctrine. For to be good and to be bad will be the same, and also to be good and to be not good [will be the same], and so the same thing will be good and not good, and a man and a horse; in fact, their doctrine will be, not that things-that-are are one, but that they are (185^{b}25) nothing; and to be such-and-such a quality is the same as to be such-and-such a quantity ….

(186^{a}4) For those who approach [the thesis] in this way, then, it seems impossible (186^{a}5) for the things-that-are to be one. Further, it is not difficult to refute [the thesis] in view of the [arguments] they put up. For both of them—both Melissus and Parmenides—deduce their conclusions contentiously …. (186^{a}22) The same kind of arguments also hold against Parmenides, and in addition any others that apply specifically [to his argument]: the refutation is that it is false and besides it does not follow. It is false because it assumes (186^{a}25) that Being is said in only one way, when in fact it is said in many ways. It is invalid because if we take only the things that are white (sc. things that have the quality white as an attribute), assuming that white (sc. the quality white) signifies one thing, the white things will be no less many and not one. For what is white (sc. the totality of things that have the attribute white) will not be one by being continuous or by [having one] account. For it is one thing

καὶ ποιὸν καὶ ποσόν, καὶ ταῦτα εἴτ᾽ ἀπολελυμένα ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων εἴτε μή, [101]
πολλὰ τὰ ὄντα · εἰ δὲ πάντα ποιὸν ἢ ποσόν, εἴτ᾽ οὔσης οὐσίας (185ᵃ30)
εἴτε μὴ οὔσης, ἄτοπον, εἰ δεῖ ἄτοπον λέγειν τὸ ἀδύνατον · οὐθὲν γὰρ τῶν
ἄλλων χωριστόν ἐστι παρὰ τὴν οὐσίαν · πάντα γὰρ καθ᾽ ὑποκειμένου
λέγεται τῆς οὐσίας … (185ᵇ5) ἔτι ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἓν πολλαχῶς λέγεται
ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ὄν, σκεπτέον τίνα τρόπον λέγουσιν εἶναι ἓν τὸ πᾶν. λέγεται
δ᾽ ἓν ἢ τὸ συνεχὲς ἢ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον ἢ ὧν ὁ λόγος ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἷς ὁ τοῦ τί
ἦν εἶναι, ὥσπερ μέθυ καὶ οἶνος. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν (185ᵇ10) συνεχές, πολλὰ
τὸ ἕν · εἰς ἄπειρον γὰρ διαιρετὸν τὸ συνεχές … (185ᵇ16) ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ ὡς
ἀδιαίρετον, οὐθὲν ἔσται ποσὸν οὐδὲ ποιόν, οὐδὲ δὴ ἄπειρον τὸ ὄν, ὥσπερ
Μέλισσός φησιν, οὐδὲ πεπερασμένον, ὥσπερ Παρμενίδης · τὸ γὰρ πέρας
ἀδιαίρετον, οὐ τὸ πεπερασμένον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τῷ λόγῳ ἓν τὰ (185ᵇ20) ὄντα
πάντα ὡς λώπιον καὶ ἱμάτιον, τὸν Ἡρακλείτου λόγον συμβαίνει λέγειν
αὐτοῖς · ταὐτὸν γὰρ ἔσται ἀγαθῷ καὶ κακῷ εἶναι, καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ μὴ
ἀγαθῷ εἶναι, ὥστε ταὐτὸν ἔσται ἀγαθὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος
καὶ ἵππος, καὶ οὐ περὶ τοῦ ἓν εἶναι τὰ ὄντα ὁ λόγος ἔσται ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ
(185ᵇ25) μηδέν, καὶ τὸ τοιῳδὶ εἶναι καὶ τοσῳδὶ ταὐτόν.

(3, 186ᵃ4) τόν τε δὴ τρόπον τοῦτον ἐπιοῦσιν ἀδύνατον φαίνεται (186ᵃ5)
τὰ ὄντα ἓν εἶναι, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐπιδεικνύουσι, λύειν οὐ χαλεπόν. ἀμφότεροι
γὰρ ἐριστικῶς συλλογίζονται καὶ Μέλισσος καὶ Παρμενίδης … (186ᵃ22)
καὶ πρὸς Παρμενίδην δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος τῶν λόγων καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι εἰσὶν
ἴδιοι · καὶ ἡ λύσις τῇ μὲν ὅτι ψευδὴς τῇ δὲ ὅτι οὐ συμπεραίνεται, ψευδὴς
μὲν ἧ ἁπλῶς (186ᵃ25) λαμβάνει τὸ ὂν λέγεσθαι, λεγομένου πολλαχῶς,
ἀσυμπέραντος δὲ ὅτι, εἰ μόνα τὰ λευκὰ ληφθείη, σημαίνοντος ἓν τοῦ [102]
λευκοῦ, οὐθὲν ἧττον πολλὰ τὰ λευκὰ καὶ οὐχ ἕν · οὔτε γὰρ τῇ συνεχείᾳ
ἓν ἔσται τὸ λευκὸν οὔτε τῷ λόγῳ. ἄλλο γὰρ ἔσται τὸ εἶναι λευκῷ καὶ τῷ

to be white and another to be something that has admitted [the quality white] (sc. something that is white). Nor [does it follow that] anything will exist (186^{a}30) separately over and above what is white (sc. the totality of things that have the attribute white), for it is not in that [it exists] separately that white (sc. the quality) and that to which it belongs are different, but because of their essence (sc. because they have different essences). But Parmenides was not yet in a position to see this.

Thus it is necessary for him to assume not only that being signifies one thing whenever it is predicated of anything, but further [that it signifies] *just* being and *just* one. For the attribute is predicated of some subject, (186^{a}35) so that (sc. by reasoning parallel to the case of white)that to which being is attributed will not be, since it is something different (186^{b}1) from being (sc. it is different from the attribute in question). Therefore it will be something that is not. Hence *just* being will not belong to anything else. For it will not be possible for it [the subject] to be anything that is (sc. anything that has the attribute being) unless being signifies more than one thing, in such a way that each *is* something. But it was posited that being signifies one thing.

Further, if *just* being is not attributed to anything, (186^{b}5) but the other things [are attributed] to it, how does *just* being signify being rather than not being (sc. the opposite of the attribute in question)? For if *just* being is also white (sc. if the quality white is attributed to *just* being), and being white is not *just* being (sc. if the essence of white is not identical with the subject *just* being, of which white is hypothesized to be an attribute) (for being cannot even be attributed to it {sc. to the quality white} since {sc. by hypothesis} nothing is that is not *just* being {sc. *just* being is the only thing that is}), then white is not a thing-that-is—not in the way that something that is not [is not], but it (sc. white) is not (186^{b}10) at all. Hence *just* being is not a thing-that-is; for it is true to say that it is white, and this turned out to signify what-is-not. And so (sc. since the preceding is a reductio ad absurdum of the hypothesis that white is not *just* being) white too must signify *just* being; therefore being signifies more than one thing (sc. it signifies *just* being and also has a significance according to which white is).

In particular, then, what-is will not have magnitude, if in fact what-is *just* is. For the essence of each of the two parts is different.

But that what *just* is is divided into something else (186^{b}15) that *just* is, is evident even through [considerations having to do with] definition. For example, if man is something that *just* is, then animal too must be something that *just* is, and the same holds for biped. For if [each of them] is not something that *just* is, they will be attributes ….

δεδεγμένῳ. καὶ οὐκ ἔσται (186[a]30) παρὰ τὸ λευκὸν οὐθὲν χωριστόν · οὐ γὰρ ᾗ χωριστὸν ἀλλὰ τῷ εἶναι ἕτερον τὸ λευκὸν καὶ ᾧ ὑπάρχει. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο Παρμενίδης οὔπω συνεώρα. ἀνάγκη δὴ λαβεῖν μὴ μόνον ἓν σημαίνειν τὸ ὄν, καθ' οὗ ἂν κατηγορηθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπερ ὂν καὶ ὅπερ ἕν · τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς καθ' ὑποκειμένου τινὸς (186[a]35) λέγεται, ὥστε ᾧ συμβέβηκε τὸ ὄν, οὐκ ἔσται · ἕτερον γὰρ (186[b]1) τοῦ ὄντος · ἔσται τι ἄρα οὐκ ὄν. οὐ δὴ ἔσται ἄλλῳ ὑπάρχον τὸ ὅπερ ὄν. οὐ γὰρ ἔσται ὄν τι αὐτὸ εἶναι, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ τὸ ὂν σημαίνει οὕτως ὥστε εἶναί τι ἕκαστον. ἀλλ' ὑπόκειται τὸ ὂν σημαίνειν ἕν. εἰ οὖν τὸ ὅπερ ὂν μηδενὶ συμβέβηκεν (186[b]5) ἀλλὰ <τὰ ἄλλα> ἐκείνῳ, τί μᾶλλον τὸ ὅπερ ὂν σημαίνει τὸ ὂν ἢ μὴ ὄν; εἰ γὰρ ἔσται τὸ ὅπερ ὂν [ταὐτὸ] καὶ λευκόν, τὸ λευκῷ δ' εἶναι μὴ ἔστιν ὅπερ ὄν, οὐδὲ γὰρ συμβεβηκέναι αὐτῷ οἷόν τε τὸ ὄν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὂν ὃ οὐχ ὅπερ ὄν, οὐκ ἄρα ὂν τὸ λευκόν. οὐχ οὕτω δὲ ὥσπερ τι μὴ ὄν, ἀλλ' ὅλως μὴ (186[b]10) ὄν. τὸ ἄρα ὅπερ ὂν οὐκ ὄν. ἀληθὲς γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι λευκόν, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ὂν ἐσήμαινεν. ὥστε καὶ τὸ λευκὸν σημαίνει ὅπερ ὄν · πλείω ἄρα σημαίνει τὸ ὄν. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ μέγεθος ἕξει τὸ ὄν, εἴπερ ὅπερ ὂν τὸ ὄν · ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ ἕτερον τὸ εἶναι τῶν μορίων. [102]

ὅτι δὲ διαιρεῖται τὸ ὅπερ ὂν εἰς ὅπερ ὄν τι (186[b]15) ἄλλο, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ φανερόν, οἷον ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰ ἔστιν ὅπερ ὄν τι, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ζῷον ὅπερ ὄν τι εἶναι καὶ τὸ δίπουν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὅπερ ὄν τι, συμβεβηκότα ἔσται. …

(187^{a}1) Some thinkers made concessions to both arguments. To [the argument] that all things are one if being signifies one thing, [they conceded] that what-is-not is; to [the argument] from dichotomy, [they conceded] by positing atomic magnitudes. But it is also evident that it is not true that—supposing that being signifies one thing, and both members of a contradiction (187^{a}5) cannot [hold] simultaneously—there will not be anything that is not; for nothing prevents what-is-not, not from being *unqualifiedly*, but from being *something*. But to say that all things will be one, as if there will be nothing over and above what-is, itself, is absurd. For who understands what-is, itself, except as what *just* is something or other? But if this is so, there is still nothing to prevent the things-that-are from being (187^{a}10) many, as has been said. Thus it is clear that it is impossible for what-is to be one in this way.

22. *Physics* i, 5 188^{a}19–23
(188^{a}19) They all make the contraries principles, both those who say that (188^{a}20) the All is one and not moved (for even Parmenides makes the hot and the cold principles, though he calls them fire and earth) and those too who [make] the rare and the dense [principles]. Democritus also [makes] the full and the void [principles], of which he declares the former to exist as a thing-that-is, the latter [to exist] as a thing-that-is-not.

23. *Physics* i, 9 191^{b}35–192^{a}1
(191^{b}35) Some others, indeed, have touched on it (i.e., the nature of matter), but not sufficiently. For in the first place they agree that a thing that comes to be unqualifiedly [comes to be] from what-is- (192^{a}1) not; that in this Parmenides was correct.

24. *Physics* iii, 6 207^{a}13–17
(207^{a}13) "Whole" and "complete" are either entirely the same or very similar in nature. Further, nothing is complete unless it has an end; but the end is (207^{a}15) a limit. Thus we should think that Parmenides spoke better than Melissus. The latter declares that the unlimited is whole, while the former declares that the whole is limited, "Equally poised from the centre" (fr. 8, 44).

(187ª1) ἔνιοι δ' ἐνέδοσαν τοῖς λόγοις ἀμφοτέροις, τῷ μὲν ὅτι πάντα ἕν, [102]
εἰ τὸ ὂν ἓν σημαίνει, ὅτι ἔστι τὸ μὴ ὄν, τῷ δὲ ἐκ τῆς διχοτομίας, ἄτομα
ποιήσαντες μεγέθη. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθὲς ὡς, εἰ ἓν σημαίνει
τὸ ὂν καὶ μὴ οἷόν τε ἅμα (187ª5) τὴν ἀντίφασιν, οὐκ ἔσται οὐθὲν μὴ ὄν ·
οὐθὲν γὰρ κωλύει μὴ ἁπλῶς εἶναι ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄν τι εἶναι τὸ μὴ ὄν. τὸ δὲ δὴ
φάναι, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὂν ὡς εἰ μή τι ἔσται ἄλλο, ἓν πάντα ἔσεσθαι, ἄτοπον.
τίς γὰρ μανθάνει αὐτὸ τὸ ὂν εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅπερ ὄν τι εἶναι; εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐδὲν
ὅμως κωλύει πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ (187ª10) ὄντα, ὥσπερ εἴρηται. ὅτι μὲν οὖν
οὕτως ἓν εἶναι τὸ ὂν ἀδύνατον, δῆλον.

22. *physica* i, 5 188ª19–23

(188ª19) πάντες δὴ τἀναντία ἀρχὰς ποιοῦσιν, οἵ τε λέγοντες ὅτι (188ª20)
ἓν τὸ πᾶν καὶ μὴ κινούμενον, καὶ γὰρ Παρμενίδης θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν
ἀρχὰς ποιεῖ, ταῦτα δὲ προσαγορεύει πῦρ καὶ γῆν, καὶ οἱ μανὸν καὶ
πυκνόν · καὶ Δημόκριτος τὸ πλῆρες καὶ κενόν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ὡς ὂν τὸ δὲ ὡς
οὐκ ὂν εἶναί φησιν.

23. *physica* i, 9 191ᵇ35–192ª1

(191ᵇ35) ἡμμένοι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕτεροί τινές εἰσιν αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς ὑποκειμένης
φύσεως)[24] ἀλλ' οὐχ ἱκανῶς · πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἁπλῶς γίγνεσθαί
τι ἐκ μὴ (192ª1) ὄντος, ᾗ Παρμενίδην ὀρθῶς λέγειν.

24. *physica* iii, 6 207ª13–17

(207ª13) ὅλον δὲ καὶ τέλειον ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ πάμπαν ἢ σύνεγγυς τὴν φύσιν. [103]
τέλειον δ' οὐδὲν μὴ ἔχον τέλος · τὸ δὲ τέλος (207ª15) πέρας. διὸ βέλτιον
οἰητέον Παρμενίδην Μελίσσου εἰρηκέναι · ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἄπειρον ὅλον
φησίν, ὁ δὲ τὸ ὅλον πεπεράνθαι,ʻμεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλές' (fr. 8, 44).

24. The first edition had τῆς ὕλης. (RMcK)

25. *Metaphysics* A3 984^{a}19–22; 984^{a}25–^{b}14; 984^{b}20–30

(984^{a}19) Even if it is unquestionably true that (984^{a}20) all generation and perishing proceed from some one [element] or even from more [than one], why does this happen and what is the cause? For surely in any case it is not the substrate that makes itself change ….

(984^{a}25) And to investigate this (i.e., what causes the substrate to change) is to investigate the second principle, [the source] from which [comes] the beginning of motion, as we would say. Now those who right at the beginning touched upon this kind of inquiry and said the substrate is one, were not at all displeased with themselves; but at any rate some (984^{a}30) of those who declare it to be one, as if they were defeated by this inquiry, declare that the one, i.e., the whole of nature, is unmoved not only in respect of generation and perishing (for this is an ancient view and all agreed [on it]), but also in respect of all other change; (984^{b}1) and this view is peculiar to them. None of those who declared the All to be one can be credited with seeing a cause of this kind (i.e., an efficient cause) except perhaps Parmenides, and he [is an exception only] to the extent that he posits not only that there is one thing but also that in a way there are two causes. (984^{b}5) By contrast, it is in fact easier for those who make more [than one element] to speak of [a second cause]—for example, those who [make] the hot and the cold, or fire and earth [elements]. For they treat fire as possessing a nature which causes motion, and they treat water and earth and suchlike as the contrary.

After these men and the kinds of principles they introduced, since the latter were insufficient to generate the nature of existing things, people were again (984^{b}10) compelled by the very truth, as we said, to investigate the next kind of principle. For it is not likely that fire or earth or anything else of that sort is the cause of the fact that some existing things are good and beautiful and others come to be so, nor is it likely that those thinkers supposed that they were ….

(984^{b}20) Those who thought like this posited that the cause of [things being] beautiful is a principle of things-that-are and that this is simultaneously [the source] from which motion exists in things-that-are. One might suspect that Hesiod was the first to investigate this sort of thing, or someone else who posited love or desire as a principle in things-that-are, (984^{b}25) as Parmenides also does, for when he establishes

25. *metaphysica* A3 984^{a}19–22; 984^{a}25–^{b}14; 984^{b}20–30 [103]

(984^{a}19) εἰ γὰρ ὅτι μάλιστα (984^{a}20) πᾶσα γένεσις καὶ φθορὰ ἔκ τινος ἑνὸς ἢ καὶ πλειόνων ἐστί, διὰ τί τοῦτο συμβαίνει καὶ τί τὸ αἴτιον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε ὑποκείμενον αὐτὸ ποιεῖ μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτό … (984^{a}25) τὸ δὲ τοῦτο ζητεῖν ἐστι τὸ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν ζητεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς φαίημεν, ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως. οἱ μὲν οὖν πάμπαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἁψάμενοι τῆς μεθόδου τῆς τοιαύτης καὶ ἓν φάσκοντες εἶναι τὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐθὲν ἐδυσχέραναν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἔνιοί (984^{a}30) γε τῶν ἓν λεγόντων, ὥσπερ ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ζητήσεως, τὸ ἓν ἀκίνητόν φασιν εἶναι καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὅλην οὐ μόνον κατὰ γένεσιν καὶ φθοράν (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖόν τε καὶ πάντες ὡμολόγησαν) ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην μεταβολὴν (984^{b}1) πᾶσαν · καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῶν ἴδιόν ἐστιν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἓν φασκόντων εἶναι τὸ πᾶν οὐθενὶ συνέβη τὴν τοιαύτην συνιδεῖν αἰτίαν πλὴν εἰ ἄρα Παρμενίδῃ, καὶ τούτῳ κατὰ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὐ μόνον ἓν ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο πως τίθησιν αἰτίας εἶναι. (984^{b}5) τοῖς δὲ δὴ πλείω ποιοῦσι μᾶλλον ἐνδέχεται λέγειν, οἷον τοῖς θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἢ πῦρ καὶ γῆν · χρῶνται γὰρ ὡς κινητικὴν ἔχοντι τῷ πυρὶ τὴν φύσιν, ὕδατι δὲ καὶ γῇ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις τοὐναντίον. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀρχάς, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶν οὐσῶν γεννῆσαι τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν, πάλιν (984^{b}10) ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὴν ἐχομένην ἐζήτησαν ἀρχήν · τοῦ γὰρ εὖ καὶ καλῶς τὰ μὲν ἔχειν τὰ δὲ γίγνεσθαι τῶν ὄντων ἴσως οὔτε πῦρ οὔτε γῆν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο τῶν τοιούτων οὐθὲν οὔτ᾽ εἰκὸς αἴτιον εἶναι οὔτ᾽ ἐκείνους οἰηθῆναι … (984^{b}20) οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἅμα τοῦ καλῶς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων ἔθεσαν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις ὑπάρχει τοῖς οὖσιν · ὑποπτεύσειε δ᾽ ἄν τις Ἡσίοδον πρῶτον ζητῆσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔρωτα ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἔθηκεν (984^{b}25) ὡς ἀρχήν, οἷον καὶ Παρμενίδης · καὶ γὰρ οὗτος κατασκευάζων τὴν τοῦ παντὸς γένεσιν

the generation of the All, he too declares, "Of all the gods she devised love" (fr. 13) first. And Hesiod says: "First of all things Chaos came to be, and then broad-breasted Earth, … and Eros that is foremost among all the immortals", on the grounds that there must exist in (984^{b}30) things-that-are a cause that will move things and bring them together.

26. *Metaphysics* A5 986^{b}18–23; 986^{b}27–987^{a}2
(986^{b}18) Parmenides seems to touch upon what is one in definition, Melissus (986^{b}20) upon what is one in matter, and this is why the former declares it to be limited, the latter unlimited; while Xenophanes, the first of these to preach monism (for Parmenides is said to have been his student) made nothing clear …. (986^{b}27) But Parmenides somehow seems to see farther when he speaks. For, claiming that, besides what-is, what-is-not is nothing, he thinks that of necessity there is one thing, that-which-is, and (986^{b}30) nothing else. (We have spoken more clearly about this in our work on nature.) But being compelled to follow the appearances, and supposing that one thing exists according to definition but many things exist according to sensation, he in turn posits two causes and two principles, the hot and the cold, calling them fire and earth; and of these (987^{a}1) he assigns the hot to the category of what-is and the other to that of what-is-not.

27. *Metaphysics* B4 1001^{a}29–^{b}1
(1001^{a}29) But if there is going to be (1001^{a}30) something that is a thing-that-is itself, and one itself, it is a big puzzle how there will be anything else besides these—I mean, how will the things-that-are be more than one? For what is different from what-is, is not, and so, according to Parmenides' argument, it must result that all things-that-are are one and (1001^{b}1) this is the thing-that-is.

28. *Metaphysics* Γ5 1009^{b}12–15; 1009^{b}21–25
(1009^{b}12) And in general because they suppose sensation to be thought, and this (i.e., sensation) to be an alteration, they declare that what appears in sensation must be true … (1009^{b}21) And Parmenides also declares his opinion in the same way: "For as is the temper … the thought the mind conceives" (fr. 17).

πρῶτον μέν φησιν ‘ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων’ (fr. 13), ‘Ησίοδος δὲ [103]
‘πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένετ’, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα γαῖ’ εὐρύστερνος, ἠδ’
ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν,’ ὡς δέον ἐν τοῖς (984^{b}30) οὖσιν
ὑπάρχειν τιν’ αἰτίαν ἥτις κινήσει καὶ συνάξει τὰ πράγματα.

26. *metaphysica* A5 986^{b}18–23; 986^{b}27–987^{a}2

(986^{b}18) Παρμενίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε τοῦ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἑνὸς ἅπτεσθαι,
Μέλισσος δὲ (986^{b}20) τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην, διὸ καὶ ὁ μὲν πεπερασμένον ὁ
δ’ ἄπειρόν φησιν εἶναι αὐτό · Ξενοφάνης δὲ πρῶτος τούτων ἐνίσας, ὁ γὰρ
Παρμενίδης τούτου λέγεται γενέσθαι μαθητής, οὐθὲν διεσαφήνισεν …
(986^{b}27) Παρμενίδης δὲ μᾶλλον βλέπων ἔοικέ που λέγειν · παρὰ γὰρ
τὸ ὂν τὸ μὴ ὂν οὐθὲν ἀξιῶν εἶναι, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἓν οἴεται εἶναι, τὸ ὄν, καὶ
(986^{b}30) ἄλλο οὐθέν, περὶ οὗ σαφέστερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ φύσεως εἰρήκαμεν ·
ἀναγκαζόμενος δ’ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς φαινομένοις καὶ τὸ ἓν μὲν κατὰ τὸν [104]
λόγον πλείω δὲ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι, δύο τὰς αἰτίας
καὶ δύο τὰς ἀρχὰς πάλιν τίθησι, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν, οἷον πῦρ καὶ γῆν
λέγων · τούτων (987^{a}1) δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸ ὂν τὸ θερμὸν τάττει θάτερον δὲ
κατὰ τὸ μὴ ὄν.

27. *metaphysica* B4 1001^{a}29–^{b}1

(1001^{a}29) ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γ’ ἔσται (1001^{a}30) τι αὐτὸ ὂν καὶ αὐτὸ ἕν, πολλὴ
ἀπορία πῶς ἔσται τι παρὰ ταῦτα ἕτερον, λέγω δὲ πῶς ἔσται πλείω ἑνὸς
τὰ ὄντα. τὸ γὰρ ἕτερον τοῦ ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥστε κατὰ τὸν Παρμενίδου
συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη λόγον ἓν ἅπαντα εἶναι τὰ ὄντα καὶ (1001^{b}1) τοῦτο
εἶναι τὸ ὄν.

28. *metaphysica* Γ5 1009^{b}12–15; 1009^{b}21–25

(1009^{b}12) ὅλως δὲ διὰ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν φρόνησιν μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν, ταύτην
δ’ εἶναι ἀλλοίωσιν, τὸ φαινόμενον κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀληθὲς
εἶναί (1009^{b}15) φασιν … (1009^{b}21) καὶ Παρμενίδης δὲ ἀποφαίνεται τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον · ‘ὡς γὰρ ἑκάστοτ’ ἔχῃ … (1009^{b}25) ἐστὶ νόημα’ (fr. 17).

29. *Metaphysics* N2 1089^{a}2–6

(1089^{a}2) For they (i.e., those who make the indefinite dyad the element that comes after the one) thought that all things-that-are will be one—viz. the thing-that-is itself—if one does not take issue with Parmenides' argument and refute it: "For this principle shall never be vanquished, so as to allow things to be that are not" (fr. 7, 1). (1089^{a}5) But [they thought] it is necessary to prove that what-is-not is; for in this way things-that-are, if they are many, will be composed of what-is and something else.

30. *On Generation and Corruption* i, 3 318^{b}2–7

(318^{b}2) For what the changing thing changes into makes a difference. For example, perhaps transformation into fire is unqualified generation, but perishing of something (earth, for instance); while the (318^{b}5) generation of earth is a kind of generation, though not generation unqualifiedly, but is perishing unqualifiedly (of fire, for instance). This is how Parmenides speaks of two things, declaring that fire and earth are (respectively) what-is and what-is-not.

31. *On Generation and Corruption* i, 8 325^{a}2–17

(325^{a}2) For some of the ancients thought that what-is must be one and unmoved. For [they thought] the void is not, but that there cannot be motion unless there is (325^{a}5) a separate void; nor again are there many things if there is nothing keeping [them] apart. And [they thought] if someone supposes that the All is not continuous but is divided [into things] in contact, it is no different from declaring that there are many things—not one—and void. For if it is everywhere divisible, nothing is one, and so there is no many either, but the whole is void. But if it is [divisible] in one place (325^{a}10) and not at another, this seems like a fabrication. For to what extent and for what reason is part of the whole like this and full, and part divided? In addition [they believed] it is equally necessary that motion does not exist.

On the basis of these arguments, therefore, going beyond sensation and disregarding it on the grounds that one should follow reason, (325^{a}15) they say that the All is one and unmoved. Some of them also [say that] it [is] unlimited, since a limit would limit [it] against the void. Some, then, declared their opinion about the truth in this way and for these reasons.

29. *metaphysica* N2 1089^{a}2–6 [104]
(1089^{a}2) ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτοῖς (sc. τοῖς δυάδα μὲν ἀόριστον ποιοῦσι τὸ μετὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς στοιχεῖον) πάντ᾽ ἔσεσθαι ἓν τὰ ὄντα, αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν, εἰ μή τις λύσει καὶ ὁμόσε βαδιεῖται τῷ Παρμενίδου λόγῳ ‘οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα᾽ (fr. 7, 1), (1089^{a}5) ἀλλ᾽ ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὸ μὴ ὂν δεῖξαι ὅτι ἔστιν · οὕτω γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τὰ ὄντα ἔσεσθαι, εἰ πολλά ἐστιν.

30. *de generatione et corruptione* i, 3 318^{b}2–7
(318^{b}2) διαφέρει γὰρ εἰς ἃ μεταβάλλει τὸ μεταβάλλον, οἷον ἴσως ἡ μὲν εἰς πῦρ ὁδὸς γένεσις μὲν ἁπλῆ, φθορὰ δὲ τινός ἐστιν, οἷον γῆς, ἡ δὲ (318^{b}5) γῆς γένεσις τὶς γένεσις, γένεσις δ᾽ οὐχ ἁπλῶς, φθορὰ δ᾽ ἁπλῶς, οἷον πυρός · ὥσπερ Παρμενίδης λέγει δύο, τὸ ὂν καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν εἶναι φάσκων πῦρ καὶ γῆν.

31. *de generatione et corruptione* i, 8 325^{a}2–17
(325^{a}2) ἐνίοις γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἔδοξε τὸ ὂν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἓν εἶναι καὶ ἀκίνητον · τὸ μὲν γὰρ κενὸν οὐκ ὄν, κινηθῆναι δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι μὴ ὄντος κενοῦ (325^{a}5) κεχωρισμένου, οὐδ᾽ αὖ πολλὰ εἶναι μὴ ὄντος τοῦ διείργοντος, τοῦτο δ᾽ οὐδὲν διαφέρειν, εἴ τις οἴεται μὴ συνεχὲς εἶναι τὸ πᾶν ἀλλ᾽ ἅπτεσθαι διῃρημένον, τοῦ φάναι πολλὰ καὶ μὴ ἓν εἶναι καὶ κενόν, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πάντῃ διαιρετόν, οὐθὲν εἶναι ἕν, ὥστε οὐδὲ πολλά, ἀλλὰ κενὸν τὸ ὅλον · εἰ δὲ τῇ (325^{a}10) μὲν τῇ δὲ μή, πεπλασμένῳ τινὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐοικέναι · μέχρι πόσου γὰρ καὶ διὰ τί τὸ μὲν οὕτως ἔχει τοῦ ὅλου καὶ πλῆρές ἐστι, τὸ δὲ διῃρημένον; ἔτι δ᾽ ὁμοίως ἀναγκαῖον μὴ εἶναι κίνησιν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων τῶν λόγων ὑπερβάντες τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ παριδόντες αὐτὴν ὡς τῷ λόγῳ δέον ἀκολουθεῖν, ἓν καὶ (325^{a}15) ἀκίνητον τὸ πᾶν εἶναί φασι καὶ ἄπειρον ἔνιοι · τὸ γὰρ πέρας περαίνειν ἂν πρὸς τὸ κενόν, οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως [105]
καὶ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἀπεφήναντο περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας.

32. *On Generation and Corruption* ii, 3 330^{b}13–15
(330^{b}13) But those who from the beginning make two [of the simple bodies elements], as Parmenides [did with] fire and earth, make the intermediaries (330^{b}15) (for example, air and water) mixtures of these.

33. *On Generation and Corruption* ii, 9 336^{a}1–12
(336^{a}1) Further they assign to bodies the powers through which they (i.e., the bodies) cause generation, [thus making the powers] too instrumental, since they remove the formal cause. For since, as they maintain, it is the nature of the hot to separate and of the cold to bring together, and [it is the nature of] each of the other [powers] (336^{a}5) either to act or to be acted on, they say that all the rest are generated out of these and through these, and perish as well. But it is clear that even fire itself is moved and acted on. Moreover these people are acting very like a person who were to assign the cause of things that are generated to a saw or to every tool. For (336^{a}10) if a person saws [wood], it must be divided, and it must become smooth if he planes it, and likewise for the other [tools]. Hence, however much fire acts and causes motion, still, they fail to observe in addition that it is inferior to tools in *how* it causes motion.

33a. Cf. Philoponus *Commentary on Aristotle's Books On Generation and Corruption* 287, 25–26 Vitelli *(ad loc.)*
(287, 25) Alexander says that Parmenides held such an opinion.

34. *On the Parts of Animals* ii, 2 648^{a}29–31
(648^{a}29) Parmenides and some others declare that women are hotter than men, (648^{a}30) on the grounds that their menstrual flow occurs because of their heat and the abundance of their blood, while Empedocles states the opposite.

35. *Generation of Animals* iv, 1 765^{b}17–28
(765^{b}17) For it is on account of cold and weakness that the female is more abundant in blood in certain parts. In fact this is a sign contrary to the reason why some think (765^{b}20) that the female is hotter than the male, i.e., the discharge of menstrual fluids. For although blood is hot, and that which has more of it is hotter, they suppose that this condition occurs because of an excess of blood and heat, as if everything can be equally blood if only it is liquid and bloody in color, (765^{b}25) and as if it did not become less [in quantity] and purer in those who are well nourished. But they think that a greater amount is more a sign of a hot nature than a smaller amount, as [they hold] is the case for the excrement of the intestines.

32. *de generatione et corruptione* ii, 3 330^{b}13–15 [105]
(330^{b}13) οἱ δ' εὐθὺς δύο ποιοῦντες (sc. ἁπλᾶ σώματα στοιχεῖα), ὥσπερ Παρμενίδης πῦρ καὶ γῆν, τὰ μεταξὺ (330^{b}15) μίγματα ποιοῦσι τούτων, οἷον ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ.

33. *de generatione et corruptione* ii, 9 336^{a}1–12
(336^{a}1) ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀποδιδόασι τοῖς σώμασι, δι' ἃς γεννῶσι, λίαν ὀργανικάς, ἀφαιροῦντες τὴν κατὰ τὸ εἶδος αἰτίαν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πέφυκεν, ὥς φασι, (336^{a}5) τὸ μὲν θερμὸν διακρίνειν τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν συνιστάναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον τὸ μὲν ποιεῖν τὸ δὲ πάσχειν, ἐκ τούτων λέγουσι καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα τἆλλα γίγνεσθαι καὶ φθείρεσθαι. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ κινούμενον καὶ πάσχον. ἔτι δὲ παραπλήσιον ποιοῦσιν ὥσπερ εἴ τις τῷ πρίονι καὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὀργάνων ἀπονέμοι τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων · ἀνάγκη (336^{a}10) γὰρ πρίοντος διαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ξέοντος λεαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως · ὥστ' εἰ ὅτι μάλιστα ποιεῖ καὶ κινεῖ τὸ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ πῶς κινεῖ οὐ προσθεωροῦσιν, ὅτι χεῖρον ἢ τὰ ὄργανα.

33a. Cf. Philoponus in *Aristotelis libros de generatione et corruptione commentaria* 287, 25–26 Vitelli *(ad loc.)*
(287, 25) φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς περὶ Παρμενίδην τοιαύτης γεγονέναι δόξης.

34. *de partibus animalium* ii, 2 648^{a}29–31
(648^{a}29) Παρμενίδης τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἀνδρῶν θερμοτέρας εἶναί φησι καὶ (648^{a}30) ἕτεροί τινες, ὡς διὰ τὴν θερμότητα καὶ πολυαιμούσαις γινομένων τῶν γυναικείων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τοὐναντίον.

35. *de generatione animalium* iv, 1 765^{b}17–28
(765^{b}17) διὰ γὰρ ψυχρότητα καὶ ἀδυναμίαν πολυαιμεῖ κατὰ τόπους τινὰς τὸ θῆλυ μᾶλλον. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτὸ τοὐναντίον σημεῖον ἢ δι' ἥνπερ αἰτίαν οἴονταί τινες (765^{b}20) τὸ θῆλυ θερμότερον εἶναι τοῦ ἄρρενος, διὰ τὴν τῶν καταμηνίων πρόεσιν · τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἷμα θερμόν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἔχον μᾶλλον, ὑπολαμβάνουσι δὲ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι τὸ πάθος δι' ὑπερβολὴν αἵματος καὶ θερμότητος, ὥσπερ ἐνδεχόμενον αἷμα εἶναι πᾶν ὁμοίως, ἄνπερ μόνον ὑγρὸν ᾖ καὶ τὴν χρόαν (765^{b}25) αἱματῶδες, καὶ οὐκ ἔλαττον γινόμενον καὶ καθαρώτερον τοῖς εὐτροφοῦσιν. οἱ δ' ὥσπερ τὸ κατὰ τὴν κοιλίαν περίττωμα, τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ ἐλάττονος οἴονται σημεῖον εἶναι θερμῆς φύσεως μᾶλλον.

EUDEMUS

36. fr. 43 Wehrli

(Simpl. 115, 11) As Alexander reports, Theophrastus, in the first book of his *Inquiry into Nature* sets out Parmenides' argument as follows: "What is other than what-is, is not; what-is-not is nothing, therefore what-is is one" (t. 42), but Eudemus [reports it] like this: "What is other than what-is is not; what-is is said in only one way; therefore what-is is one."

I cannot say whether Eudemus wrote this (115, 15) so clearly elsewhere, but in the *Physics* he writes the following concerning Parmenides, from which it may be possible to infer the claim: "Parmenides does not appear to prove that what-is is one, even if we were to grant him that what-is is said in only one way, unless it is predicated in the essence of each thing as man is [predicated in the essence] of men. And when the definitions of individual things are given, the definition of what-is will belong in (115, 20) all of them—one and the same [definition in all], just as the [definition] of animal does in animals. And just as if all things-that-are were beautiful and it were not possible to take anything that is not beautiful, then all things will be beautiful but the beautiful will not be one but many, for one thing will be a beautiful color, another a [beautiful] practice and another [a beautiful] whatever else you like; so also all things will be things-that-are, but not one thing or the same thing. For water is one thing and (115, 25) fire is another. Now one should not be surprised if Parmenides accepted untrustworthy arguments and was deceived about such things, which had not yet been cleared up in his time. For no one was then talking about [what is said] equivocally (Plato was the first to introduce the idea of [things being said] in two ways), or about the per (116, 1) se and per accidens [distinction], and it appears that he was deceived by these. But these [distinctions] were observed as a result of considering arguments and counter-arguments, as was the notion of deductive argument—for if they did not appear necessary they would not have been granted. But in earlier times people declared their opinions without demonstration."

After bringing his remarks on Parmenides to this point, he turns to (116, 5) Anaxagoras. (t. 210 follows)

Simplicius *Commentary on the Books of Aristotle's Physics* 115, 11–116, 5 Diels, *ad* 186^{a}24, cf. t. 21

(cf. Simpl. 118, 10; 120, 6)

EUDEMUS [105]

36. fr. 43 Wehrli

(Simpl. 115, 11) τὸν Παρμενίδου λόγον, ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἱστορεῖ, ὁ μὲν Θεόφραστος οὕτως ἐκτίθεται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς φυσικῆς ἱστορίας · ‘τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ὄν · τὸ οὐκ ὂν οὐδέν · ἓν ἄρα τὸ ὄν’ (t. 42), Εὔδημος δὲ οὕτως · [106] ‘τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ὄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μοναχῶς λέγεται τὸ ὄν · ἓν ἄρα τὸ ὄν’.

τοῦτο δὲ εἰ μὲν ἀλλαχοῦ που γέγραφεν (115, 15) οὕτως σαφῶς Εὔδημος, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Φυσικοῖς περὶ Παρμενίδου τάδε γράφει, ἐξ ὧν ἴσως συναγαγεῖν τὸ εἰρημένον δυνατόν · ‘Παρμενίδης δὲ οὐ φαίνεται δεικνύειν ὅτι ἓν τὸ ὄν, οὐδ’ εἴ τις αὐτῷ συγχωρήσειε μοναχῶς λέγεσθαι τὸ ὄν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐν τῷ τί κατηγορούμενον ἑκάστου ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἀποδιδομένων τῶν λόγων καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνυπάρξει ὁ τοῦ ὄντος (115, 20) λόγος ἐν ἅπασιν εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ τοῦ ζῴου ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις. ὥσπερ δὲ εἰ πάντα εἴη τὰ ὄντα καλὰ καὶ μηθὲν εἴη λαβεῖν ὃ οὐκ ἔστι καλόν, καλὰ μὲν ἔσται πάντα, οὐ μὴν ἕν γε τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ πολλά, τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρῶμα καλὸν ἔσται τὸ δὲ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ δὲ ὁτιδήποτε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὄντα μὲν πάντα ἔσται, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἓν οὐδὲ τὸ αὐτό · ἕτερον μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ (115, 25) ἄλλο δὲ τὸ πῦρ. Παρμενίδου μὲν οὖν <οὐκ ἂν> ἀγασθείη τις ἀναξιοπίστοις ἀκολουθήσαντος λόγοις καὶ ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀπατηθέντος, ἃ οὔπω τότε διεσαφεῖτο · οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πολλαχῶς ἔλεγεν οὐδεὶς ἀλλὰ Πλάτων πρῶτος τὸ δισσὸν εἰσήγαγεν, οὔτε τὸ καθ’ (116, 1) αὑτὸ καὶ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, φαίνεταί τε ὑπὸ τούτων διαψευσθῆναι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ τῶν λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν ἐθεωρήθη καὶ τὸ συλλογίζεσθαι · οὐ γὰρ συνεχωρεῖτο, εἰ μὴ φαίνοιτο ἀναγκαῖον · οἱ δὲ πρότερον ἀναποδείκτως ἀπεφαίνοντο’. καὶ μέχρι τούτου τὰ περὶ Παρμενίδου προαγαγὼν ἐπὶ Ἀναξαγόραν (116, 5) μετέβη (sequitur t. 210).

Simplicius *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 115, 11–116, 5 Diels, *ad* 186^{a}24, cf. t. 21

(cf. Simpl. 118, 10; 120, 6)

37. fr. 44 (Wehrli)

(Simpl. 133, 21) Also Eudemus, who follows Aristotle in everything, did not understand "what just is" as the genus. At any rate when speaking about Parmenides in the first book of the *Physics*, he wrote the following, as Alexander states, though I did not find this passage in (133, 25) the Eudemian [work]: "He would not be speaking of [what-is] as a common property, since such matters were not yet being investigated and only later resulted from [experience with] arguments, and since he would not admit [as common properties] the things he attributes to what-is. For how will this (i.e., what-is) [be] 'Equally poised from the centre' (fr. 8, 44), etc.? But, they say, just about all these accounts will apply to the heaven."

Simplicius *Commentary on the Books of Aristotle's Physics*
133, 21–29 Diels, *ad* 186^{b}14, cf. t. 21

38. fr. 45 (Wehrli)

(Simpl. 143, 1) Nor does he (i.e., Parmenides) want the One Being to be in any way corporeal, since he declares it indivisible, saying, "Nor is it divisible, since it is all alike" (fr. 8, 22). So what he says does not even apply to the heaven, as (143, 5) Eudemus reports that some supposed when they heard [the expression], "from every viewpoint like the volume of a spherical ball" (fr. 8, 43). For the heaven is not indivisible, and it is not like a sphere either, but it *is* a sphere—the most precise [sphere] among natural things.

Simplicius *Commentary on the Books of Aristotle's Physics*
143, 1–8 Diels, *ad* 187^{a}1, cf. t. 21

THEOPHRASTUS

39. *Opinions of the Natural Philosophers* fr. 3 (*Dox.* 477)

(Simpl. 25, 19) Empedocles of Acragas, who was born not long (25, 20) after Anaxagoras, was a follower and adherent of Parmenides, and even more so of the Pythagoreans.

Simplicius *Commentary on the Books of Aristotle's Physics*
25, 19–21 Diels, *ad* 184^{b}15

39a. *Dox.* 477, 18 n.

(Diog. Laert. 418, 21) Theophrastus says that he {Empedocles} was a follower of Parmenides and an imitator of him in his poems. For he {Parmenides} too had produced an account *On Nature* in verse.

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*
viii, 55, p. 418, 21–24 Long

37. fr. 44 Wehrli [106]

(Simpl. 133, 21) καὶ ὁ Εὔδημος δὲ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει πάντα κατακολουθῶν τοῦ ὅπερ ὄντος οὐκ ἤκουσεν ὡς γένους. ἐν γοῦν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν περὶ Παρμενίδου λέγων ταῦτα γέγραφεν, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρός φησιν, ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ εὗρον ἐν τῷ Εὐδημείῳ τὴν (133, 25) λέξιν ταύτην · ‘τὸ μὲν οὖν κοινὸν οὐκ ἂν λέγοι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐζητεῖτό πω τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀλλὰ ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν λόγων προῆλθεν, οὔτε ἐπιδέχοιτο ἂν ἃ τῷ ὄντι ἐπιλέγει. πῶς γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο ‘μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλές’ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα; τῷ δὲ οὐρανῷ, φασί, σχεδὸν πάντες ἐφαρμόσουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι.’

Simplicius *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria*
133, 21–29 Diels, *ad* 186^{b}14, cf. t. 21

38. fr. 45 Wehrli

(Simpl. 143, 1) οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σωματικὸν ὅλως τὸ ἓν ὂν εἶναι βούλεται (sc. Παρμενίδης), εἴπερ ἀδιαίρετον αὐτό φησι λέγων ‘οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐστιν ὁμοῖον’ (fr. 8, 22), ὥστε οὐδὲ τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐφαρμόττει τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα, ὥς τινας ὑπολαβεῖν (143, 5) ὁ Εὔδημός φησιν ἀκούσαντας τοῦ ‘πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ’ (fr. 8, 43). οὐ γὰρ ἀδιαίρετος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ὅμοιος σφαίρᾳ ἀλλὰ σφαιρά ἐστιν ἡ τῶν φυσικῶν ἀκριβεστάτη.

Simplicius *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria*
143, 1–8 Diels, *ad* 187^{a}1, cf. t. 21

THEOPHRASTUS [107]

39. *physicorum opiniones* fr. 3 (*Dox.* 477)

(Simpl. 25, 19) Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος οὐ πολὺ (25, 20) κατόπιν τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου γεγονώς, Παρμενίδου δὲ ζηλωτὴς καὶ πλησιαστὴς καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν Πυθαγορείων.

Simplicius *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria*
25, 19–21 Diels, *ad* 184^{b}15

39a. *Dox.* 477, 18 n.

(Diog. Laert. 418, 21) ὁ δὲ Θεόφραστος Παρμενίδου φησὶ ζηλωτὴν αὐτὸν (sc. Ἐμπεδοκλέα) γενέσθαι καὶ μιμητὴν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι · καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἐν ἔπεσι τὸν περὶ φύσεως λόγον ἐξενεγκεῖν.

Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum*
viii, 55, p. 418, 21–24 Long

40. *Opinions of the Natural Philosophers* fr. 6 (*Dox.* 482)
(Alex 31, 7) Concerning Parmenides and his opinion, Theophrastus too speaks as follows in the first book of *On the Natural Philosophers*: "Coming after him" (he means Xenophanes) "Parmenides of Elea, the son of Pyres, took both ways. (31, 10) He declares that the All is eternal and also attempts to expound the generation of things-that-are. But he does not hold the same opinions about both cases, but supposes that in accordance with truth the All is one, ungenerated and spherical, while in accordance with the opinion of the many, in order to expound the generation of the phenomena he makes the principles two: fire and earth, the one as matter and the other as cause and agent."

Alexander *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*
31, 7–14 Hayduck, *ad* 984^{b}3, cf. t. 25

41. *Opinions of the Natural Philosophers* fr. 6a (*Dox.* 482)
(Diog. Laert. 447, 10) Parmenides of Elea, the son of Pyres, was a student of Xenophanes. In his *Epitome* Theophrastus says that the latter was a student of Anaximander. But in any case although he was Xenophanes' student, he was not his follower …. (447, 18) This man (i.e., Parmenides) was the first to declare that the earth is spherical and is situated at the center; also that there are two elements, fire and earth, of which the former (447, 20) has the rank of creator, the latter that of matter; that the generation of humans arose first from the sun, that the hot and the cold are causes (448, 1) and all things are composed of these, and that mind and soul are the same thing, as Theophrastus too records in his *Natural Philosophers* when he sets out the doctrines of practically all of them.

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*
ix, 21–22, p. 447, 10–13; 447, 18–448, 3

41a. Suda iv, 59, 11–15 Adler = Hesychius Milesius *Onomatologus* fr. DCXXIII Flach
(59, 11) Parmenides of Elea, the son of Pyres, a philosopher, who was the student of Xenophanes of Colophon, or, according to Theophrastus, of Anaximander of Miletus. His successors were Empedocles, who was both a philosopher and a physician, and Zeno of Elea. He wrote on natural philosophy in (59, 15) verse and on some other subjects in prose, as Plato records (*Sophist* 237^{a}, cf. t. 9).
Cf. Diogenes Laertius ii, 3

40. *physicorum opiniones* fr. 6 (*Dox.* 482) [107]

(Alex 31, 7) περὶ Παρμενίδου καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ τῶν Φυσικῶν οὕτως λέγει · ‘τούτῳ δὲ ἐπιγενόμενος Παρμενίδης Πύρητος ὁ Ἐλεάτης’ (λέγει δὲ [καὶ] Ξενοφάνην) ‘ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρας ἦλθε τὰς ὁδούς. (31, 10) καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀίδιόν ἐστι τὸ πᾶν ἀποφαίνεται καὶ γένεσιν ἀποδιδόναι πειρᾶται τῶν ὄντων, οὐχ ὁμοίως περὶ ἀμφοτέρων δοξάζων, ἀλλὰ κατ’ ἀλήθειαν μὲν ἓν τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ σφαιροειδὲς ὑπολαμβάνων, κατὰ δόξαν δὲ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς τὸ γένεσιν ἀποδοῦναι τῶν φαινομένων δύο ποιῶν τὰς ἀρχάς, πῦρ καὶ γῆν, τὸ μὲν ὡς ὕλην τὸ δὲ ὡς αἴτιον καὶ ποιοῦν.’

Alexander *in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* 31, 7–14 Hayduck, *ad* 984^{b}3, cf. t. 25

41. *physicorum opiniones* fr. 6a (*Dox.* 482)

(Diog. Laert. 447, 10) Ξενοφάνους δὲ διήκουσε Παρμενίδης Πύρητος Ἐλεάτης. τοῦτον Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ Ἀναξιμάνδρου φησὶν ἀκοῦσαι. ὅμως δ’ οὖν ἀκούσας καὶ Ξενοφάνους οὐκ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. … (447, 18) πρῶτος δ’ οὗτος τὴν γῆν ἀπέφηνε σφαιροειδῆ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κεῖσθαι. δύο τ’ εἶναι στοιχεῖα, πῦρ καὶ γῆν, καὶ τὸ μὲν δημιουργοῦ (447, 20) τάξιν ἔχειν, τὴν δ’ ὕλης. γένεσιν τ’ ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἡλίου πρῶτον γενέσθαι, † αὐτὸν δ’ ὑπάρχειν τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, (448, 1) ἐξ ὧν τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι, καὶ τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ταὐτὸν εἶναι, καθὰ μέμνηται καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς πάντων σχεδὸν ἐκτιθέμενος τὰ δόγματα.

Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* ix, 21–22, p. 447, 10–13; 447, 18–448, 3 Long

ἡλίου codd: ἰλύος ed. pr. (1533), Aldobr., Diels

41a. Cf. *Suda* iv, 59, 11–15 Adler = Hesychius Milesius *onomatologus* fr. DCXXIII Flach

(59, 11) Παρμενίδης Πύρητος Ἐλεάτης φιλόσοφος, μαθητὴς γεγονὼς Ξενοφάνους τοῦ Κολοφωνίου, ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος Ἀναξιμάνδρου τοῦ Μιλησίου. αὐτοῦ δὲ διάδοχοι ἐγένοντο Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε ὁ καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης. ἔγραψε δὲ φυσιολογίαν δι’ (59, 15) ἐπῶν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ καταλογάδην, ὧν μέμνηται Πλάτων (cf. *soph.* 237^{a}).

Cf. Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* ii, 3 (ubi l. Παρμενίδην … αὐτοῦ).

42. *Opinions of the Natural Philosophers* fr. 7 (*Dox.* 483)
(Simpl. 115, 11) As Alexander reports, Theophrastus, in the first book of his *Inquiry into Nature*, sets out Parmenides' argument as follows: "What is other than what-is, is not; what-is-not is nothing; therefore what-is is one," but Eudemus [puts it] like this …

Simplicius *Commentary on the Books of Aristotle's Physics*
115, 11–13 Diels, *ad* 186[a]24, cf. t. 21

43. *Opinions of the Natural Philosophers* fr. 8 (*Dox.* 483)
(Simpl. 28, 4) Although Leucippus of Elea or of Miletus (both accounts are given of (28, 5) him) had associated with Parmenides in philosophy, he did not follow the same way as Parmenides and Xenophanes concerning the things-that-are, but rather, it appears, the contrary one. For while they made the All one, unmoved, ungenerated and limited, and did not even permit the investigation of what-is-not, he hypothesized the atoms as elements that are unlimited and always in motion, and that the number of shapes among them is unlimited (28, 10) on the grounds of "no more this kind rather than that," and because he observed that among the things-that-are, generation and change are incessant, and further [he hypothesized] that what-is exists no more than what-is-not, and that both are equally causes of things that come to be. For hypothesizing the substance of the atoms to be solid and full, he said that they are what-is, and that they undergo locomotion in the void, which he called what-is-not and declared (28, 15) to be no less than what-is. His associate Democritus of Abdera likewise posited the full and the void as principles, of which he called the former what-is and the latter what-is-not.

Simplicius *Commentary on the Books of Aristotle's Physics*
28, 4–17 Diels, *ad* 184[b]15, cf. t. 21

44. *Opinions of the Natural Philosophers* fr. 17 (*Dox.* 492)
(Diog. Laert. 415, 1) Favorinus declares that he (i.e., Pythagoras) … (415, 4) was the first to name the heaven "cosmos" and to say that the (415, 5) earth is round. But according to Theophrastus, [it was] Parmenides.

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*
viii, 48, p. 415, 1, 4–6 Long

45. *On the Senses* 1–4 (*Dox.* 499, 1–6; 499, 11–500, 6)
[1] (499, 1) Most general opinions about sensation are of two kinds: some make [sensation occur] by the like, others by the contrary; Parmenides, Empedocles and Plato by the like, Anaxagoras and Heraclitus by the contrary. The one group took as its evidence the facts that most other things

42. *physicorum opiniones* fr. 7 (*Dox.* 483) [108]
(Simpl. 115, 11) τὸν Παρμενίδου λόγον, ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἱστορεῖ, ὁ μὲν Θεόφραστος οὕτως ἐκτίθεται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Φυσικῆς ἱστορίας · ‘τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ὄν · τὸ οὐκ ὂν οὐδέν · ἓν ἄρα τὸ ὄν,’ Εὔδημος δὲ οὕτως κτλ. (t. 36).

Simplicius *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria*
115, 11–13, *ad* 186[a]24, cf. t. 21

43. *physicorum opiniones* fr. 8 (*Dox.* 483)
(Simpl. 28, 4) Λεύκιππος δὲ ὁ Ἐλεάτης ἢ Μιλήσιος, ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ λέγεται περὶ (28, 5) αὐτοῦ, κοινωνήσας Παρμενίδῃ τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐβάδισε Παρμενίδῃ καὶ Ξενοφάνει περὶ τῶν ὄντων ὁδόν, ἀλλ’ ὡς δοκεῖ τὴν ἐναντίαν · ἐκείνων γὰρ ἓν καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ πεπερασμένον ποιούντων τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν μηδὲ ζητεῖν συγχωρούντων, οὗτος ἄπειρα καὶ ἀεὶ κινούμενα ὑπέθετο στοιχεῖα τὰς ἀτόμους καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς σχημάτων ἄπειρον (28, 10) τὸ πλῆθος διὰ τὸ μηδὲν μᾶλλον τοιοῦτον ἢ τοιοῦτον εἶναι [ταύτην γὰρ] καὶ γένεσιν καὶ μεταβολὴν ἀδιάλειπτον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι θεωρῶν, ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τὸ ὂν ἢ τὸ μὴ ὂν ὑπάρχειν καὶ αἴτια ὁμοίως εἶναι τοῖς γινομένοις ἄμφω. τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἀτόμων οὐσίαν ναστὴν καὶ πλήρη ὑποτιθέμενος ὂν ἔλεγεν εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῷ κενῷ φέρεσθαι, ὅπερ μὴ ὂν ἐκάλει καὶ οὐκ ἔλαττον (28, 15) τοῦ ὄντος εἶναί φησι. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἑταῖρος αὐτοῦ Δημόκριτος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης ἀρχὰς ἔθετο τὸ πλῆρες καὶ τὸ κενόν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ὂν τὸ δὲ μὴ ὂν ἐκάλει.

Simplicius *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria*
28, 4–17, *ad* 184[b]15, cf. t. 21

44. *physicorum opiniones* fr. 17 (*Dox.* 492)
(Diog. Laert. 415, 1) τοῦτον (sc. Πυθαγόραν) ὁ Φαβωρῖνός φησιν … (415, 4) τὸν οὐρανὸν πρῶτον ὀνομάσαι κόσμον καὶ τὴν (415, 5) γῆν στρογγύλην · ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος, Παρμενίδην.

Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum*
viii, 48, p. 415, 1, 4–6 Long

45. fr. *de sensibus* 1–4 (*Dox.* 499, 1–6, 499, 11–500, 6)
[1] (499, 1) περὶ δ’ αἰσθήσεως αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ καὶ καθόλου δόξαι δύ’ εἰσίν · οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἐναντίῳ, Παρμενίδης μὲν καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Πλάτων τῷ ὁμοίῳ, οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Ἡράκλειτον τῷ ἐναντίῳ. τὸ δὲ πιθανὸν ἔλαβον οἱ μὲν ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων τε τὰ πλεῖστα τῇ (499, 5) ὁμοιότητι θεωρεῖται καὶ ὅτι σύμφυτόν ἐστι πᾶσι

(499, 5) are observed by similarity, and that it is innate in all animals to recognize members of their own kind …. [2] (499, 11) Concerning the individual senses, the others virtually omit [any discussion], but Empedocles attempts to refer them too to likeness. [3] For Parmenides said nothing at all definite, only that, there being two elements, (499, 15) cognition is in accordance with the one that predominates. For if the hot or the cold is in excess, thought becomes different—that which is due to the hot being better and purer. Not but what this too requires an appropriate proportion. "For as is the temper which it has of the vagrant body at each moment … the thought the mind conceives" (fr. 17). [4] For he speaks of perceiving and thinking as the same thing, and this is why memory and forgetting result from these things (i.e., the hot and the cold) on account of their blending. (500, 1) But he did not get so far as to determine whether or not there will be thinking and what the condition will be if they are equal in the mixture. But that he makes sensation [occur] also by the contrary per se is evident where he declares that a corpse does not perceive light, heat or sound on account of the absence of fire, but it does perceive cold, silence, and the contraries. And in general [he holds that] (500, 5) everything that is possesses some cognition. Now this is how he seems to cut off by assertion the difficulties that result on account of his assumption.

PLACITORUM EXCERPTORES

46. Philodemus *Rhetorica, fragmentum incertum* 3, 7–11 (vol. ii, p. 169 Sudhaus) … (3, 7) nor according to Parmenides and Melissus, who declared that the All is (3, 10) one, and on account of the fact that the senses are false … Cf. Thedoret *Graecarum affectionum curatio* ii, 10 (*Dox.* 170)

47. Philodemus *On Piety* p. 67–68 Gomperz: $4^{d}8$; $5^{a}1$–7 (*Dox.* 534)
($4^{d}8$) But Parmenides … ($5^{a}1$) seems to make the first god soulless, and the [gods] generated by ($5^{a}5$) this [god] are the same as the affections experienced by a person.

48. Varro *Logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 189, 9–17)
Moreover Empedocles … asserts something of this sort. At first individual limbs were everywhere brought forth from the earth as if it were pregnant, and then they came together and, when fire and water had been mixed in, formed the matter of an entire human … This same opinion was also [found] in Parmenides of Elea, except for a few small points of disagreement with Empedocles.

Censorinus iv, 8

τοῖς ζῴοις τὰ συγγενῆ γνωρίζειν …. [2] (499, 11) περὶ ἑκάστης δὲ τῶν [108]
κατὰ μέρος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σχεδὸν ἀπολείπουσιν, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ πειρᾶται
καὶ ταύτας ἀνάγειν εἰς τὴν ὁμοιότητα. [παρμενίδου] [3] Παρμενίδης μὲν
γὰρ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἀφώρικεν ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅτι δυοῖν ὄντοιν στοιχείοιν κατὰ
τὸ (499, 15) ὑπερβάλλον ἐστὶν ἡ γνῶσις. ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπεραίρῃ τὸ θερμὸν ἢ
τὸ ψυχρόν, ἄλλην γίνεσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν, βελτίω δὲ καὶ καθαρωτέραν
τὴν διὰ τὸ θερμόν · οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην δεῖσθαί τινος συμμετρίας ·
‘ὡς γὰρ ἑκάστοτε’, φησίν, ‘ἔχει κρᾶσιν … πλέον ἐστὶ νόημα’ (fr. 17). [4]
(499, 22) τὸ γὰρ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ὡς ταὐτὸ λέγει, διὸ καὶ τὴν [109]
μνήμην καὶ λήθην ἀπὸ τούτων γίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς κράσεως · ἂν δ’ ἰσάζωσι
τῇ μίξει, (500, 1) πότερον ἔσται φρονεῖν ἢ οὔ, καὶ τίς ἡ διάθεσις, οὐδὲν ἔτι
διώρικεν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐναντίῳ καθ’ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ τὴν αἴσθησιν, φανερὸν ἐν
οἷς φησι τὸν νεκρὸν φωτὸς μὲν καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ φωνῆς οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι
διὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν τοῦ πυρός, ψυχροῦ δὲ καὶ σιωπῆς καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων
αἰσθάνεσθαι · καὶ ὅλως (500, 5) δὲ πᾶν τὸ ὂν ἔχειν τινὰ γνῶσιν. οὕτω
μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἔοικεν ἀποτέμνεσθαι τῇ φάσει τὰ συμβαίνοντα δυσχερῆ
διὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν.

PLACITORUM EXCERPTORES

46. Philodemus *rhetorica fragmentum incertum* 3, 7–11 (ii, 169 Sudhaus)
(3, 7) οὐδὲ κατὰ Παρ[μ]εν[ίδην κ]αὶ Μέλισσον ἓν τὸ πᾶ[ν λέγον]τας (3, 10) εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ [τὰσ] αἰσ[θησ]εις ψευδε[ῖς εἶναι] …
Cf. Theodoretus *graecarum affectionum curatio* ii, 10 (*Dox.* 170).

47. Philodemus *de pietate* 67–68 Gomperz: $4^{d}8$, $5^{a}1$–7 (*Dox.* 534)
($4^{d}8$) Παρμενείδης δὲ … ($5^{a}1$) ἔ] οικ [ε δ]ὴ τόν τε πρ[ῶ]το[ν θ]εὸν ἄψυχον ποι[ε]ῖν τ[ούς] τε γεννωμένους ὑπὸ ($5^{a}5$) τούτου τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ τοῖς πάθεσιν τοῖς περὶ ἄνθρω[πον] …

48. Varro, *logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 189, 9–17)
Empedocles autem … tale quiddam confirmat. primo membra singula ex terra quasi praegnate passim edita deinde coisse et effecisse solidi hominis materiam igni simul et umori permixtam … haec eadem opinio etiam in Parmenide Veliensi fuit pauculis exceptis ab Empedocle † dissensis.

Censorinus iv, 8

49. Varro *Logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 189, 32–33)
For Parmenides believed that it (i.e., the seed) originates both from the right parts and from the left.

Censorinus v, 2

50. Varro *Logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 190, 4–11)
The following matter too gives rise to varying opinions among authorities: whether offspring is generated by seed only from the father, as Diogenes, Hippon and the Stoics wrote, or from the mother as well, which was the view of Anaxagoras, Alcmeon, and also Parmenides, Empedocles and Epicurus.

Censorinus v, 4

51. Varro *Logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 191, 24–27)
Parmenides is the originator of the view that [the principles] of the female and of the male contend with one another and that the appearance [of the offspring] is ascribed to whichever [kind of seed] gains the victory.

Censorinus vi, 5

52. Varro *Logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 193, 21–24)
Parmenides' opinion is that when the right parts give the seed the children resemble the father, and when the left [parts do they resemble] the mother.

Censorinus vi, 8

53. Cicero *Lucullus* 37, 118 (*Dox.* 119, 26)
Parmenides [said that the elements of all things are] fire, which causes motion, and earth, which is fashioned by it (i.e., fire).

54. Cicero *On the Nature of the Gods* i, 11, 28 (*Dox.* 534, 14–535, 8)
Parmenides, on the other hand, in fact [proposes] a fabrication. He makes up something like a wreath—he calls it a *stephanē*—a continuous blazing circle of light which encircles the heaven, and he calls it god. But no one can believe that there is either a divine form or sensation in that thing. The same man also [invents] many marvels, since he deifies war, discord, desire, and other things of that sort—things that are destroyed by disease or sleep or forgetfulness or old age; he does the same with the heavenly bodies, but let us not discuss it in connection with him since we have already done so in discussing someone else (sc. Alcmaeon, Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 1, 11, 27).

49. Varro, *logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 189, 32–33) [109]
Parmenides enim tum ex dextris tum e laevis partibus oriri (sc. semen) putavit.

Censorinus v, 2

50. Varro, *logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 190, 4–11)
illud quoque ambiguam facit inter auctores opinionem, utrumne ex patris tantummodo semine partus nascatur, ut Diogenes et Hippon Stoicique scripserunt, an etiam ex matris, quod Anaxagorae et Alcmaeoni nec non Parmenidi Empedoclique et Epicuro visum est.

Censorinus v, 4

51. Varro, *logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 191, 24–27)
at inter se certare feminae et maris (sc. principia) et penes utrum victoria sit eius habitum referri auctor est Parmenides.

Censorinus vi, 5

52. Varro, *logistoricus Tubero* (*Dox.* 193, 21–24) [110]
Parmenidis sententia est, cum dexterae partes semina dederint, tunc filios esse patri consimiles, cum laevae, tunc matri.

Censorinus, vi, 8

53. Cicero *Lucullus* 37, 118 (*Dox.* 119, 26)
Parmenides ignem qui moueat, terram quae ab eo formetur.

54. Cicero *de natura deorum* i, 11, 28 (*Dox.* 534, 14–535, 8)
nam Parmenides quidem commenticium quiddam: coronae similem efficit, στεφάνην appellat, continentem ardorem lucis orbem, qui cingit caelum, quem appellat deum; in quo neque figuram divinam neque sensum quisquam suspicari potest. multaque eiusdem monstra, quippe qui bellum, qui discordiam, qui cupiditatem ceteraque generis eiusdem ad deum revocat, quae vel morbo vel somno vel oblivione vel vetustate delentur; eademque de sideribus, quae reprehensa in alio [sc. Alcmaeone, 27] iam in hoc omittantur.

55. Aëtius i, 3 *(On principles)* 13 (Theodoret *Cure of the Greek Maladies* iv, 7, *Dox.* 284 app., 1–8)
(284 app., 1) Parmenides of Elea, the son of Pyrres, was an associate of Xenophanes and in his first account wrote down things in agreement with his teacher. For they say that the following (284 app., 5) verse is his: "entire, unique, unmoved and ungenerated" (fr. 8, 4). But unlike man (i.e., Xenophanes), he declared that the cause of all things is not only earth but also fire.

56. Aëtius i, 7 *(On god)* 26 (*Dox.* 303, 17–18)
(303, 17) Parmenides [declared that] the unmoved, limited, spherical [entity is god].

57. Aëtius i, 24 *(On generation and perishing)* 1 (*Dox.* 320, 17–19)
(320, 17) Parmenides and Melissus eliminated generation and perishing because they held that the All is unmoved.

58. Aëtius i, 25 *(On necessity)* 3 (*Dox.* 321, 6–9)
(321, 6) Parmenides and Democritus [held that] all things are by necessity and that fate, justice, providence and the creator of the cosmos are the same.

t. 58 is the source of **58a.** Theodoret *Cure of the Greek maladies* vi, 13 (*Dox.* 321 app., 4–5)
(321 app., 4) Parmenides called necessity (321 app., 5) "goddess," "justice," and "providence."

59. Aëtius ii, 1 *(On the Cosmos)* 2 (*Dox.* 327, 6, 8–9)
(327, 6) Parmenides, Melissus … [held that] (327, 8) the cosmos is one.

60. Aëtius ii, 4 *(Whether the cosmos is indestructible)* 11 (*Dox.* 332, 1–3)
(332, 1) Xenophanes, Parmenides and Melissus [held that] the cosmos is ungenerated, eternal, and imperishable.

61. Aëtius ii, 7 *(On the order of the cosmos)* 1 (*Dox.* 335, 4–336, 3)
(335, 4) Parmenides [held that] there are intertwined rings, (335, 5) one made of the rare and one of the dense; between these are other [rings] that are mixtures of light and darkness. That which surrounds them all like a city wall is solid; (335, 10) beneath it is the fiery ring; what is at the center of all is in turn surrounded by the fiery [ring]. The one at the center is the cause of motion and generation for all of the [rings] that

55. Aëtius i, 3 (περὶ ἀρχῶν) 13 (Theodoretus *gr. aff. cur.* iv, 7, *Dox.* 284 app., 1–8) [110]
(284 app., 1) καὶ Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ Πύρρητος ὁ Ἐλεάτης Ξενοφάνους ἑταῖρος γενόμενος κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον λόγον ξύμφωνα τῷ διδασκάλῳ ξυγγέγραφεν · αὐτοῦ γὰρ δὴ τόδε (284 app., 5) τὸ ἔπος εἶναί φασι ʽοὖλον μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ᾽ ἀγένητον᾽ (fr. 8, 4). αἰτίαν δὲ τῶν ὅλων οὐ τὴν γῆν μόνον καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πῦρ εἴρηκεν οὗτος.

56. Aëtius i, 7 (περὶ θεοῦ) 26 (*Dox.* 303, 17–18)
(303, 17) Παρμενίδης τὸ ἀκίνητον καὶ πεπερασμένον σφαιροειδές (sc. θεὸν ἀπεφήνατο).

57. Aëtius i, 24 (περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς) 1 (*Dox.* 320, 17–19)
(320, 17) Παρμενίδης καὶ Μέλισσος ἀνήρουν γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν τὸ πᾶν ἀκίνητον.

58. Aëtius i, 25 (περὶ ἀνάγκης) 3 (*Dox.* 321, 6–9)
(321, 6) Παρμενίδης καὶ Δημόκριτος πάντα κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην · τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ εἶναι εἱμαρμένην καὶ δίκην καὶ πρόνοιαν καὶ κοσμοποιόν.

58a. Hinc Theodoretus *gr. aff. cur.* vi, 13 (*Dox.* 321 app., 4–5)
(321 app., 4) ὁ δὲ Παρμενίδης τὴν ἀνάγκην (321 app., 5) καὶ δαίμονα κέκληκε καὶ δίκην καὶ πρόνοιαν.

59. Aëtius ii, l (περὶ κόσμου) 2 (*Dox.* 327, 6, 8–9)
(327, 6) Παρμενίδης, Μέλισσος … (327, 8) ἕνα τὸν κόσμον.

60. Aëtius ii, 4 (εἰ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος) 11 (*Dox.* 332, 1–3) [111]
(332, 1) Ξενοφάνης, Παρμενίδης, Μέλισσος ἀγένητον καὶ ἀίδιον καὶ ἄφθαρτον τὸν κόσμον.

61. Aëtius ii, 7 (περὶ τάξεως τοῦ κόσμου) 1 (*Dox.* 335, 4–336, 3)
(335, 4) Παρμενίδης στεφάνας εἶναι περιπεπλεγμένας (335, 5) ἐπαλλήλους, τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀραιοῦ τὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πυκνοῦ, μικτὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ σκότους μεταξὺ τούτων · καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας τείχους δίκην στερεὸν ὑπάρχειν, (335, 10) ὑφ᾽ ᾧ πυρώδης στεφάνη, καὶ τὸ μεσαίτατον πασῶν, περὶ ὃ πάλιν πυρώδης · τῶν δὲ συμμιγῶν τὴν μεσαιτάτην ἁπάσαις † τε καὶ † πάσης

contain mixtures. This is what (335, 15) he gives the names "goddess," "she who steers," "keeper of the keys," "justice," and "necessity." [He held that] the air is a secretion of the earth that is turned into vapor through being compressed very violently by the earth; the sun is an exhalation of fire, (335, 20) as is the milky way; the moon contains a mixture of both air and fire. The aether is highest and encircles all; (336, 1) beneath it is stationed the fiery [region] which we have called the heaven, and immediately beneath it is the region about the earth.

t. 61 is the source of **61a.** Pseudo-Galen *Peri historias philosophou* 50 *(On the order of the cosmos)* (*Dox.* 622, 21–24)
(622, 21) Parmenides [held that] there are rings interwoven with one another, one made of the rare, one of the dense, and that what surrounds them is the entire element in the manner of a solid ring, first fire, then aether, next air and then water.

62. Aëtius ii, 11 *(On the substance of the heaven)* 1 (*Dox.* 339, 21–23)
(339, 21) Anaximenes and Parmenides [held that] the rotation outermost from the earth is the heaven.

63. Aëtius ii, 11 *(On the substance of the heaven)* 4 (*Dox.* 340, 5–7)
(340, 5) Parmenides, Heraclitus … (340, 6) [held that] the heaven is composed of fire.

64. Aëtius ii, 13 *(On the substance of the stars)* 8 (*Dox.* 342, 6–7)
(342, 6) Parmenides and Heraclitus [held that] the stars are compressed masses of fire.

65. Aëtius ii, 15 *(On the order of the stars)* 7 (*Dox.* 345, 14–18)
(345, 14) Parmenides places (345, 15) the morning star (which he believed to be the same as the evening star) first in the aether, and after it the sun, beneath which [he places] the stars in the fiery [region], which he calls the heaven.

κινήσεως καὶ γενέσεως ὑπάρχειν, ἥντινα (335, 15) καὶ δαίμονα κυβερνῆτιν καὶ κληδοῦχον ἐπονομάζει δίκην τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἀπόκρισιν εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα διὰ τὴν βιαιοτέραν αὐτῆς ἐξατμισθέντα πίλησιν, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ἀναπνοὴν τὸν (335, 20) ἥλιον καὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν κύκλον · συμμιγῆ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην τοῦ τ' ἀέρος καὶ τοῦ πυρός. περιστάντος δ' ἀνωτάτω πάντων τοῦ αἰθέρος (336, 1) ὑπ' αὐτῷ τὸ πυρῶδες ὑποταγῆναι τοῦθ' ὅπερ κεκλήκαμεν οὐρανόν, ὑφ' ᾧ ἤδη τὰ περίγεια. [111]

περὶ ὃ Boeckh: περὶ ὃν F, περὶ ὧν P
τε καὶ FP, αἰτίαν Krische (coll. Simpl. *phys*. 34, 16), τοκέα Davis, <ἀρχήν> τε καὶ <αἰτίαν> Diels
κληδοῦχον Fülleborn (cf. Orph. fr. 316 K): κληροῦχον FP
ὑφ' ᾧ Krische: ὑφ' οὗ FP

61a. Hinc Pseudo-Galenus, *peri historias philosophou* 50 (περὶ τάξεως τοῦ κόσμου) (*Dox*. 622, 21–24)
(622, 21) Παρμενίδης στεφάνους εἶναι πεπλεγμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀραιοῦ, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πυκνοῦ · καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ τὸ πᾶν στοιχεῖον δίκην στεφάνου στερεοῦ εἶναι, πρῶτον πῦρ μεθ' οὗ αἰθέρα, εἶτα ἀέρα μεθ' οὗ ὕδωρ.

τὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ … τὸν δὲ Diels: τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ … τὴν δὲ A, τὸν ὑετοῦ … τὸν δὲ B
πρῶτον πῦρ B: πρώτῳ πυρὶ A
μεθ' οὗ αἰθέρα A: εἶτα αἰθέρα B, Diels
εἶτα ἀέρα μεθ' οὗ ὕδωρ A: μεθ' οὗ ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ B, μεθ' ὃν ἀέρα μεθ' ὃν ὕδωρ Diels

62. Aëtius ii, 11 (περὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ οὐσίας) 1 (*Dox*. 339, 21–23)
(339, 21) Ἀναξιμένης καὶ Παρμενίδης τὴν περιφορὰν τὴν ἐξωτάτω τῆς γῆς εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν.

63. Aëtius ii, 11 (περὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ οὐσίας) 4 (*Dox*. 340, 5–7)
(340, 5) Παρμενίδης, Ἡράκλειτος … (340, 6) πύρινον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν.

64. Aëtius ii, 13 (περὶ οὐσίας ἄστρων) 8 (*Dox*. 342, 6–7) [112]
(342, 6) Παρμενίδης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος πιλήματα πυρὸς τὰ ἄστρα.

65. Aëtius ii, 15 (περὶ τάξεως ἀστέρων) 7 (*Dox*. 345, 14–18)
(345, 14) Παρμενίδης πρῶτον μὲν τάττει (345, 15) τὸν ἑῷον, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ νομιζόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕσπερον, ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι, μεθ' ὃν τὸν ἥλιον · ὑφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πυρώδει ἀστέρας, ὅπερ οὐρανὸν καλεῖ.

66. Aëtius ii, 17 *(From where do the stars obtain their illumination?)* 4 (*Dox.* 346, 19–20)
(346, 19) [Parmenides (?) and Heraclitus held that] the stars are nourished by the (346, 20) vapor that comes from the earth.

67. Aëtius ii, 20 *(On the substance of the sun)* 8 (*Dox.* 349, 10–11)
(349, 10) Parmenides and Metrodorus [held that] the sun is composed of fire.

68. Aëtius ii, 20 *(On the substance of the sun)* 8a (*Dox.* 349, 12–16)
(349, 12) Parmenides [held that] the sun and the moon were separated off from the milky way, the former from the rarer (349, 15) mixture, which is therefore hot, the latter from the denser [mixture], which is cold.

69. Aëtius ii, 25 *(On the substance of the moon)* 3 (*Dox.* 356, 2)
(356, 2) Parmenides [held that the moon] is composed of fire.

t. 69 is the source of **69a.** Theodoret *Cure of the Greek maladies* iv, 23 (*Dox.* 356 app., 1–3)
(356 app., 1) Anaximenes, Parmenides and Heraclitus [held that the moon] is composed only of fire.

70. Aëtius ii, 26 *(On the size of the moon)* 2 (*Dox.* 357, 9–10)
(357, 9) Parmenides [held that the moon is] equal to the sun and (357, 10) is illuminated by it.

71. Aëtius ii, 28 *(On the illuminations of the moon)* 5 (*Dox.* 358, 19–20; 358, 22)
(358, 19) Thales was the first to declare that [the moon] is illuminated by the sun. (358, 20) Pythagoras, Parmenides … [believed] (358, 22) similarly.

72. Aëtius ii, 30 *(On its appearance, why it appears earthy)* 4 (*Dox.* 361, 24–27)
(361, 24) Parmenides [held that] it (i.e., the moon's appearance) is due to darkness being intermingled (361, 25) with the fiery [matter that is located] around it, which is why he calls the star "false-shining."

73. Aëtius iii, 1 *(On the milky way)* 4 (*Dox.* 365, 10–12)
(365, 10) Parmenides [held that] the mixture of the dense and the rare produces a milky color.

[112]

66. Aëtius ii, 17 (πόθεν φωτίζονται οἱ ἀστέρες) 4 (*Dox.* 346, 19–20)
(346, 19) τρέφεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐκ τῆς (346, 20) ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως (sc. Παρμενίδης (?) καὶ Ἡράκλειτος).

67. Aëtius ii, 20 (περὶ οὐσίας ἡλίου) 8 (*Dox.* 349, 10–11)
(349, 10) Παρμενίδης καὶ Μητρόδωρος πύρινον ὑπάρχειν τὸν ἥλιον.

68. Aëtius ii, 20 (περὶ οὐσίας ἡλίου) 8a (*Dox.* 349, 12–16)
(349, 12) Παρμενίδης τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐκ τοῦ γαλαξίου κύκλου ἀποκριθῆναι, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀραιοτέρου (349, 15) μίγματος, ὃ δὴ θερμόν, τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυκνοτέρου, ὅπερ ψυχρόν.

69. Aëtius ii, 25 (περὶ σελήνης οὐσίας) 3 (*Dox.* 356, 2)
(356, 2) Παρμενίδης πυρίνην (sc. τὴν σελήνην).

69a. Hinc Theodoretus *graecarum affectionum curatio* iv, 23 (*Dox.* 356 app., 1–3)
(356 app., 1) Ἀναξιμένης δὲ καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ἐκ μόνου συνεστάναι πυρός (sc. τὴν σελήνην).

70. Aëtius ii, 26 (περὶ μεγέθους σελήνης) 2 (*Dox.* 357, 9–10)
(357, 9) Παρμενίδης ἴσην τῷ ἡλίῳ (sc. εἶναι τὴν σελήνην) (357, 10) καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ φωτίζεσθαι.

παρ᾽ Ps.-Plut. B: ἀπ᾽ A, γὰρ ἀπ᾽ Eus., Stob., ἐξ Ps.-Gal.
φωτίζεσθαι Ps.-Plut., Eus. ONV, Ps.-Gal.: φωτίζεται Eus. B, Stob.

71. Aëtius ii, 28 (περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης) 5 (*Dox.* 358, 19–20; 358, 22)
(358, 19) Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου (358, 20) φωτίζεσθαι (sc. τὴν σελήνην). Πυθαγόρας, Παρμενίδης … (358, 22) ὁμοίως.

72. Aëtius ii, 30 (περὶ ἐμφάσεως αὐτῆς, διὰ τί γεώδης φαίνεται) 4 (*Dox.* 361, 24–27)
(361, 24) Παρμενίδης διὰ τὸ παραμεμῖχθαι (361, 25) τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν πυρώδει τὸ ζοφῶδες, ὅθεν ψευδοφανῆ τὸν ἀστέρα καλεῖ.

73. Aëtius iii, 1 (περὶ γάλακτος) 4 (*Dox.* 365, 10–12)
(365, 10) Παρμενίδης τὸ τοῦ πυκνοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀραιοῦ μῖγμα γαλακτοειδὲς ἀποτελέσαι χρῶμα.

74. Aëtius iii, 11 *(On the position of the earth)* 4 (*Dox.* 377, 18–20)
(377, 18) Parmenides was the first to determine the inhabited places of the earth [as lying] under the (377, 20) two tropic zones.

75. Aëtius iii, 15 *(On earthquakes)* 7 (*Dox.* 380, 13–18)
(380, 13) Parmenides and Democritus [held that the earth] remains in equilibrium on account of its being equidistant in all directions, (380, 15) since it does not have a cause on account of which it would tend in this direction rather than that, and this is why it only shakes but is not moved.

76. Aëtius iv, 3 *(Whether the soul is a body and what is its substance)* 4 (*Dox.* 388, 3–4)
(388, 3) Parmenides and Hippasus [held that the soul] is fiery.

77. Aëtius iv, 5 *(On the commanding faculty)* 5 (*Dox.* 391, 10–11)
(391, 10) Parmenides and Epicurus [held that the governing principle] is in the entire chest.

78. Aëtius iv, 5 *(On the commanding faculty)* 12 (*Dox.* 392, 4–7)
(392, 4) Parmenides, Empedocles (392, 5) and Democritus [held that] mind and soul are the same thing, and according to them no animal is strictly speaking irrational.

79. Aëtius iv, 9 *(Whether sensations and images are true)* 1 (*Dox.* 396, 12–16)
(396, 12) Pythagoras, Empedocles, Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno, Melissus, Anaxagoras, Democritus, (396, 15) Metrodorus, Protagoras and Plato [held that] the senses are false.

80. Aëtius iv, 9 *(Whether sensations and images are true)* 6 (*Dox.* 397, 1–2; 397, 3–6)
(397, 1) Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus … (397, 3) [held that] individual sensations occur by virtue of appropriate proportions with the pores, with the appropriate sensible (397, 5) fitting into each.

81. Aëtius iv, 9 *(Whether sensations and images are true)* 14 (*Dox.* 398, 8–9)
(398, 8) Parmenides and Empedocles [held that] appetite [is due to] lack of food.

74. Aëtius iii, 11 (περὶ θέσεως γῆς) 4 (*Dox.* 377, 18–20) [112]
(377, 18) Παρμενίδης πρῶτος ἀφώρισε τῆς γῆς τοὺς οἰκουμένους τόπους [113]
ὑπὸ ταῖς (377, 20) δυσὶ ζώναις ταῖς τροπικαῖς.

75. Aëtius iii, 15 (περὶ σεισμῶν γῆς) 7 (*Dox.* 380, 13–18)
(380, 13) Παρμενίδης Δημόκριτος διὰ τὸ πανταχόθεν ἴσον ἀφεστῶσαν (sc. τὴν γῆν) μένειν (380, 15) ἐπὶ τῆς ἰσορροπίας οὐκ ἔχουσαν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν δεῦρο μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖσε ῥέψειεν ἄν, διὰ τοῦτο μόνον μὲν κραδαίνεσθαι, μὴ κινεῖσθαι δέ.

76. Aëtius iv, 3 (εἰ σῶμα ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τίς ἡ οὐσία αὐτῆς) 4 (*Dox.* 388, 3–4)
(388, 3) Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Ἵππασος πυρώδη (sc. τὴν ψυχήν).

77. Aëtius iv, 5. (περὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ) 5 (*Dox.* 391, 10–11)
(391, 10) Παρμενίδης καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ θώρακι (sc. τὸ ἡγεμονικόν).

78. Aëtius iv, 5 (περὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ) 12 (*Dox.* 392, 4–7)
(392, 4) Παρμενίδης καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς (392, 5) καὶ Δημόκριτος ταὐτὸν νοῦν καὶ ψυχήν, καθ' οὓς οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη ζῷον ἄλογον κυρίως.

79. Aëtius iv, 9 (εἰ ἀληθεῖς αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ φαντασίαι) 1 (*Dox.* 396, 12–16)
(396, 12) Πυθαγόρας, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ξενοφάνης, Παρμενίδης, Ζήνων, Μέλισσος, Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος, (396, 15) Μητρόδωρος, Πρωταγόρας, Πλάτων ψευδεῖς εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις.

80. Aëtius iv, 9 (εἰ ἀληθεῖς αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ φαντασίαι) 6 (*Dox.* 397, 1–2; 397, 3–6)
(397, 1) Παρμενίδης, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος … (397, 3) παρὰ τὰς συμμετρίας τῶν πόρων τὰς κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήσεις (397, 5) γίνεσθαι τοῦ οἰκείου τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἑκάστου ἑκάστῃ ἐναρμόττοντος.

81. Aëtius iv, 9 (εἰ ἀληθεῖς αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ φαντασίαι) 14 (*Dox.* 398, 8–9)
(398, 8) Παρμενίδης, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐλλείψει τροφῆς τὴν ὄρεξιν.

82. Aëtius iv, 13 *(On vision)* 9–10 (*Dox.* 404, 3–13)
[9] (404, 3) Hipparchus declares that rays extend from each eye and, fastening (404, 5) with their extremities upon external bodies as if touching them with [their] hands, they transmit the apprehension of those things to the visual faculty. [10] Some name Pythagoras (404, 10) as a joint author of this opinion since he is an authority on the sciences, and also Parmenides, who made this [view] clear in his poems.

83. Aëtius v, 7 *(How males and females are generated)* 1–2 (*Dox.* 419, 12–23)
[1] (419, 12) Empedocles [held that] males and females are generated through heat and cold, and that this is why it is reported that the (419, 15) first males were generated more from earth towards the east and south, while the females [were generated] towards the north. [2] Parmenides [held that it happened] just the opposite: that those (419, 20) towards the north came forth as males since they have a greater share of the dense, and those towards the south [came forth] as females on account of their rare texture.

84. Aëtius v, 7 *(How males and females are generated)* 4 (*Dox.* 420, 1–6)
(420, 1) Anaxagoras and Parmenides [held that] the [seeds] that come from the right [parts] are deposited into the right parts of the uterus, those that come from the left [parts are deposited] into the left [parts]. If (420, 5) the depositing is reversed, females are generated.

85. Aëtius v, 11 *(The source of resemblances to parents and ancestors)* 2 (*Dox.* 422, 20–23)
(422, 20) Parmenides [held that children resemble] their fathers when the seed is separated off from the right part of the uterus, and [resemble] their mothers when [it is separated off] from the left [part].

86. Aëtius v, 30 *(On health, sickness and old age)* 4 (*Dox.* 443, 12–13)
(443, 12) Parmenides: old age occurs because of a deficiency of the hot.

82. Aëtius iv, 13 (περὶ ὁράσεως) 9–10 (*Dox.* 404, 3–13) [113]
[9] (404, 3) Ἵππαρχος ἀκτῖνας ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρου φησὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀποτεινομένας (404, 5) τοῖς πέρασιν αὐτῶν οἱονεὶ χειρῶν ἐπαφαῖς περικαθαπτούσας τοῖς ἐκτὸς σώμασι τὴν ἀντίληψιν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ὁρατικὸν ἀναδιδόναι. [10] ἔνιοι καὶ Πυθαγόραν τῇ δόξῃ (404, 10) ταύτῃ συνεπιγράφουσιν ἅτε δὴ βεβαιωτὴν τῶν μαθημάτων καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ Παρμενίδην ἐμφαίνοντα τοῦτο διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων.

83. Aëtius v, 7 (πῶς ἄρρενα γεννᾶται καὶ θήλεα) 1–2 (*Dox.* 419, 12–23)
[1] (419, 12) Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἄρρενα καὶ θήλεα γίνεσθαι παρὰ θερμότητα καὶ ψυχρότητα · ὅθεν ἱστορεῖται τοὺς μὲν (419, 15) πρώτους ἄρρενας πρὸς ἀνατολῇ καὶ μεσημβρίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς γῆς, τὰς δὲ θηλείας πρὸς ταῖς ἄρκτοις. [2] Παρμενίδης ἀντιστρόφως · τὰ μὲν (419, 20) πρὸς ταῖς ἄρκτοις ἄρρενα βλαστῆσαι, τοῦ γὰρ πυκνοῦ μετέχειν πλείονος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς μεσημβρίαις θήλεα παρὰ τὴν ἀραιότητα.

84. Aëtius v, 7 (πῶς ἄρρενα γεννᾶται καὶ θήλεα) 4 (*Dox.* 420, 1–6) [114]
(420, 1) Ἀναξαγόρας Παρμενίδης τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν (sc. σπέρματα) καταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τῆς μήτρας, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν εἰς τὰ ἀριστερά · εἰ (420, 5) δ᾽ ἐναλλαγείη τὰ τῆς καταβολῆς, † γίνεσθαι θήλεα.

85. Aëtius v, 11 (πόθεν γίνονται τῶν γονέων αἱ ὁμοιώσεις καὶ τῶν προγόνων) 2 (*Dox.* 422, 20–23)
(422, 20) Παρμενίδης ὅταν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τῆς μήτρας ὁ γόνος ἀποκριθῇ, τοῖς πατράσιν, ὅταν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ, ταῖς μητράσιν (sc. ὁμοιότητας γίνεσθαι).

86. Aëtius v, 30 (περὶ ὑγιείας καὶ νόσου καὶ γήρως) 4 (*Dox.* 443, 12–13)
(443, 12) Παρμενίδης γῆρας γίνεσθαι παρὰ τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ ὑπόλειψιν.

87. Pseudo-Plutarch *Stromata* 5 (*Dox.* 580, 20–581, 4)
(580, 20) Parmenides of Elea, the associate of Xenophanes, both laid claim to this man's opinions and simultaneously maintained the contrary position. For he declares that according to the truth of things the All is eternal and unmoved, for it is "alone, unique, unmoved and ungenerated" (fr. 8, 4), (581, 1) while generation is among the things that appear to be as the result of a false assumption. And he excludes the senses from the truth. He says that if anything exists other than what-is, this is not a thing-that-is, but what-is-not does not exist at all. Thus he leaves what-is ungenerated. But he declares that the earth was generated when dense air flowed down.

Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* i, 8, 5, 1–11

t. 87 may be the source of **87a.** Theodoret *Cure of the Greek maladies* ii, 108, 4–5
(108, 4) Parmenides of Elea, declaring the cosmos to be ungenerated, proclaims: (108, 5) 'alone, unique, unmoved and ungenerated' (fr. 8, 4).

88. Clement *Protrepticus* v, 64, 2, 4–5 (*Dox.* 129, 16)
(129, 16) Parmenides of Elea introduced fire and earth as gods.

89. Tertullian, *On the Soul* 43, 2 (*Dox.* 205, 8–9)
Empedocles and Parmenides [held that sleep is] a cooling.

90. Hippolytus *Refutation of all Heresies* i, 11, 1–2 (*Dox.* 564, 19–25)
[1] (564, 19) For Parmenides too hypothesizes the All to be one, eternal, (564, 20) ungenerated, and spherical, but not even he escaped the opinion of the many, since he declared the principles of the All to be fire and earth, earth as matter and fire as cause and agent. He declared that the cosmos perishes, but [2] he did not say how. The same man declared that the All is eternal, not generated, spherical, alike, not having place within itself, unmoved, and (564, 25) limited.

91. Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* xiv, 3, 9, 2–4 (*Dox.* 169)
(9, 2) Parmenides, of Elea by birth, held the doctrines that the All is one, ungenerated, unmoved, and spherical in shape.

92. Macrobius *Commentary on Scipio's Dream* i, 14, 20 (*Dox.* 213, 29–30)
Parmenides [said that the soul] is made of earth and fire.

87. Pseudo-Plutarchus *stromata* 5 (*Dox.* 580, 20–581, 4) [114]
(580, 20) Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ Ἐλεάτης ὁ ἑταῖρος Ξενοφάνους ἅμα μὲν καὶ τῶν τούτου δοξῶν ἀντεποιήσατο, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐνεχείρησεν στάσιν. ἀίδιον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἀκίνητον ἀποφαίνεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸ ‘μοῦνον μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ’ ἀγένητον’ (fr. 8, 4), (581, 1) γένεσιν δὲ τῶν καθ’ ὑπόληψιν ψευδῆ δοκούντων εἶναι · καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐκβάλλει ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας, φησὶ δὲ ὅτι εἴ τι παρὰ τὸ ὂν ὑπάρχει, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ὄν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὂν ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις οὐκ ἔστιν. οὕτως οὖν τὸ ὂν ἀγένητον ἀπολείπει, λέγει δὲ τὴν γῆν τοῦ πυκνοῦ καταρρυέντος ἀέρος γεγονέναι.
Eusebius *praeparatio evangelica* i, 8, 5, 1–11

87a. ? Hinc Theodoretus *graecarum affectionum curatio* ii, 108, 4–5
(108, 4) Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ Ἐλεάτης καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀγέννητον εἶναι λέγων βοᾷ · (108, 5) ‘μοῦνον μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ’ ἀγέννητον’ (fr. 8, 4).

88. Clemens *protrepticus* v, 64, 2, 4–5 (*Dox.* 129, 16)
(129, 16) Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ Ἐλεάτης θεοὺς εἰσηγήσατο πῦρ καὶ γῆν.

89. Tertullianus *de anima* 43, 2 (*Dox.* 205, 8–9)
Empedocles et Parmenides refrigerationem (sc. somnum affirmant).

90. Hippolytus *refutatio* i, 11, 1–2 (*Dox.* 564, 19–25)
[1] (564, 19) καὶ γὰρ καὶ Παρμενίδης ἓν μὲν τὸ πᾶν ὑποτίθεται ἀίδιόν τε (564, 20) καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ σφαιροειδές, οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἐκφεύγων τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, πῦρ λέγων καὶ γῆν τὰς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχάς, τὴν μὲν γῆν ὡς ὕλην, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ὡς αἴτιον καὶ ποιοῦν. τὸν κόσμον ἔφη φθείρεσθαι, [2] ᾧ δὲ τρόπῳ, οὐκ εἶπεν. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν ἀίδιον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν καὶ οὐ γενόμενον καὶ σφαιροειδὲς καὶ ὅμοιον, οὐκ ἔχον δὲ τόπον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ (564, 25) πεπερασμένον.

91. Eusebius *praeparatio evangelica* xiv, 3, 9, 2–4 (*Dox.* 169)
(9, 2) ὁ δὲ Παρμενίδης τὸ γένος Ἐλεάτης ὢν ἓν μὲν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, ἀγένητον [115]
δὲ καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα σφαιροειδὲς ὑπάρχειν ἐδογμάτιζε.

92. Macrobius in *somnium Scipionis* i, 14, 20 (*Dox.* 213, 29–30)
Parmenides ex terra et igne (sc. dixit animam).

TIMON

93. fr. 44 Diels

… (Diog Laert. 448, 16) and of no high opinion [is] the might of high-thinking Parmenides
who referred thought to the deception of impressions.

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* ix, 23, p. 448, 16–17

ARCESILAUS

94. Plutarch *Against Colotes* 26, 1121 F3–1122 A4

(1121 F3) But Arcesilaus was so far from desiring any reputation for innovation (1121 F5) and from laying claim to any ancient view as his own, that the (1122 A1) sophists of the time (sc. Zeno?) charged him with attributing to Socrates, Plato, Parmenides and Heraclitus the doctrines of the suspension of judgment and of the impossibility of cognitive impressions, even though they had no need [of such doctrines, and he did so] as if he was seeking confirmation of those views by referring them to reputable men.

HERMIPPUS OF SMYRNA

95. fr. 27 FHG iii, 42

(Diog. Laert. 419, 1) But Hermippus says that he (i.e., Empedocles) was a follower not of Parmenides but of Xenophanes, with whom he associated and whose poetry he imitated, and that it was afterwards that he encountered the Pythagoreans.

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* viii, 56, p. 419, 1–3 Long

SOTION

96. Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* ix, 21, p. 447, 13–17 (*Dox.* 147)

(447, 13) Sotion says that he (sc. Parmenides) associated with Diochaitas' son Aminias (21, 5) the Pythagorean, who was poor (447, 15) but noble of character. In fact, he was more a follower of his (sc. than of Xenophanes) and when he (i.e., Aminias) died, [Parmenides,] being a man of noble birth and wealth, established a hero-shrine to him. It was through Aminias' influence and not Xenophanes' that he was encouraged to [a life of] stillness.

TIMON [115]

93. fr. 44 Diels

(Diog Laert. 448, 16) Παρμενίδου τε βίην μεγαλόφρονος οὐ πολύδοξον, ὅς ῥ' ἐπὶ φαντασίας ἀπάτης ἀνενείκατο νώσεις.

Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* ix, 23, p. 448, 16–17 Long

ἐπὶ codd.: ἀπὸ Wachsmuth, Diels

ARCESILAUS

94. Plutarchus *adversus Colotem* 26, 1121 F3–1122 A4

(1121 F3) ὁ δ' Ἀρκεσίλαος τοσοῦτον ἀπέδει τοῦ καινοτομίας τινὰ δόξαν ἀγαπᾶν (1121 F5)καὶ ὑποποιεῖσθαί <τι> τῶν παλαιῶν, ὥστ' ἐγκαλεῖν τοὺς τότε σοφιστὰς (sc. Zenonem?) ὅτι προστρίβεται Σωκράτει (1122 A1) καὶ Πλάτωνι καὶ Παρμενίδῃ καὶ Ἡρακλείτῳ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς δόγματα καὶ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας οὐδὲν δεομένοις, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀναγωγὴν καὶ βεβαίωσιν αὐτῶν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους ποιούμενος.

HERMIPPUS SMYRNAEUS

95. fr. 27, *FHG* iii, 42

(Diog. Laert. 419, 1) Ἕρμιππος δὲ οὐ Παρμενίδου, Ξενοφάνους δὲ γεγονέναι ζηλωτήν (sc. Ἐμπεδοκλέα), ᾧ καὶ συνδιατρῖψαι καὶ μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἐποποιίαν · ὕστερον δὲ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἐντυχεῖν.

Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* viii, 56, p. 419, 1–3 Long

SOTION

96. Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* ix, 21, p. 447, 13–17 Long (*Dox.* 147)

(Diog. Laert. 447, 13) ἐκοινώνησε δὲ (sc. Παρμενίδης) καὶ Ἀμεινίᾳ Διοχαίτα τῷ Πυθαγορικῷ, ὡς ἔφη Σωτίων, ἀνδρὶ πένητι μέν, (447, 15) καλῷ δὲ κἀγαθῷ. ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον (sc. Ξενοφάνους) ἠκολούθησε καὶ ἀποθανόντος ἡρῷον ἱδρύσατο γένους τε ὑπάρχων λαμπροῦ καὶ πλούτου, καὶ ὑπ' Ἀμεινίου ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ Ξενοφάνους εἰς ἡσυχίαν προετράπη.

APOLLODORUS

97. *FGrHist* 244 F 341
(Diog. Laert. 449, 1) [Parmenides] flourished in the sixty-ninth (647, 10) Olympiad (i.e., 504–501 B.C.).

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*
ix, 23, p. 449, 1 Long

98. *FGrHist* 244 F 30
(Diog. Laert. 450, 1) Zeno of Elea. Apollodorus says in his *Chronica* that he was Teleutagoras' son by birth, but Parmenides' son by adoption and that Parmenides was the son of Pyres.

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*
ix, 25, p. 450, 1–4 Long

POSIDONIUS

99. fr. 49 Edelstein & Kidd
(Strabo 125, 9) Now one of the things proper to geography (125, 10) is to hypothesize that the earth as a whole is spherical as we do with the cosmos as well, and to accept the other consequences of this hypothesis. One of these is that it (i.e., the earth) has five zones.

Indeed Posidonius says that (125, 15) Parmenides was the originator of the division into five zones, but that he declares that the torrid [zone] is about double its real breadth, making the [zone] between the tropics extend beyond both tropics and into the temperate [zones]. Aristotle calls it (i.e., the torrid zone) [the zone] between the tropics and [he calls the zones] (125, 20) between the tropics and the arctic [circles] temperate. But he (i.e., Posidonius) justly objects to both men, for it is [the zone] that is uninhabitable on account of heat that is called torrid, whereas more than half of the breadth of [the region] between the tropics is inhabitable.

Strabo ii, 2, 1–2: vol. i, 125, 9–24 Meineke

t. 99 is the source of **99a.** Achilles Tatius *Isagoge* 31 (67, 27–28 Maass)
(67, 27) Parmenides was the first to initiate the doctrine of the zones.

APOLLODORUS [116]

97. *FGrHist* 244 F 341

(Diog. Laert. 449, 1) ἤκμαζε δὲ (sc. Παρμενίδης) κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἑξηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα (504–501 a.C.).

Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* ix, 23, p. 449, 1 Long

98. *FGrHist* 244 F 30

(Diog. Laert. 450, 1) Ζήνων Ἐλεάτης · τοῦτον Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν εἶναι ἐν Χρονικοῖς [Πύρητος τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην] φύσει μὲν Τελευταγόρου θέσει δὲ Παρμενίδου < τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην Πύρητος>.

< > transp. Karsten Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* ix, 25, p. 450, 1–4 Long

POSIDONIUS

99. fr. 49 Edelstein & Kidd

(Strabo 125, 9) ἔστιν οὖν τι τῶν πρὸς γεωγραφίαν (125, 10) οἰκείων τὸ τὴν γῆν ὅλην ὑποθέσθαι σφαιροειδῆ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παραδέξασθαι τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῇ ὑποθέσει ταύτῃ. τούτων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πεντάζωνον αὐτὴν εἶναι.

φησὶ δὴ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τῆς εἰς πέντε ζώνας διαιρέσεως (125, 15) ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι Παρμενίδην · ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν σχεδόν τι διπλασίαν ἀποφαίνειν τὸ πλάτος τὴν διακεκαυμένην, τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν ὑπερπιπτούσης ἑκατέρων τῶν τροπικῶν εἰς τὸ ἐκτὸς καὶ πρὸς ταῖς εὐκράτοις. Ἀριστοτέλη δὲ αὐτὴν καλεῖν τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν, <τὰς δὲ μεταξὺ (125, 20) τῶν τροπικῶν > καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν εὐκράτους. ἀμφοτέροις δ' ἐπιτιμᾷ δικαίως. διακεκαυμένην γὰρ λέγεσθαι τὴν ἀοίκητον διὰ καῦμα · τῆς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν πλέον ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ πλάτους οἰκήσιμόν ἐστιν.

Strabo ii, 2, 1–2: vol. 1, 125, 9–24 Meineke

99a. Hinc Achilles *Isagoge* 31 (67, 27–28 Maass)

(67, 27) πρῶτος δὲ Παρμενίδης τὸν περὶ τῶν ζωνῶν ἐκίνησε λόγον.

CICERO (cf. also tt. 53–54)

100. *Lucullus* 14

In the same way, when you (i.e., the adherents of the New Academy) want to throw philosophy into confusion, though it is already well founded, you bring forward Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Plato and even Socrates.
(t. 100 is possibly derived from Antiochus.)

101. *Lucullus* 74

Therefore does he (i.e., Empedocles) blind us or rob us of our senses if he thinks that they have too little power to judge the things that are their objects? Parmenides and Xenophanes, in less good verse, but in verse nonetheless, complain as if angry about the arrogance of those who dare to say that they know, although nothing can be known.
(t. 101 is possibly derived from Clitomachus.)

102. *Lucullus* 129

A noble doctrine belonged to the Megarians, whose founder was Xenophanes, as I see written … then, after him, Parmenides and Zeno (therefore the Eleatic philosophers were named after these men), and afterwards Euclides of Megara, the pupil of Socrates, after whom those same people were called Megarians. They said that the only good is that which is one and alike and always the same.
(t. 102 is possibly derived from Clitomachus)

STRABO (cf. also t. 99)

103. vi, 1, 1: vol. i, 346, 17–22 Meineke

(346, 17) When one doubles [this promontory] immediately there is another bay, in which there is a city which the Phocaeans who founded it called Hyele, and which others called Ele after a certain spring, but people now (346, 20) call it Elea. Parmenides and Zeno, who were Pythagoreans, were born there. I believe that it was well governed both through the efforts of these men and in still earlier times.

CICERO (cf. etiam tt. 53–54) [116]

100. *Lucullus* 14
similiter vos (sc. Academici), cum perturbare … philosophiam bene iam constitutam velitis, Empedoclen, Anaxagoran, Democritum, Parmeniden, Xenophanen, Platonem etiam et Socratem profertis.
(? ex Antiocho).

101. *Lucullus* 74 [117]
num ergo is (sc. Empedocles) excaecat nos aut orbat sensibus, si parum magnam vim censet in is esse ad ea quae sub eos subiecta sunt iudicanda? Parmenides Xenophanes, minus bonis quamquam versibus, sed tamen illi versibus increpant eorum adrogantiam quasi irati, qui, cum sciri nihil possit, audeant se scire dicere.
(? ex Clitomacho).

102. *Lucullus* 129
Megaricorum fuit nobilis disciplina, cuius ut scriptum video princeps Xenophanes … deinde eum secuti Parmenides et Zeno (itaque ab is Eleatici philosophi nominabantur), post Euclides Socratis discipulus Megareus, a quo idem illi Megarici dicti, qui id bonum solum esse dicebant quod esset unum et simile et idem semper.
(? ex Clitomacho).

STRABO (cf. etiam t. 99)

103. vi, 1, 1: vol. 1, 346, 17–22 Meineke
(346, 17) κάμψαντι δ' ἄλλος συνεχὴς κόλπος, ἐν ᾧ πόλις, ἣν οἱ μὲν κτίσαντες Φωκαιεῖς Ὑέλην, οἱ δὲ Ἕλην ἀπὸ κρήνης τινός, οἱ δὲ νῦν (346, 20) Ἐλέαν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐξ ἧς Παρμενίδης καὶ Ζήνων ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες Πυθαγόρειοι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ δι' ἐκείνους καὶ ἔτι πρότερον εὐνομηθῆναι.

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA

104. *On Providence* ii, 39

But Xenophanes, Parmenides, Empedocles, and whatever other theologians there may have been, divine men who were captivated by poetry, did not [make the gods liars], but rather, though they presented their theory of nature in a way agreeable to themselves and devoted their entire life to piety and praise of the gods, they have been found outstanding as men but unsuccessful as poets. They should have been allotted divine inspiration and favor from heaven [in the form of] rhythm, poetry and dactylic hexameter verse [whose nature is] celestial and divine, so as to leave behind real poems as a perfect model of a book and a beautiful example for all.

105. *On Providence* ii, 42

But how is it that Empedocles, Parmenides, Xenophanes, and their chorus of imitators did not receive inspiration of the Muses when they were practicing theology?

VELIA INSCRIPTION

106.

Parmenides son of Pyres, Ouliades, natural philosopher.

PLUTARCH (cf. also t. 94)

107. *How a young man should listen to poetry* 2, 16 C6–D1

(16 C6) The verses of Empedocles and Parmenides, Nicander's *Antidotes against Poisonous Bites*, and Theognis' collection of maxims are prose compositions which have taken over from poetry its dignity and meter as a vehicle in order to (16 D1) avoid being prosaic.

108. *On the correct way to listen* 13, 45 A10–B2; 45 B4–5

(45 A10) One might fault Archilochus for his subject matter, Parmenides for his verse, (45 B1) Phocylides for his paltriness, Euripides for his loquacity, and Sophocles for his unevenness … (45 B4) but in fact each of them is praised for (45 B5) the peculiar power with which he is endowed by nature to move [us] and carry [us] along.

PHILO ALEXANDRINUS [117]

104. *de providentia* ii, 39

non ita tamen Xenophanes aut Parmenides aut Empedocles sive alii quicumque theologi a poesi capti sunt divini viri (sc. deos mendaces finxerunt), sed potius theoriam naturae gaudio amplexi et vitam omnem ad pietatem laudemque deorum dedicantes optimi quidem viri comperti sunt, poetae tamen non felices: quos oportebat divinitus spiritum sortiri gratiamque de caelo metrum carmen rhythmumque caelestem ac divinum, ut poemata vera relinquerent velut prototypum libri perfectum et pulchrum cunctis exemplar.

105. *de providentia* 42

at quare Empedocles Parmenides Xenophanes aemulatorque istorum chorus non sortiti sunt spiritum Musarum, cum theologiam exercuerunt?

TITULUS VELIENSIS [118]

106. ΠΑ[Ρ]ΜΕΝΕΙΔΗΣ ΠΥΡΗΤΟΣ | ΟΥΛΙΑΔΗΣ ΦΥΣΙΚΟΣ

(v. P. Ebner, *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* xxiii (1962) 4–6, G. P. Carratelli, *PdP* xviii (1963) 385–386).

PLUTARCHUS (cf. etiam t. 94)

107. *quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat* 2, 16 C6–D1

(16 C6) τὰ δ' Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἔπη καὶ Παρμενίδου καὶ Θηριακὰ Νικάνδρου καὶ γνωμολογίαι Θεόγνιδος λόγοι, εἰσὶ κεχρημένοι παρὰ ποιητικῆς ὥσπερ ὄχημα τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ μέτρον, ἵνα τὸ (16 D1) πεζὸν διαφύγωσιν.

108. *de recta ratione audiendi* 13, 45 A10–B2; 45 B4–5

(45 A10) μέμψαιτο δ' ἄν τις Ἀρχιλόχου μὲν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Παρμενίδου δὲ τὴν στιχοποιίαν, (45 B1) Φωκυλίδου δὲ τὴν εὐτέλειαν, Εὐριπίδου δὲ τὴν λαλιάν, Σοφοκλέους δὲ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν … (45 B4) ἕκαστός γε μὴν ἐπαινεῖται κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς (45 B5) δυνάμεως, ᾧ κινεῖν καὶ ἄγειν πέφυκεν.

109. *Roman questions* 76, 282 B5–11

(282 B5) Or was it a lesson in obedience to authority, not to be discontent at being governed by a king, but—just as the moon is willing to attend her superior and to hold second place, "ever gazing towards the rays of the sun" (fr. 15), as Parmenides puts it—thus (282 B10) to be content with their second rank, having a ruler and enjoying the power and honor derived from him?

110. *On the oracles at Delphi* 18, 402 E6–11

(402 E6) For we did not give up on philosophy either, as if it had been completely eliminated and had perished, just because philosophers formerly produced their doctrines and arguments in the form of poems, as Orpheus, (402 E10) Hesiod, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles, and Thales [did], but afterwards stopped [this practice].

111. *Amatorius* 13, 756 E6–F1

(756 E6) For sexual intercourse without Eros, like hunger and thirst, can be fully satisfied, but achieves no noble end. It is through Eros that the goddess (i.e., Aphrodite) removes the surfeit of pleasure and creates friendship and blending. (756 E10) This is why Parmenides declares that Eros is the oldest work of Aphrodite, writing in his cosmogony: (756 F1) "First of all the gods she devised love" (fr. 13).

Cf. *Concerning the face that appears in the orb of the moon* 12, 926 F

112. *Concerning the face that appears in the orb of the moon* 16, 929 A10–B1

(929 A10) [The moon] alone of all the vast number of [bodies] in the heaven goes around in need of another's light, as Parmenides says: (929 B1) "ever gazing towards the rays of the sun" (fr. 15).

113. *Against Colotes* 13, 1113 E8–9; 1113 E11–F6; 1114 B5–F3

(1113 E8) Since Colotes wanted to bury Parmenides next after Democritus … (1113 E11) let us now take up (1113 F1) Parmenides. Now as for the disgraceful sophistries that Colotes asserts that he stated, that man (i.e., Parmenides) did not make friendship less reputable or the love of pleasure more audacious; he did not deprive nobility of its attractiveness or of being honored for its own sake; (1113 F5) he did not throw our opinions about the gods into confusion. Yet by saying that the All is one he has somehow prevented us from living …. (1114 B5) At any rate Parmenides has eliminated neither fire nor water, neither a precipice nor cities inhabited in Europe and Asia as Colotes says, since he has actually created a world

109. *quaestiones Romanae* 76, 282 B5–11 [118]

(282 B5) ἢ πειθαρχίας ἦν μάθημα βασιλευομένους μὴ δυσχεραίνειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ σελήνη προσέχειν ἐθέλει τῷ κρείττονι καὶ δευτερεύειν 'ἀεὶ παπταίνουσα πρὸς αὐγὰς ἠελίοιο' κατὰ τὸν Παρμενίδην (fr. 15), οὕτω τὴν (282 B10) δευτέραν τάξιν ἀγαπᾶν χρωμένους τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ τῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνου δυνάμεως καὶ τιμῆς ἀπολαύοντας;

110. *de pythiae oraculis* 18, 402 E6–11

(402 E6) οὐδὲ γὰρ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπεγιγνώσκομεν ὡς ἀνηρημένην παντάπασι καὶ διεφθορυῖαν, ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐν ποιήμασιν ἐξέφερον οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὰ δόγματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὥσπερ Ὀρφεὺς (402 E10) καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Θαλῆς, ὕστερον δ' ἐπαύσαντο.

111. *amatorius* 13, 756 E6–F1

(756 E6) ἀνέραστος γὰρ ὁμιλία καθάπερ πεῖνα καὶ δίψα πλησμονὴν ἔχουσα πέρας εἰς οὐδὲν ἐξικνεῖται καλόν · ἀλλ' ἡ θεὸς (sc. Ἀφροδίτη) ἔρωτι τὸν κόρον ἀφαιροῦσα τῆς ἡδονῆς φιλότητα ποιεῖ καὶ σύγκρασιν. διὸ Παρμενίδης μὲν ἀποφαίνει τὸν Ἔρωτα (756 E10) τῶν Ἀφροδίτης ἔργων πρεσβύτατον ἐν τῇ κοσμογονίᾳ γράφων (756 F1) 'πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων' (fr. 13).

Cf. *de facie quae in orbe lunae apparet* 12, 926 F.

112. *de facie quae in orbe lunae apparet* 16, 929 A10–B1

(929 A10) τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ὄντων μόνη φωτὸς ἀλλοτρίου δεομένη (sc. σελήνη) περίεισι κατὰ Παρμενίδην (929 B1) 'ἀεὶ παπταίνουσα πρὸς αὐγὰς ἠελίοιο' (fr. 15).

113. *adversus Colotem* 13, 1113 E8–9; 1113 E11–F6; 1114 B5–F3 [119]

(1113 E8) ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ μὲν Κωλώτης ἐφεξῆς τῷ Δημοκρίτῳ τὸν Παρμενίδην ἐβούλετο συγκατορύσσειν … (1113 E11) ἀναλάβωμεν (1113 F1) τὸν Παρμενίδην. ἃ μὲν οὖν αὐτόν φησιν αἰσχρὰ σοφίσματα λέγειν ὁ Κωλώτης, τούτοις ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐ φιλίαν ἐποίησεν ἀδοξοτέραν, οὐ φιληδονίαν θρασυτέραν, οὐ τοῦ καλοῦ τὸ ἀγωγὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ καὶ δι' ἑαυτὸ τίμιον ἀφεῖλεν, (1113 F5) οὐ τὰς περὶ θεῶν δόξας συνετάραξε · τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἓν εἰπὼν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ζῆν ἡμᾶς κεκώλυκε … (1114 B5) ἀλλ' ὅ γε Παρμενίδης οὔτε πῦρ ἀνῄρηκεν οὔθ' ὕδωρ οὔτε κρημνὸν οὔτε πόλεις, ὥς φησι Κωλώτης, ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κατοικουμένας · ὅς γε καὶ διάκοσμον πεποίηται, καὶ

order and by blending the bright and the dark as elements produces all the appearances out of them and through their agency. (1114 B10) For he has said many things about earth, heaven, sun, (1114 C1) moon, and stars, and has related the origin of humans; and for an ancient natural philosopher—who composed his own book without plundering another's [book]—he has left none of the principal topics undiscussed.

But since even before Plato and Socrates (1114 C5) he saw that reality includes something opinable and includes something intelligible as well, and that what is opinable is uncertain and subject to variation over a wide range of attributes and changes, through decreasing and growing, and that in respect of sensation it is different for different people and not always invariable even for the same person, whereas the intelligible is a different kind of thing, (1114 C10) for it is "whole of limb, unmoved ungenerated" (fr. 8, 4), (1114 D1) as he himself put it, and is like itself and stable in its being—Colotes is quibbling about these claims on the basis of the way they are expressed and attacking the account for its wording and not for the fact of the matter when he says unqualifiedly that Parmenides eliminates all things by hypothesizing one thing-that-is. (1114 D5) But Parmenides eliminates neither kind of reality. He assigns to each what belongs [to it] and puts the intelligible in the class of "one" and "that-which-is," calling it "that-which-is" because it is eternal and imperishable, and [calling it] "one" on account of its likeness to itself and because it does not admit difference, [while he puts] the sensible in the class [of things that are] disorderly and undergoing locomotion. In fact (1114 D10) we can see the criterion of these: "both of the precise heart of persuasive reality" (fr. 1, 29), (1114 E1) which has to do with what is intelligible and invariably the same, "and of the beliefs of mortals, which comprise no genuine conviction" (fr. 1, 30), because they consort with things that admit all kinds of changes, attributes and unlikenesses. (1114 E5) Yet how could he have admitted sensation and opinion, if he did not admit the object of sensation or of opinion? It is impossible to say. But because it belongs to what really is to persist in being, while these things are at one moment but at another are not, and are always departing and changing their nature, he believed that they required a different (1114 E10) label from that used for the other, which always is. Therefore, his account concerning what-is, [namely] that it is one, does not amount to an elimination of the many sensibles, (1114 F1) but an indication of their difference from the intelligible. Plato too, by indicating this [difference] even more clearly in his treatment of the Forms, provided Colotes grounds for attack.

[119]

στοιχεῖα μιγνὺς τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ σκοτεινὸν ἐκ τούτων τὰ φαινόμενα πάντα καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποτελεῖ. (1114 B10) καὶ γὰρ περὶ γῆς εἴρηκε πολλὰ καὶ περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡλίου (1114 C1) καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρων, καὶ γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀφήγηται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄρρητον, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀρχαῖος ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ συνθεὶς γραφὴν ἰδίαν, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίαν διαφορῶν, τῶν κυρίων παρῆκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Σωκράτους ἔτι πρότερος (1114 C5) συνεῖδεν ὡς ἔχει τι δοξαστὸν ἡ φύσις, ἔχει δὲ καὶ νοητόν, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν δοξαστὸν ἀβέβαιον καὶ πλανητὸν ἐν πάθεσι πολλοῖς καὶ μεταβολαῖς τῷ φθίνειν καὶ αὔξεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον ἄλλως ἔχειν καὶ μηδ' ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ὡσαύτως τῇ αἰσθήσει, τοῦ νοητοῦ δ' ἕτερον εἶδος, (1114 C10) ἔστι γὰρ 'οὐλομελές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ' ἀγένητον', (1114 D1) ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκε (fr. 8, 4), καὶ ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ (fr. 8, 22) καὶ μόνιμον ἐν τῷ εἶναι (fr. 8, 29), ταῦτα συκοφαντῶν ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ Κωλώτης καὶ τῷ ῥήματι διώκων οὐ τῷ πράγματι τὸν λόγον, ἁπλῶς φησι πάντ' ἀναιρεῖν τῷ ἓν ὂν ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν Παρμενίδην. (1114 D5) ὁ δ' ἀναιρεῖ μὲν οὐδετέραν φύσιν, ἑκατέρᾳ δ' ἀποδιδοὺς τὸ προσῆκον εἰς μὲν τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ ὄντος ἰδέαν τίθεται τὸ νοητόν, ὃν μὲν ὡς ἀίδιον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἓν δ' ὁμοιότητι πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ μὴ δέχεσθαι διαφορὰν προσαγορεύσας, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄτακτον καὶ φερομένην τὸ αἰσθητόν · ὧν καὶ (1114 D10) κριτήριον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν 'ἡμὲν ἀληθείης εὐπειθέος ἀτρεκ<ὲς (1114 E1) ἦτορ>' (fr. 1, 29) τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἔχοντος ὡσαύτως ἁπτόμενον, 'ἠδὲ βροτῶν δόξας αἷς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθὴς' (fr. 1, 30) διὰ τὸ παντοδαπὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ πάθη καὶ ἀνομοιότητας δεχομένοις ὁμιλεῖν πράγμασι. (1114 E5) καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἀπέλιπεν αἴσθησιν καὶ δόξαν αἰσθητὸν μὴ ἀπολιπὼν μηδὲ δοξαστόν; οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ μὲν ὄντως ὄντι προσήκει διαμένειν ἐν τῷ εἶναι, ταῦτα δὲ νῦν μὲν ἔστι νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐξίσταται δ' ἀεὶ καὶ μεταλλάσσει τὴν φύσιν, ἑτέρας ᾤετο μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ (1114 E10) ὄντος ἀεὶ δεῖσθαι προσηγορίας. ἦν οὖν ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ὡς ἓν εἴη λόγος οὐκ ἀναίρεσις τῶν πολλῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν (1114 F1) ἀλλὰ δήλωσις αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν διαφορᾶς. ἦν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνδεικνύμενος Πλάτων τῇ περὶ τὰ εἴδη πραγματείᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντίληψιν τῷ Κωλώτῃ παρέσχε.

114. *Against Colotes* 15, 1116 A3–8

(1116 A3) For neither does anyone who denies that red-hot iron is fire, or that the moon is the sun, but [who calls it] in the words of Parmenides, (1116 A5) "an alien light wandering darkly bright around earth" (fr. 14), eliminate the use of iron or the nature of the moon; but if he should deny that [the one] is a body and [the other] illuminated, he is at that point contradicting the senses, like a person who does not admit [the existence of] body, animal, generation, or sensation.

115. *Against Colotes* 30, 1124 D9–E8

(1124 D9) For if someone eliminates (1124 D10) the laws, but admits the doctrines of Parmenides, Socrates, Heraclitus (1124 E1) and Plato, we shall be very far from devouring one another and living the life of wild beasts; for we shall fear what is disgraceful and shall honor justice for its nobility, believing that in the gods we have good rulers and in daemons (1124 E5) guardians of our lives, not supposing that 'the gold on the earth and under it is worth as much as virtue' (paraphrase of Plato, *Laws* 728^{a}4–5), and doing willingly on account of our reason, as Xenocrates says (fr. 31), what we now do unwillingly on account of the law.

116. *Against Colotes* 32, 1126 A10–B2

(1126 A10) Parmenides adorned his native city with the best laws, and as a result every (1126 B1) year the citizens administer an oath to the magistrates to abide by the laws of Parmenides.

117. *Against Colotes* 32, 1126 D7–E3

(1126 D7) Thus Zeno, the acquaintance of Parmenides, after attacking the tyrant Demylus and failing in the attempt, (1126 D10) displayed the doctrine of Parmenides pure and tested in fire like gold, and demonstrated in deed that disgrace is what a great man (1126 E1) finds terrible, whereas children, weak women and men with such women's souls fear pain. For he bit off his own tongue and spat it at the tyrant.

118. *Life of Pericles* 4, 5, 1–2

(5, 1) Pericles was also a student of Zeno of Elea, who treated of nature like Parmenides.

114. *adversus Colotem* 15, 1116 A3–8 [119]
(1116 A3) οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πῦρ μὴ λέγων εἶναι τὸν πεπυρωμένον σίδηρον, ἢ τὴν [120]
σελήνην ἥλιον ἀλλὰ κατὰ Παρμενίδην (1116 A5) ‘νυκτιφαὲς περὶ γαῖαν ἀλώμενον ἀλλότριον φῶς’ (fr. 14), ἀναιρεῖ σιδήρου χρῆσιν ἢ σελήνης φύσιν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ λέγοι σῶμα μηδὲ πεφωτισμένον, ἤδη μάχεται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ὥσπερ ὁ σῶμα καὶ ζῷον καὶ γένεσιν καὶ αἴσθησιν μὴ ἀπολιπών.

115. *adversus Colotem* 30, 1124 D9–E8
(1124 D9) ἂν γὰρ ἀνελών τις τοὺς νόμους τὰ Παρμενίδου καὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Ἡρακλείτου (1124 E1) καὶ Πλάτωνος ἀπολίπῃ δόγματα, πολλοῦ δεήσομεν ἀλλήλους κατεσθίειν καὶ θηρίων βίον ζῆν· φοβησόμεθα γὰρ τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ τιμήσομεν ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ δικαιοσύνην, θεοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ἔχειν τοῦ βίου (1124 E5) φύλακας ἡγούμενοι καὶ ‘τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν χρυσὸν ἀρετῆς ἀντάξιον’ (Plat. *Legg.* 728[a]) μὴ τιθέμενοι, καὶ ποιοῦντες ἑκουσίως διὰ τὸν λόγον, ᾗ φησι Ξενοκράτης (fr. 31), ἃ νῦν ἄκοντες διὰ τὸν νόμον.

116. *adversus Colotem* 32, 1126 A10–B2
(1126 A10) Παρμενίδης δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα διεκόσμησε νόμοις ἀρίστοις, ὥστε τὰς ἀρχὰς καθ’ ἕκαστον (1126 B1) ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξορκοῦν τοὺς πολίτας ἐμμένειν τοῖς Παρμενίδου νόμοις.

117. *adversus Colotem* 32, 1126 D7–E3
(1126 D7) Ζήνων τοίνυν ὁ Παρμενίδου γνώριμος ἐπιθέμενος Δημύλῳ τῷ τυράννῳ καὶ δυστυχήσας περὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐν πυρὶ τὸν (1126 D10) Παρμενίδου λόγον ὥσπερ χρυσὸν ἀκήρατον καὶ δόκιμον παρέσχε καὶ ἀπέδειξεν ἔργῳ ὅτι τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ (1126 E1) φοβερόν ἐστιν, ἀλγηδόνα δὲ παῖδες καὶ γύναια καὶ γυναίων ψυχὰς ἔχοντες ἄνδρες δεδίασι· τὴν γὰρ γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ διατραγὼν τῷ τυράννῳ προσέπτυσεν.

118. *vita Periclis* 4, 5, 1–2
(5, 1) διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου πραγματευομένου περὶ φύσιν ὡς Παρμενίδης.

PSEUDO-CEBES

119. *tabula Cebetis* 2, 2, 1–6

(2, 1) Nor was it a citizen who made the dedication, but once long ago a foreigner arrived here, an intelligent man, amazing for his wisdom, who had followed a Pythagorean and Parmenidean (2, 5) way of life in word and deed. He is the one who dedicated this shrine and the drawing to Kronos.

PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE

120. *On Melissus, Xenophanes and Gorgias* 978^{b}7–15

(978^{b}7) Further, what prevents god, being one, from being limited and having limits, since even Parmenides says that he is one thing, "like the volume of a spherical ball … equally poised from the centre" (fr. 8, 43–44). (978^{b}10) For the limit must perhaps be [the limit] of something, but not necessarily in relation to anything [else], nor need what has a limit have a limit in relation to anything—as when something is limited in relation to something unlimited that is next to it. Rather, to be limited is to have extremities, but although it has extremities it need not have them in relation to anything. Some things may turn out to be (978^{b}15) limited and border against something, but others turn out to be limited but not limited in relation to anything.

NICOMACHUS OF GERASA

121. Proclus *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 619, 4–10 = Callimachus fr. [822] Pfeiffer

(619, 4) Now it was while this (619, 5) festival was taking place, as I said, that Parmenides and Zeno came to Athens, Parmenides being the teacher and Zeno his student. Both were citizens of Elea and, moreover, had participated in the school of Pythagoras, as (619, 10) Nicomachus somewhere reports.

[CEBES] [120]

119. *tabula Cebetis* 2, 2, 1–6

(2, 1) οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι πολιτικὸν τὸ ἀνάθημα, ἀλλὰ ξένος τις πάλαι ποτὲ ἀφίκετο δεῦρο, ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων καὶ δεινὸς περὶ σοφίαν, λόγῳ δὲ καὶ ἔργῳ Πυθαγόρειόν τινα καὶ Παρμενίδειον (2, 5) ἐζηλωκὼς βίον, ὃς τό τε ἱερὸν τοῦτο καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Κρόνῳ.

PSEUDO ARISTOTELES

120. *de Melisso Xenophane Gorgia* 978^{b}7–15

(978^{b}7) ἔτι τί κωλύει πεπεράνθαι καὶ ἔχειν πέρατα ἓν ὄντα τὸν θεόν; ὡς καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης λέγει ἓν ὂν εἶναι αὐτὸν ‘πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρας … ἰσοπαλές’ (fr. 8, 43–44). (978^{b}10) τὸ γὰρ πέρας τινὸς μὲν ἀνάγκη ἴσως εἶναι, οὐ μέντοι πρός τί γε, οὐδὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ ἔχον πέρας πρός τι ἔχειν πέρας, ὡς πεπερασμένον πρὸς τὸ [μὴ] ἐφεξῆς ἄπειρον, ἀλλ’ ἔστι τὸ πεπεράνθαι ἔσχατα ἔχειν, ἔσχατα δ’ ἔχον οὐκ ἀνάγκη πρός τι ἔχειν. ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν συμβαίνοι γ’ ἂν καὶ (978^{b}15) πεπεράνθαι <καὶ> πρός τι συνάπτειν, τοῖς δὲ πεπεράνθαι μέν, μὴ μέντοι πρός τι πεπεράνθαι. [121]

[ ] Mullach ἀπείρου L R, corr. Mullach
συμβαίνει πᾶν L R, corr. Wilson < > Brandis

NICOMACHUS GERASENUS

121. Proclus *commentarius in Platonis Parmenidem* 619, 4–10 = Callimachus fr. [822] Pfeiffer

(619, 4) ταύτης δ’ οὖν (619, 5) ὅπερ εἴπομεν τῆς ἑορτῆς οὔσης ἀφίκοντο Παρμενίδης καὶ Ζήνων Ἀθήναζε, διδάσκαλος μὲν ὁ Παρμενίδης ὢν μαθητὴς δ’ ὁ Ζήνων, Ἐλεᾶται δ’ ἄμφω καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ διδασκαλείου μεταλαβόντε, καθάπερ (619, 10) που καὶ ὁ Νικόμαχος ἱστόρησεν.

Νικόμαχος ΣΛ: Καλλίμαχος Φ

ANONYMUS ACADEMICUS

122. *Commentary on Plato's Theaetetus* (ed. Diels-Schubart) col. 70, 37–43
(70, 37) For he (i.e., Parmenides), looking off to the nature of the Form and disregarding (70, 40) matter, declares,

Alone and unmoved it wants to be the name for the all (fr. 8, 38).

FAVORINUS

123. fr. 14, *FHG* iii, 579
(Diog. Laert. 449, 2) He (i.e., Parmenides) is thought to have been the first to detect that the evening star and the morning star are the same, according to Favorinus in the fifth book of his *Memorabilia*. Others [attribute the discovery to] Pythagoras, but Callimachus (fr. 442 Pfeiffer) (44, 5) says that the poem is not his …. (449, 7) And [Parmenides is thought] to have been the first to propound the Achilles argument, according to Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History* (cf. fr. 39, *FHG* iii, 583).

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*
ix, 23, p. 449, 2–5, 7–8 Long

123a. Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* viii, 14, p. 398, 23–399, 1 Long
(398, 23) [They say that Pythagoras] was the first to declare that the evening star and (399, 1) the morning star are the same, as Parmenides says.

SORANUS

124. Caelius Aurelianus *Tardae Passiones* iv, 9, 134–135, p. 902 Drabkin
(134) In his books *On Nature* Parmenides wrote that it sometimes happens that effeminate or pathic men are produced as the result of what occurs at their conception. His epigram is in Greek, and I will render it in verse. I have composed Latin verses as close as I could [to the original], to avoid jumbling together the styles of the languages. "When woman … seed." (fr. 19). (135) For he means that the seeds have not only matter but also powers which if they mingle in such a way as to produce a single [power] in a single body, they beget a desire appropriate to the sex [of the person generated], but if the powers remain separate when the corporeal seed is mingled, a desire for both kinds of love harasses the offspring.

ANONYMUS ACADEMICUS [121]

122. *in Platonis Theaetetum commentarius* (ed. Diels-Schubart) col. 70, 37–43
(70, 37) οὗτος γὰρ (sc. Παρμενίδης) ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὴν τοῦ εἴδους φύσιν, παρελθὼν (70, 40) δὲ τὴν ὕλην φησὶν
οἷον ἀκίνητόν τε θέλει τῷ παντὶ ὄνομα εἶναι. (fr. 8, 38).

FAVORINUS

123. fr. 14, *FHG* iii, 579
(Diog. Laert. 449, 2) καὶ δοκεῖ (sc. Παρμενίδης) πρῶτος πεφωρακέναι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἕσπερον καὶ Φωσφόρον, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων · οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν, Καλλίμαχος (449, 5) δέ φησι μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ ποίημα (fr. 442 Pf.) … (449, 7) καὶ πρῶτος ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λόγον, ὥς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ (cf. fr. 39, *FHG* iii, 583).
Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum*
ix, 23, p. 449, 2–5, 7–8 Long

123a. Diogenes Laertius *vitae philosophorum* viii, 14, p. 398, 23–399, 1 Long
(398, 23) πρῶτόν τε (sc. φασὶ Πυθαγόραν) Ἕσπερον καὶ (399, 1) Φωσφόρον [122]
τὸν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, † ὥς φησι Παρμενίδης.

οἱ δέ φασι Παρμενίδην Causaubon, ὡς δέ φησι Φαβωρῖνος, Παρμενίδης Karsten.

SORANUS

124. Caelius Aurelianus, *tardae passiones* iv, 9, 134–135, p. 902 Drabkin
(134) Parmenides libris quos De natura scripsit eventu inquit conceptionis molles aliquando seu subactos homines generari. cuius quia graecum est epigramma, et hoc versibus intimabo. latinos enim ut potui simili modo composui, ne linguarum ratio misceretur. ‘femina virque … sexum’ (fr. 19). (135) vult enim seminum praeter materias esse virtutes, quae si se ita miscuerint ut eiusdem corporis faciant unam, congruam sexui generent voluntatem, si autem permixto semine corporeo virtutes separatae permanserint, utriusque veneris natos adpetentia sequatur.

GALEN

125. *Commentary on Book 6 of Hippocrates' Epidemics* ii, 46 (CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 119, 12–15)
(119, 12) Among the ancients others too said that the male is conceived in the right part of the uterus. Parmenides declared as follows: (119, 15) "in the right parts boys, in the left girls" (fr. 18).

t. 125 is the source of **125a.** Palladius' comment on the same passage (*Notes on Hippocrates et Galen* vol. II, 71 Dietz)
Parmenides too asserted this same view, saying, "in the right parts boys, in the left girls" (fr. 18).

126. *On the elements according to Hippocrates* 1, 9 (vol. i, 487, 12–14 Kuhn; 54, 18 Helmreich)
(487, 12) All of the ancients' [works] are entitled *On Nature*: Melissus's, Parmenides' …

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (cf. also t. 88)

127. *Stromata* v, 2, 15, 4–16, 1 (vol. ii, 335, 20–336, 2 Stählin)
(15, 4) Among his principles, Empedocles includes Love as well, thinking of an affection that causes combination: "Behold her with your mind and do not sit with your eyes staring in amazement" (fr. 17, 21). (15, 5) And Parmenides too in his poem says the following things, speaking in riddles about hope: "Gaze on even absent things … in regular order" (fr. 6). (16, 1) For one who hopes like one who has faith sees with his mind things intelligible and things in the future.
(t. 127 is the source of Theodoret *Cure of the Greek Maladies* i, 72.)

128. *Stromata* v, 9, 59, 6, 1–4 (vol. ii, 366, 14–17 Stählin)
(6, 1) The great Parmenides of Elea introduces his teaching of two ways writing something like this: "both of the unmoved heart of persuasive reality … genuine conviction" (fr. 1, 29–30).

129. *Stromata* v, 14, 112, 2, 1–4 (vol. ii, 402, 6–9 Stählin)
(2, 1) The great Parmenides, as Plato calls him in the *Sophist* (237^{a}5, cf. t. 9), writes something like this about god: "very many signs … ungenerated" (fr. 8, 3–4)
(t. 129 is the source of Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel,* xiii, 13, 39.)

GALENUS [122]

125. *in Hippocratis librum epidemiarum vi commentarius* ii, 46 (CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 119, 12–15)
(119, 12) τὸ μέντοι ἄρρεν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τῆς μήτρας κυΐσκεσθαι καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παλαιοτάτων ἀνδρῶν εἰρήκασιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παρμενίδης οὕτως ἔφη · (119, 15) ‘δεξιτεροῖσιν μὲν κούρους λαιοῖσι δὲ κούρας’ (fr. 18).

125a. Hinc Palladius in eundem loc. (*Scholia in Hippocratem et Galenum* II, 71 Dietz)
et hoc idem Parmenides affirmavit inquiens ‘in dextris quidem pueros, in sinistris vero puellas.’

126. de *elementis ex Hippocrate*, i, 9 (i, 487, 12–14 Kuhn; 54, 18 Helmreich)
(487, 12) τὰ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν ἅπαντα Περὶ φύσεως ἐπιγέγραπται, τὰ Μελίσσου, τὰ Παρμενίδου κτλ.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS (cf. etiam t. 88)

127. *stromata* v, 2, 15, 4–16, 1 (ii, 335, 20–366, 2 Stählin)
(15, 4) ὁ δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ φιλότητα συγκαταριθμεῖται, συγκριτικήν τινα ἀγάπην νοῶν, ‘ἦν σὺ νόῳ δέρκευ μηδ’ ὄμμασιν ἧσο τεθηπώς’ (fr. 17, 21). (15, 5) ἀλλὰ καὶ Παρμενίδης ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ ποιήματι περὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος αἰνισσόμενος τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγει · ‘λεῦσσε δ’ ὅμως [123]
ἀπεόντα … οὔτε συνιστάμενον’ (fr. 6). (16, 1) ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἐλπίζων, καθάπερ ὁ πιστεύων, τῷ νῷ ὁρᾷ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα.
Hinc Theodoretus *graecarum affectionum curatio* i, 72

128. *stromata* v, 9, 59, 6, 1–4 (ii, 366, 14–17 Stählin)
(6, 1) ὅ τ’ Ἐλεάτης Παρμενίδης ὁ μέγας διττῶν εἰσηγεῖται διδασκαλίαν ὁδῶν ὧδέ πως γράφων · ‘ἠμὲν ἀληθείης εὐπειθέος … πίστις ἀληθής’ (fr. 1, 29–30).

129. *stromata* v, 14, 112, 2, 1–4 (ii, 402, 6–9 Stählin)
(2, 1) Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ μέγας, ὥς φησιν ἐν Σοφιστῇ Πλάτων (t. 9), ὧδέ πως περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ γράφει · ‘πολλὰ μάλ’ … ἠδ’ ἀγένητον’ (fr. 8, 3–4).
Hinc Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* xiii, 13, 39
θείου Eus.

130. *Stromata* v, 14, 137, 2–138, 1 (vol. ii, 419, 5–20 Stählin)

(137, 2, 1) Whoever does not believe in the truth but is deluded by human teaching, unhappy and wretched, and in Euripides' words:

> who gazes on these things does not know god,
> but he has thrown afar the astronomers'
> (137, 2, 5) crooked deceits, whose mischievous
> tongue speaks at random about unevident things,
> with no trace of intelligence. (fr. incert. 913)

(138, 1, 1) When he has come to the true teaching, let him who wishes listen to Parmenides of Elea who promises: "You will know the aether's origin … stars" (fr. 9).

131. *Stromata* vi, 2, 23, 1, 1–3, 2 (vol. ii, 440, 7–12 Stählin)

(1, 1) While Herodotus declared in his account of the Spartan Glaucus that the Pythia had said "to have tempted the god is the same (2, 1) as to have acted," Aristophanes said "thinking has the same power as doing," and (3, 1) before him Parmenides of Elea [said]: "For the same thing is for conceiving as is for being" (fr. 4).

ARISTOCLES OF MESSENE

132. fr. 2 Mullach (*FPhG* iii, 207) = fr. 5 Heiland

(Euseb. 1, 1) There were others who delivered forth the contrary utterance (sc. to those who reject everything contrary to the senses). For they think that it is necessary to reject the senses and the impressions, and to have faith in reason alone. Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno and Melissus stated such views as these early on, and later Stilpo and the Megarians. Hence (1, 5) these people consider it right that what-is is one and that what is other [than what-is] is not, and that nothing is generated or perishes or is moved at all.

Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* xiv, 17, 1, 1–6

(t. 132 is possibly derived from Antiochus)

130. *stromata* v, 14, 137, 2–138, 1 (ii, 419, 5–20 Stählin) [123]

(137, 2, 1) ὁ τοίνυν μὴ πειθόμενος τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, διδασκαλίᾳ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνῃ τετυφωμένος, δυσδαίμων ἄθλιός τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην,

ὃς τάδε λεύσσων θεὸν οὐχὶ νοεῖ,
μετεωρολόγων δ' ἔκας ἔρριψεν
(137, 2, 5) σκολιὰς ἀπάτας, ὧν ἀτηρὰ
γλῶσσα εἰκοβολεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν
οὐδὲν γνώμης μετέχουσα (Eurip. *fr. incert.* 913).

(138, 1, 1) ἀφικόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ μάθησιν ὁ βουλόμενος ἀκουέτω μὲν Παρμενίδου τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ὑπισχνουμένου · ‘εἴσῃ δ' αἰθερίαν τε φύσιν … ἄστρων' (fr. 9).

131. *stromata* vi, 2, 23, 1, 1–3, 2 (ii, 440, 7–12 Stählin)

(1, 1) Ἡροδότου τε αὖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Γλαύκου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου λόγῳ φήσαντος τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν ‘τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι (2, 1) ἴσον γενέσθαι', Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη ‘δύναται γὰρ ἴσον τῷ δρᾶν τὸ νοεῖν', καὶ (3, 1) πρὸ τούτου ὁ Ἐλεάτης Παρμενίδης ‘τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ νοεῖν ἐστί τε καὶ εἶναι' (fr. 4).

ARISTOCLES MESSENIUS

132. fr. 2 Mullach (*FPhG* iii, 207) = fr. 5 Heiland

(Euseb. 1, 1) ἄλλοι δ' ἐγένοντο τούτοις (sc. τοῖς πάντα καταβάλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις) τὴν ἐναντίαν φωνὴν ἀφιέντες. οἴονται γὰρ δεῖν τὰς μὲν αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰς φαντασίας καταβάλλειν, αὐτῷ δὲ μόνον τῷ λόγῳ [124] πιστεύειν. τοιαῦτα γάρ τινα πρότερον μὲν Ξενοφάνης καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Μέλισσος ἔλεγον, ὕστερον δ' οἱ περὶ Στίλπωνα καὶ τοὺς Μεγαρικούς. ὅθεν (1, 5) ἠξίουν οὗτοί γε τὸ ὂν ἓν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἕτερον μὴ εἶναι, μηδὲ γεννᾶσθαί τι μηδὲ φθείρεσθαι μηδὲ κινεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν.

Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* xiv, 17, 1, 1–6

(? ex Antiocho)

NUMENIUS

133. fr. 31 des Places

(Porph. 21, 3) Numenius and his associate Cronius say that since the cave (sc. on the island of Ithaca) bears an image and symbol of the cosmos, there are two (21, 5) extremities in the heaven, neither of which is further south than the winter tropic or further north than the summer [tropic]. The summer [tropic] is in Cancer and the winter [tropic] is in Capricorn …. (22, 6) Now the theologians posited Cancer and Capricorn as these two gates, while Plato spoke of two mouths (*Rep.* 10, 614^{c}2–^{e}1). Of these, the one through which souls descend is Cancer, and Capricorn is the one through which they ascend. Cancer is northerly (23, 1) and is used for descent, while Capricorn is southerly and is used for ascent. The northerly parts are for souls descending to birth, and it is right that the gates of the cave towards the north are the places where humans descend, while the southerly ones are not for the gods but for those ascending to the gods. For the same reason he did not say that it is a way of gods, (23, 5) but of immortals (*Odyssey* 13, 112)—which is [a term used in] common also for souls that are immortal either per se or by their essence. He says that Parmenides too recalled these two gates in his *Physics* and also the Romans and Egyptians.

Porphyry *The cave of the nymphs* 21, 3–7; 22, 6–23, 7

ATHENAEUS

134. *Deipnosophistae* xi, 505 F1–6

(505 F1) Indeed, his age hardly permits Plato's Socrates to have had discussions with Parmenides, let alone to have spoken or heard *such* discussions. But most abominable of all is that he said without any pressing (505 F5) need that Parmenides' fellow citizen Zeno had been his young lover.

t. 134 is the source of **134a.** Macrobius *Saturnalia* i, 1, 5

Indeed, Parmenides was so much older than Socrates that in his youth the latter could hardly have understood what the former said in his old age—and even so they discuss difficult matters.

NUMENIUS [124]

133. fr. 31 des Places

(Porph. 21, 3) τοῦ δὴ (sc. Ἰθακησίου) ἄντρου εἰκόνα καὶ σύμβολόν φησι τοῦ κόσμου φέροντος Νουμήνιος καὶ ὁ τούτου ἑταῖρος Κρόνιος δύο εἶναι (21, 5) ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄκρα, ὧν οὔτε νοτιώτερόν ἐστι τοῦ χειμερινοῦ τροπικοῦ οὔτε βορειότερον τοῦ θερινοῦ. ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν θερινὸς κατὰ καρκίνον, ὁ δὲ χειμερινὸς κατ' αἰγόκερων …. (22, 6) δύο οὖν ταύτας ἔθεντο πύλας καρκίνον καὶ αἰγόκερων οἱ θεολόγοι, Πλάτων δὲ δύο στόμια ἔφη (*resp.* x, 614–615). τούτων δὲ καρκίνον μὲν εἶναι δι' οὗ κατίασιν αἱ ψυχαί, αἰγόκερων δὲ δι' οὗ ἀνίασιν. ἀλλὰ καρκίνος μὲν βόρειος (23, 1) καὶ καταβατικός, αἰγόκερως δὲ νότιος καὶ ἀναβατικός. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν βόρεια ψυχῶν εἰς γένεσιν κατιουσῶν, καὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ τοῦ ἄντρου αἱ πρὸς βορρᾶν πύλαι καταβαταὶ ἀνθρώποις, τὰ δὲ νότια οὐ θεῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς θεοὺς ἀνιουσῶν. διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δ' αἰτίαν οὐ θεῶν ἔφη ὁδός, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων (Hom. ν 112), ὃ κοινὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῶν ἢ οὐσῶν καθ' αὑτὸ (23, 5) ἢ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἀθανάτων. τῶν δύο πυλῶν τούτων μεμνῆσθαι καὶ Παρμενίδην ἐν τῷ Φυσικῷ φησι Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους.

Porphyrius *de antro nympharum* 21, 3–7; 22, 6–23, 7

ATHENAEUS

134. *deipnosophistae* xi, 505 F1–6

(505 F1) Παρμενίδῃ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς λόγους τὸν τοῦ Πλάτωνος Σωκράτην μόλις ἡ ἡλικία συγχωρεῖ, οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοιούτους εἰπεῖν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι λόγους. τὸ δὲ πάντων σχετλιώτατον καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν οὐδεμιᾶς κατεπειγούσης (505 F5) χρείας ὅτι παιδικὰ γεγόνοι τοῦ Παρμενίδου Ζήνων ὁ πολίτης αὐτοῦ (*Parm.* 127[b]).

134a. Hinc Macrobius *Saturnalia* i, 1, 5

quippe Socrate ita Parmenides antiquior, ut huius pueritia vix illius adprehenderit senectutem, et tamen inter illos de rebus arduis disputatur.

SEXTUS EMPIRICUS (cf. also t. 18)

135. *Against the mathematicians* vii, 5; vii, 7: 191, 17–22; 192, 2–4

(191, 17) Everyone agrees without dispute that Thales, Anaximenes and Anaximander laid the foundations of only the natural part [of philosophy], but they do not all agree that Empedocles, Parmenides or (191, 20) Heraclitus [did] …. (192, 2) Parmenides would not appear to be without experience in dialectic, since Aristotle has supposed his acquaintance Zeno was the originator of dialectic.

136. *Against the mathematicians* vii, 111–114: 213, 4–215, 17

[111] (213, 4) His (i.e., Xenophanes') acquaintance Parmenides rejected opinionative (213, 5) reason—I mean that which has weak assumptions—and hypothesized cognitive—that is, infallible—[reason] as the criterion, having abandoned trust in the senses. Indeed in the opening of his work *On Nature* he writes in the following manner: (213, 9) "The mares that carry me … genuine conviction" (fr. 1, 1–30). "But do you keep … is still left" (fr. 7, 2–7). [112] (214, 19) In these verses Parmenides says that (214, 20) the irrational impulses and appetites of the soul are the mares that are carrying him, and that he is proceeding on the renowned way of the goddess, [namely] contemplation through philosophical reason, which reason, like a divine escort, guides the way to the knowledge of all things. His senses are the maidens that bring him. Among these (i.e., the senses) he speaks riddlingly of acts of hearing (214, 25) in saying "for it was being driven forward by two rounded wheels," that is by those of the ears, through which they receive sound; [113] and the acts of vision he calls "the daughters of the Sun" who "after leaving the house of Night for the light, having pushed back" because (215, 1) without light there is no use of them. He comes to "avenging Justice" who holds "the keys that fit them," [namely,] to intelligence which holds safe the cognitions of things. [114] And she, "after receiving" him, promises to teach him these two things: (215, 5) "both the unshaken heart of persuasive truth," which is the immovable tribunal of knowledge, and secondly "the opinions of mortals, in which there is no true reliance," that is to say everything that rests on opinion, because it is uncertain. And at the end he explains further that we must not pay attention to the senses but (215, 10) to reason; for he says

> Let not habit do violence to you on the empirical way
> of exercising an unseeing eye and a noisy ear
> and tongue, but decide by discourse the controversial test
> enjoined by me (fr. 7, 3–6).

SEXTUS EMPIRICUS (cf. etiam t. 18) [125]

135. *adversus mathematicos* vii, 5; vii, 7: 191, 17–22; 192, 2–4

(191, 17) φυσικὸν μὲν οὖν μόνον ὑπεστήσαντο μέρος (sc. φιλοσοφίας) Θαλῆς τε καὶ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος κατὰ πάντας καὶ ἀναμφιλέκτως, ὁ δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Παρμενίδης ἔτι δὲ (191, 20) Ἡράκλειτος οὐ κατὰ πάντας …. (192, 2) Παρμενίδης δὲ οὐκ ἂν δόξαι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ἀπείρως ἔχειν, ἐπείπερ πάλιν Ἀριστοτέλης (fr. 65 Rose) τὸν γνώριμον αὐτοῦ Ζήνωνα διαλεκτικῆς ἀρχηγὸν ὑπείληφεν.

136. *adversus mathematicos* vii, 111–114: 213, 4–215, 17

[111] (213, 4) ὁ δὲ γνώριμος αὐτοῦ (sc. Ξενοφάνους) Παρμενίδης τοῦ μὲν δοξαστοῦ (213, 5) λόγου κατέγνω, φημὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀσθενεῖς ἔχοντος ὑπολήψεις, τὸν δ᾽ ἐπιστημονικόν, τουτέστι τὸν ἀδιάπτωτον, ὑπέθετο κριτήριον, ἀποστὰς καὶ τῆς τῶν αἰσθήσεων πίστεως. ἐναρχόμενος γοῦν τοῦ Περὶ φύσεως γράφει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον · ‘ ἵπποι ταί με φέρουσιν … πίστις ἀληθής’ (fr. 1, 1–30). ‘ἀλλὰ σὺ τῆσδ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὁδοῦ … λείπεται’ (fr. 7, 2–7). [112] (214, 19) ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ὁ Παρμενίδης ἵππους μέν φησιν αὐτὸν φέρειν (214, 20) τὰς ἀλόγους τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμάς τε καὶ ὀρέξεις, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πολύφημον ὁδὸν τοῦ δαίμονος πορεύεσθαι τὴν κατὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον λόγον θεωρίαν, ὃς λόγος προπομποῦ δαίμονος τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν ἁπάντων ὁδηγεῖ γνῶσιν· κούρας δ᾽ αὐτοῦ προάγειν τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ὧν τὰς μὲν ἀκοὰς αἰνίττεται (214, 25) ἐν τῷ λέγειν ‘δοιοῖς γὰρ ἐπείγετο δινωτοῖσι κύκλοις’ τουτέστι τοῖς τῶν ὤτων, τὴν φωνὴν δι᾽ ὧν καταδέχονται, [113] τὰς δὲ ὁράσεις Ἡλιάδας κούρας κέκληκε, δώματα μὲν νυκτὸς ἀπολιπούσας, ἐς φάος <δὲ> ὠσαμένας διὰ τὸ μὴ χωρὶς (215, 1) φωτὸς γίνεσθαι τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν· ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν πολύποινον ἐλθεῖν Δίκην καὶ ἔχουσαν κληῖδας ἀμοιβούς, τὴν διάνοιαν ἀσφαλεῖς ἔχουσαν τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων καταλήψεις · [114] ἥτις αὐτὸν ὑποδεξαμένη ἐπαγγέλλεται δύο ταῦτα (215, 5) διδάξειν, ‘ἠμὲν ἀληθείης εὐπειθέος ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ’, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀμετακίνητον βῆμα, ἕτερον δὲ ‘βροτῶν δόξας, ταῖς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθής’, τουτέστι τὸ ἐν δόξῃ κείμενον πᾶν, ὅτι ἦν ἀβέβαιον. καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει προσδιασαφεῖ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι προσέχειν ἀλλὰ τῷ (215, 10) λόγῳ · μὴ γάρ σε, φησίν (fr. 7, 3–6),

ἔθος πολύπειρον ὁδὸν κατὰ τήνδε βιάσθω,
νωμᾶν ἄσκοπον ὄμμα καὶ ἠχήεσσαν ἀκουὴν
καὶ γλῶσσαν, κρῖναι δὲ λόγῳ πολύδηριν ἔλεγχον
ἐξ ἐμέθεν ῥηθέντα.

This very man, then, as is evident from what he said, (215, 15) proclaimed cognitive reason to be the standard of truth in things that are and abandoned what the senses observe.

ALEXANDER OF APHRODISIAS (cf. also tt. 33a, 36, 40, 42, 207, 208)

137. *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* 306, 28–307, 3 Hayduck (*ad* 1009^{b}12)
(306, 28) He proves that Parmenides too held these opinions [by quoting the words] in which he says, "For as each person (306, 30) has a blending of much-bent limbs, so is mind present to men" (fr. 17, 1–2). For he [Parmenides] too in these [words] says that thinking follows in accord with the condition of each person's body as regards its blending and its state, on the grounds that thought follows the blending of the body and its alteration, which is due to sensible things. He (i.e., Aristotle) says that the following statement of Parmenides is the same as this as well. For identical to what (306, 35) he previously said, that "For as each person is as regards the blending of much-bent limbs" (fr. 17, 1), is what he says again in the words, "As the awareness (307, 1) belonging to the nature of the body, for all and each; for the preponderant is called the thought the mind conceives" (fr. 17, 3–4), supposing that thinking depends on the blending of the body and that it always accords with that which is present in a greater amount and which prevails in the condition of the body.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS (cf. also tt. 15–16, 16a, 39a, 41, 41a, 44, 93, 95–98, 123, 123a)

138. *Lives of the Philosophers* i, 16, p. 6, 27–28 Long
(6, 27) Others [left] a single treatise each: Melissus, Parmenides, Anaxagoras.

139. *Lives of the Philosophers* ii, 106, p. 101, 24–102, 1 Long
(101, 24) Euclides was from Megara on the Isthmus, or, according (101, 25) to some, from Gela, as Alexander states in his *Successions*. (102, 1) He studied the writings of Parmenides.

ἀλλ᾽ οὗτος μὲν αὐτός, ὡς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συμφανές, (215, 15) τὸν [125]
ἐπιστημονικὸν λόγον κανόνα τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀληθείας ἀναγορεύσας
ἀπέστη τῆς τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπιστάσεως.

ALEXANDER APHRODISIENSIS (cf. etiam tt. 33a, 36, 40, 42, 207, 208) [126]

137. *in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* 306, 28–307, 3 Hayduck (*ad* 1009^{b}12)
(306, 28) καὶ Παρμενίδην δὲ ταῦτα δείκνυσι δοξάζοντα δι᾽ ὧν φησὶν ‘ὡς γὰρ
ἕκαστος (306, 30) ἔχει κρᾶσιν μελέων πολυκάμπτων, ὣς νοῦς ἀνθρώποισι
παρίσταται’ (fr. 17, 1–2). καὶ γὰρ οὗτος διὰ τούτων λέγει ὅτι ὡς ἂν ἔχῃ
κράσεως τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἕξεως ἑκάστῳ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ἀκολουθεῖ, ὡς
ἀκολουθούσης τῆς φρονήσεως τῇ τοῦ σώματος κράσει τε καὶ ἀλλοιώσει,
ἥτις ὑπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν γίνεται. ᾧ ταὐτό φησιν εἶναι τὸ εἰρημένον καὶ αὐτὸ
ὑπὸ Παρμενίδου · τῷ γὰρ (306, 35) προειρημένῳ τῷ ‘ὡς γὰρ ἕκαστος ἔχει
κράσεως μελέων πολυκάμπτων’, ὃ αὐτὸς εἶπε, τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ ὃ πάλιν
λέγει διὰ τοῦ ‘ὅπερ φρονέει (307, 1) μελέων φύσις καὶ πᾶσι καὶ παντί’
(fr. 17, 3–4) τὸ γὰρ πλέον λέγεται νόημα · ὡς γὰρ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἠρτημένου
τῆς σωματικῆς κράσεως καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεονάζον καὶ ἐπικρατοῦν ἐν
τῇ σωματικῇ διαθέσει αὐτοῦ γενομένου.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS (cf. etiam tt. 15–16, 16a, 39a, 41, 41a, 44, 93, 95–98, 123, 123a)

138. *vitae philosophorum* i, 16, p. 6, 27–28 Long
(6, 27) οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ ἓν σύγγραμμα (sc. κατέλιπον) · Μέλισσος Παρμενίδης
Ἀναξαγόρας.

139. *vitae philosophorum* ii, 106, p. 101, 24–102, 1 Long
(101, 24) Εὐκλείδης ἀπὸ Μεγάρων τῶν πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ, ἢ Γελῶος κατ᾽ (101,
25) ἐνίους, ὥς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς (*FGrH* 273 F 87). (102, 1)
οὗτος καὶ τὰ Παρμενίδεια μετεχειρίζετο.

140. *Lives of the Philosophers* ix, 22, p. 448, 3–14 Long

(448, 3)He said that there are two kinds of philosophy, one having to do with truth, the other with opinion. This is why (448, 5) he says somewhere, "You must … genuine conviction" (fr. 1, 28–30). He too philosophizes in poems, as did Hesiod, (448, 10) Xenophanes and Empedocles. He declared reason [to be] the criterion and that the senses are not accurate. In any case he says, "And let not habit … test" (fr. 7, 3–5).

PLOTINUS

141. *Enneads* i, 4, 10, 3–6

(10, 3) But why will the intellect itself not be active [without perception], and also its attendant soul, which comes before sensation and apprehension in general? (10, 5) For there must be activity before apprehension, if indeed "The same thing is conceiving and being" (fr. 4).

142. *Enneads* iii, 7, 11, 1–6

(11, 1) We must elevate ourselves to that condition which we said exists in eternity, to that life that is unshaken, all together, already unlimited, altogether steady, and stable both in unity and with reference to unity. Time did not yet exist, or at least did not exist for them; but we will generate time (11, 5) by means of the definition and nature of what comes after.

143. *Enneads* iii, 8, 8, 1–11

(8, 1) Contemplation ascends from nature to soul, and from soul to intellect, and the contemplations become always more closely akin and unified with the contemplators. And in the case of the virtuous soul (8, 5) the objects known proceed towards [being] identical with the [knowing] subject, since they are pressing on towards intellect. In this case it is clear that at that point both are one, not by becoming akin, as happens in case of the best soul, but essentially and because "The same thing is being and conceiving" (fr. 4). For there is no longer one thing and then another, for if there is, there will be something else again, which (8, 10) is no longer one thing and another. So both must really be this one thing. And this is living contemplation, not an object of contemplation as that which is in something else.

140. *vitae philosophorum* ix, 22, p. 448, 3–14 Long [126]

(448, 3) δισσήν τε ἔφη τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν μὲν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τὴν δὲ κατὰ δόξαν. διὸ (448, 5) καί φησί που ‘χρεὼ δέ σε … πίστις ἀληθής’ (fr. 1, 28–30). καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ ποιημάτων φιλοσοφεῖ, καθάπερ Ἡσίοδός τε (448, 10) καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. κριτήριον δὲ τὸν λόγον εἶπε, τάς τε αἰσθήσεις μὴ ἀκριβεῖς ὑπάρχειν. φησὶ γοῦν ‘μηδέ σ’ ἔθος … ἔλεγχον’ (fr. 7, 3–5).

PLOTINUS

141. *Enneades* i, 4, 10, 3–6

(10, 3) αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ νοῦς διὰ τί οὐκ ἐνεργήσει καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡ πρὸ αἰσθήσεως καὶ ὅλως ἀντιλήψεως; (10, 5) δεῖ γὰρ τὸ πρὸ ἀντιλήψεως ἐνέργημα εἶναι, εἴπερ ‘τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ εἶναι’ (fr. 4).

142. *Enneades* iii, 7, 11, 1–6

(11, 1) δεῖ δὴ ἀναγαγεῖν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν διάθεσιν ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐλέγομεν εἶναι, τὴν ἀτρεμῆ ἐκείνην καὶ ὁμοῦ πᾶσαν καὶ ἄπειρον ἤδη ζωὴν καὶ ἀκλινῆ πάντη καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ καὶ πρὸς ἓν ἑστῶσαν. χρόνος δὲ (11, 5) οὔπω ἦν ἢ ἐκείνοις γε οὐκ ἦν, γεννήσομεν δὲ χρόνον λόγῳ καὶ φύσει τοῦ ὑστέρου (cf. fr. 8, 4–5).

143. *Enneades* iii, 8, 8, 1–11 [127]

(8, 1) τῆς δὲ θεωρίας ἀναβαινούσης ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς νοῦν καὶ ἀεὶ οἰκειοτέρων τῶν θεωριῶν γιγνομένων καὶ ἑνουμένων τοῖς θεωροῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σπουδαίας ψυχῆς πρὸς (8, 5) τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἰόντων τῶν ἐγνωσμένων ἅτε εἰς νοῦν σπευδόντων, ἐπὶ τούτου δηλονότι ἤδη ἓν ἄμφω οὐκ οἰκειώσει, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἀρίστης, ἀλλ’ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τῷ ‘ταὐτὸν τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ νοεῖν’ εἶναι (fr. 4). οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἄλλο, τὸ δ’ ἄλλο · πάλιν γὰρ αὖ ἄλλο ἔσται, ὃ (8, 10) οὐκέτι ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο. δεῖ οὖν τοῦτο εἶναι ἓν ὄντως ἄμφω · τοῦτο δέ ἐστι θεωρία ζῶσα, οὐ θεώρημα, οἷον τὸ ἐν ἄλλῳ.

144. *Enneads* v, 1, 8, 9–27

(8, 9) So Plato knew that Intellect comes from the Good (8, 10) and Soul comes from Intellect. And so these accounts are not new; and they were stated not now [for the first time] but long ago though not explicitly. The present accounts have been an explanation of them, proving through the writings of Plato himself as evidence that these opinions are ancient. And in fact (8, 15) Parmenides too even earlier touched upon this kind of opinion, in that he brought together Being and Intellect, and did not put Being among sensible things when he said, "For the same thing is for conceiving as is for being" (fr. 4). And he says that this (i.e., Being) is "changeless" (fr. 8, 26) (although he adds intellection to it), removing all corporeal motion from (8, 20) it so that it may "remain" (fr. 8, 29) in the same state. And he likens it to "the volume of a ball" (fr. 8, 43) because it includes all things and because its intellection is not external, but in itself. But when in his own treatises he called it one, he came under attack on the grounds that this one was discovered to be many. But Parmenides in Plato speaks more precisely, and distinguishes (8, 25) from each other the first One, which is more strictly one, and the second one, which he calls "one-many" and the third one, [which he calls] "one and many". In this way he too is in agreement with [the doctrine of] the three natures.

145. *Enneads* v, 9, 5, 26–32

(5, 26) Intellect therefore intelligizes the things that really are, not as if they were somewhere else: for they are neither before it nor after it; but it is like the first lawgiver, or rather it is itself the law of being. So [the statements] are correct: "For the same thing is for conceiving as is for being" (fr. 4), and "Knowledge of things that have no matter is the same as its object" (misquote of Aristotle, *De Anima* 3, 4, 430^{a}3), and "I searched myself" (Heraclitus, fr. 101) (as one of the things-that-are).

146. *Enneads* vi, 4, 4, 23–26

(4, 23) … since we admit that being is also many things by difference, not by place. For being is all together even if it is many things in this way; "For Being (4, 25) draws near to Being" (fr. 8, 25), and "all together" (fr. 8, 5), and intellect is many by difference, not by place, and is all together.

144. *Enneades* v, 1, 8, 9–27 [127]

(8, 9) ὥστε Πλάτωνα εἰδέναι ἐκ μὲν τἀγαθοῦ τὸν (8, 10) νοῦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ εἶναι τοὺς λόγους τούσδε μὴ καινοὺς μηδὲ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν εἰρῆσθαι μὴ ἀναπεπταμένως, τοὺς δὲ νῦν λόγους ἐξηγητὰς ἐκείνων γεγονέναι μαρτυρίοις πιστωσαμένους τὰς δόξας ταύτας παλαιὰς εἶναι τοῖς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος γράμμασιν. ἥπτετο (8, 15) μὲν οὖν καὶ Παρμενίδης πρότερον τῆς τοιαύτης δόξης καθόσον εἰς ταὐτὸ συνῆγεν ὂν καὶ νοῦν καὶ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐτίθετο, 'τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ νοεῖν ἐστί τε καὶ εἶναι' λέγων (fr. 4). καὶ 'ἀκίνητον' δὲ λέγει τοῦτο, καίτοι προστιθεὶς τὸ νοεῖν, σωματικὴν πᾶσαν κίνησιν ἐξαίρων ἀπ' (8, 20) αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μένῃ ὡσαύτως, καὶ 'ὄγκῳ σφαίρας' ἀπεικάζων (fr. 8, 26; 29; 43), ὅτι πάντα ἔχει περιειλημμένα καὶ ὅτι τὸ νοεῖν οὐκ ἔξω ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ (cf. fr. 8, 34–36). ἓν δὲ λέγων ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμμασιν αἰτίαν εἶχεν ὡς τοῦ ἑνὸς τούτου πολλὰ εὑρισκομένου, ὁ δὲ παρὰ Πλάτωνι Παρμενίδης ἀκριβέστερον λέγων διαιρεῖ (8, 25) ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὸ πρῶτον ἕν, ὃ κυριώτερον ἕν, καὶ δεύτερον ἕν, πολλὰ λέγων, καὶ τρίτον, ἓν καὶ πολλά. καὶ σύμφωνος οὕτως καὶ αὐτός ἐστι ταῖς φύσεσι ταῖς τρισίν.

145. *Enneades* v, 9, 5, 26–32

(5, 26) ὁ νοῦς ἄρα τὰ ὄντα ὄντως, οὐχ οἷά ἐστιν ἄλλοθι νοῶν · οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὔτε πρὸ αὐτοῦ οὔτε μετ' αὐτόν · ἀλλὰ οἷον νομοθέτης πρῶτος, μᾶλλον δὲ νόμος αὐτὸς τοῦ εἶναι. ὀρθῶς ἄρα 'τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ νοεῖν ἐστί τε (5, 30) καὶ εἶναι' (fr. 4) καὶ 'ἡ τῶν ἄνευ ὕλης ἐπιστήμη ταὐτὸν τῷ πράγματι' (Ar. *de an.* iii, 4, 430^{a}3) καὶ τὸ 'ἐμαυτὸν ἐδιζησάμην' (Heraclit. fr. 101) ὡς ἓν τῶν ὄντων.

146. *Enneades* vi, 4, 4, 23–26

(4, 23) … ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ὂν πολλὰ συγχωροῦμεν εἶναι ἑτερότητι, οὐ τόπῳ. ὁμοῦ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ ὄν, κἂν πολὺ οὕτως ᾖ · 'ἐὸν γὰρ (4, 25) ἐόντι πελάζει' (fr. 8, 25) καὶ 'πᾶν ὁμοῦ' (fr. 8, 5) καὶ νοῦς πολὺς ἑτερότητι, οὐ τόπῳ, ὁμοῦ δὲ πᾶς.

147. *Enneads* vi, 6, 18, 37–44

(18, 37) For there is not anything beside it (i.e., Being) that will touch it; but if there were anything, it would exist because of it. And if there were anything contrary to it, this (i.e., Being) would be unaffected (18, 40) by that very contrary. But in fact, existing itself, it (i.e., Being) would not have made this (i.e., the contrary) exist, but some other common [element] before it [would have made the contrary exist], and that (i.e., the common element) would be being; and so in this way Parmenides was right, saying that being is one; and it is unaffected not because of the absence of anything else, but because it [is] being. For this alone can exist through itself.

PORPHYRY (cf. also tt. 133, 210, 212)

148. *Philosophus historia* fr. viii Nauck (*FGrHist* 260 F 22, II B, 1212)

(Suda 258, 6) Empedocles … was first a student of Parmenides and became his young lover, as Porphyry says in his *Philosophus Historia*.

Suda vol. ii, 258, 6–8 Adler

149. *Philologus akroasis* fr. 4

(Euseb. 25, 6) On reading Protagoras' account *On That-Which-Is* against those who introduce [the view that] what-is is one, I find him (i.e., Plato) using the same kinds of objections.

Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* x, 3, 25, 6–8

ANATOLIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

150. *On the Number Ten* 6, 3–11 Heiberg

(6, 3) In addition to this they (i.e., the Pythagoreans) said that a unitary fiery cube is situated at the center of the four elements and that Homer too knew the centrality of its (6, 5) position since he said "as far beneath Hades as Heaven is from Earth." In this Empedocles and Parmenides seem to have followed the Pythagoreans, along with practically the greatest number of the wise men of old who declared that the monadic nature (6, 10) is established in the center like a hearth and that it keeps the same location through equilibrium.

(t. 150 is the source of *theologoumena arithmeticae* p. 6 de Falco.)

147. *Enneades* vi, 6, 18, 37–44 [127]

(18, 37) οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστι τι ὂν μετ᾽ αὐτό (sc. τὸ ὄν), ὃ ἐφάψεται αὐτοῦ · εἰ δέ τι ἦν, ὑπὸ τούτου ἂν ἦν · καὶ εἰ ἐναντίον τι ἦν, ἀπαθὲς ἂν ἦν τοῦτο (18, 40) ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐναντίου · ὂν δὲ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ὄν, ἀλλ᾽ [128] ἕτερον πρὸ αὐτοῦ κοινόν, καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄν. ὥστε ταύτῃ Παρμενίδης ὀρθῶς, ἓν εἰπὼν τὸ ὄν, καὶ οὐ δι᾽ ἐρημίαν ἄλλου ἀπαθές, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ὄν · μόνῳ γὰρ τούτῳ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν εἶναι.

PORPHYRIUS (cf. etiam tt. 133, 210, 212).

148. *philosophus historia* fr. viii Nauck (*FGrHist* 260 F 22, II B, 1212)

(Suda 258, 6) Ἐμπεδοκλῆς … ἠκροάσατο δὲ πρώτου Παρμενίδου, οὗτινος, ὥς φησι Πορφύριος ἐν τῇ Φιλοσόφῳ ἱστορίᾳ, καὶ ἐγένετο παιδικά.

Suda ii, 258, 6–8 Adler

149. *philologus akroasis* fr. 4

(Euseb. 25, 6) Πρωταγόρου τὸν περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἀναγινώσκων λόγον, πρὸς τοὺς ἓν τὸ ὂν εἰσάγοντας τοιαύταις αὐτὸν εὑρίσκω χρώμενον ἀπαντήσεσιν.

Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* x, 3, 25, 6–8

ANATOLIUS ALEXANDRINUS

150. *de decade* 6, 3–11 Heiberg

(6, 3) πρὸς τούτοις ἔλεγον (sc. οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ) περὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων κεῖσθαί τινα ἐναδικὸν διάπυρον κύβον, οὗ τὴν μεσότητα τῆς (6, 5) θέσεως καὶ Ὅμηρον εἰδέναι λέγοντα ‘τόσσον ἔνερθ᾽ Ἀΐδαο ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ᾽ ἀπὸ γαίης’. ἐοίκασι δὲ κατά γε τοῦτο κατηκολουθηκέναι τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς οἵ τε περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν φάμενοι τὴν μοναδικὴν φύσιν ἑστίας (6, 10) τρόπον ἐν μέσῳ ἱδρῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἰσόρροπον φυλάσσειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἕδραν.

Hinc *theologoumena arithmeticae* p. 6 de Falco

MENANDER RHETOR

151. *The Division of Epideictic Speeches* i, 2 (*Rhetores Graeci* vol. iii, 333, 12–15 Spengel; p. 6 Russell-Wilson)
(333, 12) Scientific [hymns] are the kind that Parmenides and Empedocles composed explaining the nature of Apollo or Zeus. (333, 15) Most of the [hymns] of Orpheus are of this sort.

152. *The Division of Epideictic Speeches* i, 5 (*Rhetores Graeci* vol. iii, 337, 1–13 Spengel; p. 12 Russell-Wilson)
(337, 1) This kind [of hymn is found] when in saying a hymn of Apollo we say that he is the sun and we discuss the nature of the sun, and likewise [when we say] about Hera that she is air, and that Zeus is the hot. (337, 5) Such hymns are scientific. Both Parmenides and Empedocles make use of this manner precisely, and Plato used it as well. For in the *Phaedrus* when he is explaining on natural principles that love is an affection of the soul, he represents it as winged. Some of the scientific [hymns] give explanations, (337, 10) while others are put forward in few words. For there is a big difference between suitably reminding a person who knows and teaching someone who is completely ignorant. Parmenides and Empedocles explain, whereas Plato makes proclamations in the fewest possible words.

IAMBLICHUS (cf. also t. 17)

153. *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 166, 4–7; 166, 11–13
(166, 4) As the result of these practices it came to pass that all (166, 5) Italy was full of philosophers, and although [Italy] was previously unknown it was afterwards called Great Greece on account of Pythagoras …. (166, 11) And all those who have made any mention of the natural philosophers in fact bring forward Empedocles and Parmenides of Elea first.

(t. 153 is possibly derived from Nicomachus.)

154. *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 267, 1–4; 267, 10; 267, 18–20
(267, 1) Of all the Pythagoreans it is likely that quite some number are unknown and nameless. Of those that are known, the names are as follows: of Croton, …; (267, 10) of Metapontum, …; (267, 18) of Acragas, Empedocles; of Elea Parmenides; (267, 20) of Tarentum, ….

MENANDER RHETOR [128]

151. *de epideiktikon.* i, 2 (*rhet. gr.* iii, 333, 12–15 Spengel, p. 6 Russell-Wilson)
(333, 12) φυσικοὶ δὲ (sc. ὕμνοι) ὁποίους οἱ περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἐτίμησαν, τίς ἡ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος φύσις, τίς ἡ τοῦ Διὸς παρατιθέμενοι. καὶ (333, 15) οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ὀρφέως τούτου τοῦ τρόπου.

περὶ Παρμενίδην Heeren: παρὰ πᾶν μέρος codd.

152. *de epideiktikon* i, 5 (iii, 337, 1–13 Spengel, p. 12 Russell-Wilson)
(337, 1) εἰσὶ δὲ τοιοῦτοι (sc. φυσικοὶ ὕμνοι) ὅταν Ἀπόλλωνος ὕμνον λέγοντες [129]
ἥλιον αὐτὸν εἶναι φάσκωμεν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς φύσεως διαλεγώμεθα, καὶ περὶ Ἥρας ὅτι ἀήρ, καὶ Ζεὺς τὸ θερμόν· (337, 5) οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ὕμνοι φυσιολογικοί, καὶ χρῶνται δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ Παρμενίδης τε καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀκριβῶς, κέχρηται δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων · ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ γὰρ φυσιολογῶν ὅτι πάθος ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ ἔρως ἀναπτεροποιεῖ αὐτόν. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξηγηματικοί, (337, 10) οἱ δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ προαγόμενοι · πλεῖστον γὰρ διαφέρει, ὡς εἰδότα ἀναμιμνήσκειν συμμέτρως ἢ ὅλως ἀγνοοῦντα διδάσκειν. Παρμενίδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐξηγοῦνται, Πλάτων δὲ ἐν βραχυτάτοις ἀνυμνεῖ.

IAMBLICHUS (cf. etiam t. 17)

153. *de vita Pythagorica* 166, 4–7; 166, 11–13
(166, 4) ἀπὸ δὴ τούτων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων συνέβη τὴν Ἰταλίαν (166, 5) πᾶσαν φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλησθῆναι, καὶ πρότερον ἀγνοουμένης αὐτῆς ὕστερον διὰ Πυθαγόραν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα κληθῆναι … (166, 11) καὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν ὅσοι τινὰ μνείαν πεποίηνται πρῶτον Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ Παρμενίδην τὸν Ἐλεάτην προφερόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν.

(? ex Nicomacho).

154. *de vita Pythagorica* 267, 1–4; 267, 10; 267, 18–20
(267, 1) τῶν δὲ συμπάντων Πυθαγορείων τοὺς μὲν ἀγνῶτάς τε καὶ ἀνωνύμους τινὰς πολλοὺς εἰκὸς γεγονέναι, τῶν δὲ γνωριζομένων ἐστὶ τάδε τὰ ὀνόματα · Κροτωνιᾶται … (xxix), (267, 10) Μεταποντῖνοι … (xxxviii), (267, 18) Ἀκραγαντῖνος Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ἐλεάτης Παρμενίδης, (267, 20) Ταραντῖνοι … (xliii), κτλ.

155. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* fr. 1 Dillon

(Syr. 38, 36) He (i.e., Aristotle) too investigates the puzzle that Parmenides posed, namely, of what things is there an idea and of what things is there not. The divine Iamblichus discussed this with precision in his commentary on the *Parmenides*.

Syrianus *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* 38, 36–39

156. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* fr. 6 Dillon

(Damasc. 146, 3) To cite Iamblichus' explanation: that man denies that there is anything in things-that-really-are that is in all [of them] but not in (146, 5) each, for the Parmenides who wrote in verse also declares "all full of Being" (fr. 8, 24) on the grounds that all that is there goes through all things and appears everywhere. And he does well to say "all."

Damascius ii, 146, 3–7 Ruelle

EUSEBIUS (cf. also tt. 91, 129, 132, 149)

157. *Chronicon* (*Eusebii chronicorum canonum quae supersunt,* ed. A. Schöne, vol. ii, Berlin, Weidmann, 1866, pp. 104, 106)

[eighty-first olympiad, 456 B.C.]

(104) The natural philosophers Empedocles and Parmenides were becoming known.

[eighty-sixth olympiad, 436 B.C.]

(106) That is when the natural philosopher Democritus of Abdera was becoming known, and Empedocles of Acragas, and the philosophers Zeno and Parmenides, and the physician Hippocrates of Cos.

CALCIDIUS

158. *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* c. 281

Some—such as Xenophanes, Melissus and Parmenides—defend [the claim] that [the origin of things] is unmoved and that it is reduced from all things into one mass. They suppose that all things are one, unmoved, without generation or perishing. But Parmenides declares everything to be one, complete and limited, while Melissus [declares it to be] unlimited and indeterminate.

159. *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* c. 350

In fact, many of them (i.e., the philosophers prior to Plato), such as Empedocles, held that only sensible things exist, while others, such as Parmenides, that only intelligible things [do].

155. *commentarius in Platonis Parmenidem* fr. 1 Dillon [129]

(Syr. 38, 36) ὅπερ εἰώθει παρὰ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Παρμενίδην ἀπορεῖσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς (Ἀριστοτέλης) ζητεῖ, τίνων ἦν ἰδέα καὶ τίνων οὔ · δι' ἀκριβείας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸν Παρμενίδην ὑπομνήμασιν Ἰαμβλίχῳ τῷ θείῳ περὶ τούτων εἴρηται.

Syrianus in *Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* 38, 36–39

156. *commentarius in Platonis Parmenidem* fr. 6 Dillon

(Damasc. 146, 3) ὡς δὲ τὴν Ἰαμβλίχου παραθέσθαι ἐξήγησιν (de Plat. *Parm.* 145^{c}), ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ εἶναί τί φησιν ἐν τοῖς ὄντως οὖσιν, ὃ ἐν πᾶσι μὲν οὐκ ἐν (146, 5) ἑκάστῳ δέ, τὸ γὰρ 'πᾶν ἔμπλεον ἐόντος' φάναι καὶ τόν ἐν ἔπεσι Παρμενίδην (fr. 8, 24), ὡς πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν ᾖ ἐκεῖ διὰ πάντων χωροῦν καὶ πανταχοῦ παραφαινόμενον · καὶ λέγει 'πᾶν' καλῶς.

Damascius ii, 146, 3–7 Ruelle

πᾶν ἔμπλεον: ἐὸν ἓν πλεῖον codd.

EUSEBIUS (cf. etiam tt. 91, 129, 132, 149) [130]

157. *chronicon (Eusebii chronicorum canonum quae supersunt,* ed. A Schöne, vol. ii, Berlin, Weidmann, 1866, pp. 104, 106)

(ol. 81, a.C. 456) Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Παρμενίδης φυσικοὶ φιλόσοφοι ἐγνωρίζοντο.

(ol. 86, a.C. 436) τότε καὶ Δημόκριτος Ἀβδηρίτης φυσικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐγνωρίζετο καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος Ζήνων τε καὶ Παρμενίδης οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ Ἱπποκράτης Κῷος ἰητρός.

CALCIDIUS

158. *in Platonis Timaeum commentarius* c. 281

sunt tamen qui immobilem (sc. rerum originem) fore defendant et eandem ex omnibus in unam molem redactam, unum omnia esse censentes immobile sine ortu et sine interitu, ut Xenophanes, Melissus, Parmenides; sed Parmenides quidem unum omne perfectum et definitum pronuntiat, Melissus infinitum et indeterminatum.

159. *in Platonis Timaeum commentarius* c. 350

quippe quorum (sc. veterum) plerique sola opinati sunt esse sensilia, ut Empedocles, alii sola intelligibilia, ut Parmenides.

THEMISTIUS

160. *Oration* xxxiv, 10 (vol. ii, 220, 3–5 Schenkl)
(220, 3) Nor did Parmenides descend [from philosophy] in giving laws to the Italians, for he filled what is called Great Greece with law and order.

MACROBIUS (cf. also tt. 92, 134a)

161. *Commentary on Scipio's Dream* i, 2, 20–21
[20] So much have the divine powers always preferred to be known and worshipped in the way that the ordinary folk of antiquity imagined, assigning to them statues and representations although they were utterly different from such forms, and [assigning] age to them although they do not know growth or decay, and [assigning] various kinds of clothing and adornment to them although they do not have a body. [21] Pythagoras himself and Empedocles and Parmenides too, and Heraclitus spoke about the gods in these ways.

SYRIANUS (cf. also tt. 155, 174)

162. *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* 46, 27–34 Kroll (*ad* $1001^{a}31$, cf. t. 27)
(46, 27) We have said many times how Parmenides meant the claim that what-is is one—believing that the all is in an exceeding degree an intelligible unity, he said that what-is is one and what is other than what-is—i.e., the sensible—is not, and what-(46, 30) is-not is nothing—that the latter (i.e., what-is-not) is not of equal value with the former (i.e., what-is) and has no relation to it, nor does it (i.e., what-is-not) come to be any more because this exists. For just as Socrates remains one even if he has many images, so the intelligible remains one even though this cosmos exists—which has no relation to it, except that it depends on it and from it derives its being and completeness.

163. *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* 75, 28–29 Kroll (*ad* $1009^{b}11$)
(75, 28) Empedocles and Parmenides identified truth with what appears [to the senses]. Cf. t. 27.

THEMISTIUS [130]

160. *oratio* xxxiv, 10 (ii, 220, 3–5 Schenkl)
(220, 3) οὐδὲ Παρμενίδης κατέβη (sc. ἐκ φιλοσοφίας) νομοθετῶν Ἰταλιώταις · ἐνέπλησε γὰρ εὐνομίας τὴν μεγάλην καλουμένην (220, 5) Ἑλλάδα.

MACROBIUS (cf. etiam tt. 92, 134a)

161. *commentarii in somnium Scipionis* i, 2, 20–21
[20] adeo semper ita se et sciri et coli numina maluerunt qualiter in vulgus antiquitas fabulata est, quae et imagines et simulacra formarum talium prorsus alienis et aetates tam incrementi quam diminutionis ignaris et amictus ornatusque varios corpus non habentibus adsignavit. [21] secundum haec Pythagoras ipse atque Empedocles Parmenides quoque et Heraclitus de dis fabulati sunt.

SYRIANUS (cf. etiam tt. 155, 174)

162. *in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* 46, 27–34 Kroll (*ad* 1001^{a}31, cf. t. 27)
(46, 27) ὁ μὲν Παρμενίδης ὅπως ἔλεγεν ἓν εἶναι τὸ ὄν, πολλάκις εἴπομεν, [131]
ὅτι τὸ πᾶν νοητὸν ἡνῶσθαι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἡγούμενος ἕν τε τὸ ὂν ἔλεγεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ὄν, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ αἰσθητόν, καὶ τὸ (46, 30) οὐκ ὂν οὐδέν, ὅτι μὴ ἰσότιμον ἐκείνῳ μηδ' ἔστι τι ὡς πρὸς ἐκεῖνο μηδὲ πλέον ἐκεῖνο γίγνεται τούτου ὑποστάντος · ὡς γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης εἷς μένει, κἂν ἔχῃ πολλὰς εἰκόνας, οὕτω τὸ νοητὸν ἓν μένει καὶ τοῦδε ὑποστάντος τοῦ κόσμου, ὃς οὐδέν ἐστι πρὸς ἐκεῖνο, πλὴν ὅτι ἐξήρτηται αὐτοῦ κἀκεῖθεν ἔχει τό τε εἶναι καὶ τὸ τέλειος εἶναι.

163. *in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* 75, 28–29 Kroll (*ad* 1009^{b}11)
(75, 28) Εμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Παρμενίδης εἰς ταὐτὸν ἦγον τῷ φαινομένῳ τὸ ἀληθές. Cf. t. 27.

164. *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* 171, 9–20 Kroll (*ad* 1089[a]7)
(171, 9) It was therefore impossible to take any other position on what appears [to the senses] than (171, 10) the Parmenidean account. Even a person who admits plurality could not avoid bringing in what-is-not together with it (i.e., plurality). And in truth Plato does not disagree with Parmenides on this, but both their accounts are true, although Plato's is clearer. For Parmenides, discussing only the intelligible and treating it in accordance with its unity, in accordance with the identity that prevails in it, (171, 15) and in accordance with Empedoclean Love, declared what-is to be one, whereas Plato, knowing first that the sensible exists somehow but is different from what-really-is and consequently is justly called something that is not rather than something that is, but also [knowing] that the intelligible itself is a plurality no less than one, introduced the nature of the different among things-that-are and proved that the real what-is-not follows from this (i.e., the nature of the different), as (171, 20) is established in the *Sophist* by many trustworthy arguments.

165. Proclus *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 640, 17–20; 640, 30–39 Cousin
(640, 17) This is how the ancients differed about Parmenides' thesis (Plato, *Parm*. 135[d] ff.). At this point I should discuss what (640, 20) our master added to their observations …. (640, 30) For if he (i.e., Plato) required an example to make his method clear, he would have employed something else, something obvious that sufficed for the idea of an example, and he would not have made the most solemn of his own doctrines (640, 35) subordinate to a training lesson, even though he believes that this is appropriate to the young, whereas the other requires an older person's intelligence to discern, and perhaps not even human [intelligence], as he states in his poems, but that of a certain nymph Hypsipyle.

PROCLUS (cf. also t.121)

166. *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* i, 252, 1–4 Diehl (*ad* 28[a])
… (252, 1) since also the Parmenides who wrote in verse entitled his treatment of sensibles "On Opinion" because by their own nature sensibles are objects of opinion.

164. *in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* 171, 9–20 Kroll (*ad* 1089[a]7) [131]
(171, 9) οὐκ ἄρα ἦν ἄλλως στῆναι πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον (171, 10) τοῦ Παρμενιδείου λόγου οὐδὲ προσιέμενον τὸ πλῆθος μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν συνεισενεγκεῖν. καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μάχεται Πλάτων τῷ Παρμενίδῃ κατά γε τὸ ἀληθέστατον ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶν ἄμφω μὲν ἀληθεῖς οἱ λόγοι, σαφέστερος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος · ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ περὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ μόνου διαλεγόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν αὐτὸ μετιὼν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ δυναστεύουσαν ταὐτότητα (171, 15) καὶ τὴν Ἐμπεδόκλειον φιλίαν ἓν εἶναι τὸ ὂν ἀπεφήνατο, Πλάτων δὲ εἰδὼς πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἔστι πως τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἕτερον ὂν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ὂν μᾶλλον ἢ ὂν προσαγορεύεσθαι δίκαιον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ νοητὸν οὐχ ἧττον πλῆθος ἢ ἕν, τήν τε θατέρου φύσιν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὰ ὄντα καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ οὐσιῶδες μὴ ὂν παρεπόμενον ἔδειξεν, ὡς ἐν τῷ (171, 20) Σοφιστῇ διὰ πολλῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων καὶ οὐκ ἀνεχεγγύων κατεσκεύασται.

165. Proclus in *Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 640, 17–20; 640, 30–39 Cousin
(640, 17) οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Παρμενίδου προθέσεως (Plat. *Parm.* 135[d] sq.) τοῦτον διέστησαν τὸν τρόπον, ὅσα δὲ συνεισήγαγε ταῖς τούτων ἐπιστάσεσιν ὁ (640, 20) ἡμέτερος καθηγεμών (sc. Syrianus), ἤδη λεκτέον …. (640, 30) εἰ γὰρ ἔδει τινὸς παραδείγματος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τῆς μεθόδου σαφήνειαν, ἄλλο τι τῶν προχείρων ἂν παρέλαβεν ἐξαρκοῦν εἰς παραδείγματος ἰδέαν ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τὸ σεμνότατον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δογμάτων (640, 35) πάρεργον ἂν ἐποιήσατο τῆς κατὰ γυμνασίαν διδασκαλίας, καίτοι νέοις προσήκειν ταύτην ἡγούμενος, ἐκεῖνο δὲ πρεσβυτικῆς εἶναι διανοίας καθορᾶν καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνης, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασί φησιν, ἀλλὰ νύμφης Ὑψιπύλης τινός.

PROCLUS (cf. etiam t.121) [132]

166. *in Platonis Timaeum commentaria* i, 252, 1–4 Diehl (*ad* 28[a])
… (252, 1) ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἐν <τοῖς ἔπεσι> Παρμενίδη<ς> τὴν περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν πραγματείαν διὰ τοῦτο Πρὸς δόξαν ἐπέγραψεν ὡς τῶν αἰσθητῶν δοξαστῶν ὄντων κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν.

< >Bäumker

167. *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* i, 345, 11–346, 3 Diehl (*ad* 29^{c}1–3)
(345, 11) Plato explicitly distinguished [kinds of] accounts and [kinds of] knowledge so as to correspond with the [kinds of] things known, while Parmenides indicates this too—even though he is unclear because [he wrote in] poetry—where he says: (345, 15) "both of the unmoved heart of brilliant reality … and genuine conviction" (fr. 1, 29–30), (345, 17) and again, "Come now, I will tell … a path wholly without report" (fr. 3, 1–6), (345, 25) and, "For you can neither … nor tell of it" (fr. 3, 7–8). So this philosopher too says of two kinds of things—(346, 1) things-that-are and things-that-are-not—that there are two [kinds of] knowledge: truth, which he calls brilliant inasmuch as it shines with intellective light, and reliance, which he set apart from stable knowledge.

168. *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* ii, 68, 21–23; 69, 8–23 Diehl (*ad* 33^{b}1–8)
(68, 21) For now in the first place we will understand that the Platonic demonstration really is a demonstration and supplies the reason why as well as the fact. [This demonstration consists of three arguments ….] (69, 8) Second [is the argument] from the beautiful and the appropriate. For the spherical is appropriate to the (69, 10) recipient, to the donor, and to the model. To the recipient, because, being complete, it is dear to the most complete of shapes and, because it includes all [shapes], [it is dear to] that [shape] which is inclusive of all [other shapes]; [it is appropriate] to the donor, because, being Intellect and since it is turned towards itself, it generated a shape most like itself and appropriate to itself (69, 15) for Intellect possesses intellection similar to the motion of a "sphere turned on a lathe", as he said in the *Laws* (*Laws* 10, 898$^{a\text{-}b}$), since it is arranged "identically and unvaryingly and in the same and around the same"; [it is appropriate] to the model, because the intelligible too is entirely of that kind, converging on itself from all directions: (69, 20) "from every viewpoint, like the volume of a spherical ball, and equally poised from the centre" (fr. 8, 43–44), and "exulting in its circular solitude" (Empedocles, frr. 27, 4; 28, 2), as Parmenides and Empedocles agree.

167. *in Platonis Timaeum commentaria* i, 345, 11–346, 3 Diehl (*ad* 29^{c}1–3) [132]
(345, 11) ὁ μέν οὖν Πλάτων διαρρήδην τούς τε λόγους καὶ τὰς γνώσεις τοῖς γνωστοῖς συνδιεῖλεν. ὁ δέ γε Παρμενίδης, καίτοι διὰ ποίησιν ἀσαφὴς ὤν, ὅμως καὶ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἐνδεικνύμενός φησιν · (345, 15) ‘ἠμὲν ἀληθείης εὐφεγγέος … πίστις ἀληθής’ (fr. 1, 29–30), καὶ πάλιν (345, 19) ‘εἰ δ’ἄγε τῶν ἐρέω … ἔμμεν ἀταρπόν’ (fr. 3, 1–6), (345, 25) καὶ ‘οὔτε γὰρ ἂν … οὔτε φράσαις’ (fr. 3, 7–8). λέγει δ’οὖν καὶ οὗτος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπὶ διττοῖς πράγμασιν, (346, 1) οὖσι καὶ μὴ οὖσι, διττὰς εἶναι τὰς γνώσεις, ἀλήθειαν, ἣν καὶ εὐφεγγῆ κέκληκεν ὡς τῷ φωτὶ τῷ νοερῷ διαλάμπουσαν, καὶ πίστιν, ἣν τῆς μονίμου γνώσεως ἀφεῖλεν.

168. *in Platonis Timaeum commentaria* ii, 68, 21–23; 69, 8–23 Diehl (*ad* 33^{b}1–8)
(68, 21) νῦν δὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν ἀπόδειξιν (sc. τοῦ σφαιροειδῆ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι) ὄντως ἀπόδειξιν οὖσαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ὅτι τὸ διότι παρεχομένην πρῶτον κατανοήσομεν … (69, 8) δεύτερον τοίνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος · τὸ γὰρ σφαιρικὸν καὶ τῷ (69, 10) λαμβάνοντι πρέπον ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ διδόντι καὶ τῷ παραδείγματι · τῷ λαμβάνοντι μέν, ὅτι τέλειον ὂν τῷ τελεωτάτῳ τῶν σχημάτων φίλον ἐστὶ καὶ πάντα περιειληφὸς τῷ πάντων περιληπτικῷ, τῷ διδόντι δέ, ὅτι νοῦς ὢν καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐστραμμένος ὁμοιότατον αὑτῷ καὶ πρέπον σχῆμα ἀπεγέννησεν · ὁ (69, 15) γὰρ νοῦς ‘ἐντόρνου σφαίρας’ κινήσει προσόμοιον ἔχει νόησιν, ὡς εἴρηκεν ἐν Νόμοις (x, 898$^{a\text{-}b}$), ‘κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ’ τεταγμένος · τῷ παραδείγματι δέ, διότι καὶ τὸ νοητὸν πᾶν τοιοῦτόν ἐστι πανταχόθεν εἰς ἑαυτὸ συννεῦον, (69, 20) ‘πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλές’ (fr. 8, 43) καὶ ‘μονῇ περιηγέι χαῖρον’ (Emped. fr. 27, 4; 28, 2) φησὶν ὁ Παρμενίδης, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς.

169. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 639, 28–30 Cousin

(639, 28) But how [will] the eternal participate in time? For such is the One Being according to Parmenides, (639, 30) "remaining the same and in the same state" (fr. 8, 29), as he himself says.

170. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 665, 16–31 Cousin (*ad* 126[a])

(665, 16) Further, Plato was not the only one who employed this (sc. brief, natural and clear discourse), but Parmenides himself too [did so] in his poetry. Even though on account of the poetic form he was obliged to employ metaphorical uses (665, 20) of words, figures of speech, and tropes, he nevertheless embraced the unadorned, spare and clear form of narrative. He shows this in the following: "for Being draws near to Being" (fr. 8, 25), (665, 25) and also, "since it is now all together" (fr. 8, 5), and also, "it must not be either at all greater or at all smaller in one regard than in another" (fr. 8, 44–45), (665, 30) and everything else of this sort. And so it appears to be prose rather than poetic discourse.

171. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 703, 33–37; 704, 12–705, 12 Cousin (*ad* 128[a–b])

(703, 33) So then prior to all the things-that-are there must be the Monad of Being, through which all things qua (703, 35) things-that-are are ordered in relation to one another: intellects, souls, natures, bodies, and in general everything said to be in any way whatsoever …. (704, 12) In fact, it is because he was looking off towards this unity of all things-that-are that Parmenides considered it right to call the All "one"—(704, 15) that which is in fact unified with reference to the One is most strictly and primarily all, and [is] the All without qualification. For all things, insofar as they participate in the One Being are somehow the same in one another. In fact, Zeno looked into the same hearth and source of things-that-are, (704, 20) and as he was looking towards it he made those impressive arguments, but he did not in his own right posit the One Being, nor did he demonstrate this directly in his writings; rather, as if he were writing an introduction to his master's lecture, he only eliminated (704, 25) the many, although certainly by positing them as not many he directs the argument towards the one. Moreover, as for "practically the same" (Plato, *Parm*. 128[b]5, cf. t. 4), it is reasonable [to say] "practically," since the one wrote in poems, the other in prose arguments; the one [wrote] for the purpose of establishing (704, 30) the proposed

169. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 639, 28–30 Cousin [132]
(639, 28) πῶς δὲ χρόνου μετέχον (sc. ἔσται) τὸ αἰώνιον; τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ κατὰ Παρμενίδην ἓν ὄν, ‘ταὐτὸν (639, 30) ἐν ταὐτῷ μίμνον’, ὡς αὐτός φησιν (fr. 8, 29).

170. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 665, 16–31 Cousin (*ad* 126[a])
(665, 16) καὶ οὐχ ὁ Πλάτων τοῦτο (sc. τὸν σύντομον καὶ αὐτοφυῆ καὶ καθαρὸν λόγον) ἐπιτετήδευκε μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παρμενίδης ἐν τῇ ποιήσει · καίτοι δι’ αὐτὸ δήπου τὸ ποιητικὸν εἶδος χρῆσθαι μεταφοραῖς (665, 20) ὀνομάτων καὶ σχήμασι καὶ τροπαῖς ὀφείλων, ὅμως τὸ ἀκαλλώπιστον καὶ ἰσχνὸν καὶ καθαρὸν εἶδος τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ἠσπάσατο. δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις · ‘ἐὸν γὰρ ἐόντι πελάζει’ (fr. 8, 25) (665, 25) καὶ πάλιν ‘ἐπεὶ [133]
νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν’ (fr. 8, 5) καὶ πάλιν ‘οὔτε τι μεῖζον οὔτε τι βαιότερον πελέν<αι> χρεών ἐστι τῇ ἢ τῇ’ (fr. 8, 44–45) (665, 30) καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ὥστε μᾶλλον πεζὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν ἢ ποιητικὸν λόγον.

171. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 703, 33–37; 704, 12–705, 12 Cousin (*ad* 128[a–b])
(703, 33) δεῖ δὴ οὖν καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων εἶναι τὴν μονάδα τοῦ ὄντος, δι’ ἣν τὰ πάντα ᾖ (703, 35) ὄντα συντέτακται πρὸς ἄλληλα, καὶ νόες καὶ ψυχαὶ καὶ φύσεις καὶ σώματα καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὁπωσοῦν εἶναι λεγόμενον …. (704, 12) καὶ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἕνωσιν πάντων τῶν ὄντων ὁ Παρμενίδης ἀποβλέπων ἓν τὸ πᾶν ἠξίου καλεῖν, κυριώτατα (704, 15) μὲν καὶ πρώτως πᾶν ὃ καὶ ἥνωται πρὸς τὸ ἕν, καὶ ἁπλῶς δὲ τὸ πᾶν · πάντα γάρ, καθόσον μετέχει τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος, τὰ αὐτά πώς ἐστιν ἐν ἀλλήλοις. ὁ δέ γε Ζήνων ἑώρα μὲν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑστίαν καὶ πηγὴν τῶν ὄντων (704, 20) καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην ὁρῶν ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς παμμήκεις ἐκείνους λόγους, οὐ μὴν αὐτόθεν ἐτίθετο τὸ ἓν ὂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο προηγουμένως ἀπεδείκνυ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων, ἀλλ’ οἷον προτέλεια γράφων τῆς τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἀκροάσεως ἀνῄρει (704, 25) μόνα τὰ πολλά · καίτοι αὐτὰ μὴ πολλὰ πάντως τιθεὶς ἄγει τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὸ ἕν. πάλιν οὖν ‘σχεδὸν τὰ αὐτὰ’ (Plato, *Parm.* 128[b]5, cf. t. 4) λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ σχεδὸν εἰκότως · ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ποιήμασιν, ὁ δὲ ἐν πεζοῖς λόγοις · καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προκειμένου (704, 30) θέσιν, ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ

thesis, the other for the purpose of eliminating the contradictory; the one [wrote] in accordance with the highest [kind of] dialectic, which discusses the things-that-are by means of simple intuitions, the other in accordance with an inferior [kind of dialectic], which proceeds via synthesis and arguments; the one is like (704, 35) intellect since it belongs to intellect to contemplate Being, since what is primarily is intelligible to the highest Intellect, while the other is like science, since the work of this is to contemplate contradictories simultaneously and to approve the true and reject the false. And one of them (i.e., Parmenides) (705, 1) "providing proofs beautifully and well," for a person who has ascended to true Being itself must possess a soul full of the beauty and goodness that stem from there, and this (705, 5) is the "beautifully" and "well," for his proofs are intellective by virtue of their own peculiar character, and "complete, simple and unshaken," as he says (*Phaedrus* 250^{c}1–2); while the other (i.e., Zeno) [provided] "a vast number of impressive" [arguments], for he proceeds to the expositions of arguments and (705, 10) to syntheses and divisions, unfolding and developing the unitary and tightly connected intuition of his master.

172. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 708, 7–709, 6 Cousin (*ad* 128^{b})

(708, 7) For as I said before as well, Parmenides was looking at Being itself, that which is transcendent of all things and the highest (708, 10) of things-that-are, in which Being is primarily revealed—[and he did so] not as a person ignorant of the plurality of intelligibles. For he is the one who said: "for Being draws near to Being, (fr. 8, 25), (708, 15) and also, "It is indifferent to me whence I begin, for to that place I shall come back again" (fr. 2), and elsewhere, "equally poised from the centre" (fr. 8, 44). (708, 20) In all these [passages] he proves that he posits that there are in fact many intelligibles, and among them there is both a ranking of the things that are primary, intermediate, and last, and an ineffable unity of them. He does this not as a person ignorant of the plurality of things-that-are, but as one who beholds that all (708, 25) this plurality proceeded from the One Being. For there is the source of Being, and the hearth, and that which is secretly, from which all things-that-are [are derived] and [from which they] have obtained their unity. For just as the very divine Plato himself knows many intelligible living beings, and (708, 30) hypothesizes that the unity of all of them and the incomprehensible aggregate for all of them are in that living being itself, which is monadic and unique, and

ἀντικειμένου ἀναίρεσιν · καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην διαλεκτικὴν τὴν ταῖς [133]
ἁπλαῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τὰ ὄντα διαλέγουσαν, ὁ δὲ κατά τινα δευτέραν τὴν διὰ
συνθέσεως καὶ λόγων ὁδεύουσαν · καὶ ὁ μὲν ὡς (704, 35) νοῦς, νοῦ γάρ ἐστι
τὸ ὂν θεωρεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ πρώτως ὂν τοῦ πρωτίστου νοῦ νοητόν ἐστιν,
ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπιστήμη, ταύτης γὰρ ἔργον ἅμα καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα θεωρεῖν
καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἐγκρίνειν τὸ δὲ ψευδὲς ἀποδοκιμάζειν · καὶ ὁ (705, 1)
μὲν ‘τεκμήρια παρεχόμενος καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ’, τὸν γὰρ ἀνηγμένον πρὸς
αὐτὸ τὸ ὄντως ὂν ἀνάγκη καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν καλλονῆς καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος
εἶναι πλήρη τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τοῦτο (705, 5) ἔστι τὸ ‘καλῶς’ καὶ τὸ ‘εὖ’, τὰ
γὰρ τούτου τεκμήρια νοερὰ μὲν ἦν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἰδιότητα, ‘ὁλόκληρα
δὲ καὶ ἁπλᾶ καὶ ἀτρεμῆ’ φησιν ἐκεῖνος (*Phaedr.* 250^{c}), ὁ δὲ ‘πάμπολλα
καὶ παμμεγέθη’, πρόεισι γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἀνελίξεις τῶν λόγων καὶ (705, 10)
τὰς συνθέσεις καὶ τὰς διαιρέσεις, ἀναπλῶν καὶ ἀναπτύσσων τὴν ἑνοειδῆ
καὶ συνημμένην τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἐπιβολήν.

172. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 708, 7–709, 6 Cousin (*ad* 128^{b})

(708, 7) ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παρμενίδης αὐτὸ τὸ ὂν ἑώρα, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον
εἴρηται, τὸ πάντων ἐξῃρημένον καὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον (708, 10) τῶν ὄντων,
καὶ ἐν ᾧ πρώτως ἐξεφάνη τὸ ὄν, οὐχ ὡς ἀγνοῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νοητῶν ·
αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ φάς · ‘ἐὸν γὰρ ἐόντι πελάζει’ (fr. 8, 25) καὶ πάλιν (708,
15) ‘ξυνὸν δέ μοί ἐστιν ὁπόθεν ἄρξομαι, τόθι γὰρ πάλιν ἵξομαι αὖθις’
(fr. 2) καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ‘μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλές’ (fr. 8, 44). (708, 20) διὰ γὰρ
τούτων ἁπάντων δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ πολλὰ εἶναι τίθεται νοητά, καὶ τάξιν [134]
ἐν τούτοις πρώτων καὶ μέσων καὶ τελευταίων καὶ ἕνωσιν ἄφραστον αὐτῶν,
οὐχ ὡς ἀγνοῶν οὖν τὸ τῶν ὄντων πλῆθος ἀλλ’ ὡς θεώμενος ὅτι πᾶν (708,
25) τοῦτο τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος προῆλθεν · ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἦν ἡ πηγὴ
τοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἡ ἑστία καὶ τὸ κρυφίως ὄν, ἀφ’ οὗ τὰ ὄντα πάντα καὶ τὴν
ἕνωσιν ἔλαχε. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ θειότατος Πλάτων οἶδε μὲν πολλὰ
ζῷα νοητά, πάντων (708, 30) δὲ ἕνωσιν καὶ περιοχὴν ἄληπτον πᾶσι περὶ
τὸ αὐτοζῷον ὑποτίθεται καὶ μοναδικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ μονογενὲς ὄν, καὶ οὔτε,

[hypothesizes that] the plurality of intelligible living beings is not eliminated just because it (i.e., living being itself) is unique, yet, on the other hand, neither [does he hypothesize] just because the plurality [of them] exists, that that which is prior to the plurality (708, 35) does not exist—in just this way Parmenides too knows that the intelligible plurality proceeds from the One Being and that prior to the many things-that-are, there is established the One Being in which the plurality of intelligible things (708, 40) has its unity. Therefore he is far from overturning (709, 1) the plurality that is everywhere simply because he posits the One, particularly since in those very [passages quoted above] he clearly posits that the things-that-are are many; but also, since he concedes to the many [things-that-are] that they are in some way or another dependent on the One Being, it is reasonable for him to be satisfied with this explanation, and so (709, 5) he calls Being "one."

Cf. **172a.** *Platonic Theology* 3, 20 (vol. iii, 71, 24 Saffrey-Westerink)
(71, 24) For the whole too is a thing-that-is, as Parmenides testifies.

173. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 997, 16–22 Cousin (*ad* 135^{e})
(997, 16) It seems to me to have been well said by the older [commentators] that Plato brought to completion the treatises of both Zeno and Parmenides, applying the "training" of the former (997, 20) to both contradictories and elevating the theorizing of the latter to the very thing that really is One, and doing both these things through [the character of] Parmenides.

174. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1032, 26–1033, 35 Cousin (*ad* 137^{b})
(1032, 26) But someone might ask us this very [question], how Parmenides, who spent his time [discussing] the One Being, has called his own hypothesis the One and says that he began from this as his own principle (Plato, *Parm.* 137^{b}). Now (1032, 30) some have previously said in fact that whereas Parmenides bases his entire treatment on Being, Plato, after discovering that the One is superior to both Being and all existence, corrects Parmenides, presenting him as basing (1032, 35) even his principle on the One. For just as Gorgias, Protagoras, and each of the other [philosophers] presents his own hypotheses better in Plato['s writings] than in his own, so too Parmenides is a better philosopher in

διότι μονογενὲς ἐκεῖνο, τὸ πλῆθος ἀναιρεῖται τῶν νοητῶν ζῴων, οὔτε αὖ, [134]
διότι τὸ πλῆθός ἐστι, τὸ πρὸ τοῦ πλήθους (708, 35) οὐχ ὑφέστηκεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης ἔκ τε τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος οἶδε τὸ πλῆθος τὸ νοητὸν προϊὸν καὶ πρὸ τῶν πολλῶν ὄντων τὸ ἓν ὂν ἱδρυμένον, περὶ ὃ τὸ τῶν νοητῶν πλῆθος τὴν ἕνωσιν ἔχειν. πολλοῦ ἄρα δεῖ τὸ πανταχοῦ (709, 1) πλῆθος ἀνατρέπειν διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς θέσιν, ὅς γε καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις δῆλός ἐστι πολλὰ τὰ ὄντα τιθέμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ εἶναι ὁπωσοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος διδοὺς (709, 5) εἰκότως ἀρκεῖται τῇ αἰτίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ οὕτως ἓν ἀποκαλεῖ τὸ ὄν.

Cf. **172a.** *theologia Platonica* iii, 20 (vol. iii, 71, 24 Saffrey-Westerink)
(71, 24) ὂν γάρ ἐστι καὶ τὸ ὅλον, ὡς Παρμενίδης μαρτυρεῖ.

173. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 997, 16–22 Cousin (*ad* 135[e])
(997, 16) εὖ μοι δοκεῖ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγεσθαι τὸ τὸν Πλάτωνα τὰ συγγράμματα τελειοῦν ἀμφοτέρων τοῦ τε Ζήνωνος καὶ τοῦ Παρμενίδου, τοῦ μὲν τὴν γυμνασίαν εἰς ἄμφω (997, 20) τὰ ἀντικείμενα προσάγοντα, τοῦ δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄντως ἓν ἀνάγοντα, καὶ ταῦτα ἄμφω διὰ τοῦ Παρμενίδου ποιοῦντα.

174. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1032, 26–1033, 35 Cousin (*ad* 137[b])
(1032, 26) ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄν τις ἡμᾶς ἐπανέροιτο, πῶς ὁ Παρμενίδης ὁ περὶ τὸ ἓν ὂν διατρίβων ἑαυτοῦ κέκληκεν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ ἓν καὶ ἀπὸ οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ταύτης ἄρξασθαί φησιν (Plato, *Parm.* 137[b]). ἤδη (1032, 30) μὲν οὖν τινες εἰρήκασι καὶ ὅτι, τοῦ Παρμενίδου περὶ τὸ ὂν ποιουμένου τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν, ὁ Πλάτων εὑρὼν ὅτι τὸ ἓν ἐπέκεινα καὶ ὄντος καὶ οὐσίας πάσης ἐστί, διορθούμενος τὸν Παρμενίδην αὐτὸν παραδίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς ποιούμενον (1032, 35) καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν · ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ Γοργίας καὶ Πρωταγόρας καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν ἄλλων ἄμεινον παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι διατίθησιν ἢ παρ᾽ αὑτῷ τὰς οἰκείας ὑποθέσεις, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης φιλοσοφώτερός

him (i.e., Plato) and more deeply initiated (1032, 40) than he is seen [to be] on his own. In fact, in this [passage] he says, "If One is" and not "If One Being is", (1033, 1) as if he is basing his account on the One alone and not on the One Being. Also in the following hypotheses, [he says] "If One is not." Also at the end of all [the hypotheses] [he says] that "If One is or is not, all things both are and are not," as (1033, 5) if in all [the hypotheses] he is considering the One and not the One Being. So Parmenides is being a Platonist when he calls his own hypothesis the hypothesis that hypothesizes the One. For, they say, what Plato added to his (i.e., Parmenides') theory (1033, 10) he (i.e., Plato) attributed to him (i.e., Parmenides himself). But the people who assert this would say they are not surprised that Parmenides does not appear saying anything about the One itself in his poems (since it is ineffable)—since they are defending his poems (1033, 15) for generating all things-that-are from Being. But in his unwritten conversations with Zeno he indicated something about it, to the extent possible in words. So it is reasonable that he called this hypothesis of his the (1033, 20) treatment of the One.

But if we must speak most truly, we should put it the way our master (sc. Syrianus) instructed: that on the one hand he (sc. Parmenides) begins from the One Being, for [the claim] "If One is," which contains "is" as well as "One," belongs to this rank of things, (1033, 25) but that on the other hand he ascends from the One Being to the One, thus proving clearly that what is strictly One wants only this—to be one—and it snatches itself away from Being, and the One Being is inferior to this, because it (i.e., the One) proceeds into Being through descent, (1033, 30) whereas the One itself is superior even to "is" and [to the hypothesis] "If it is," for as soon as "is" [is added], what is strictly one does not remain. And so it is true that he hypothesizes true Being and the One Being, and that through this hypothesis he ascends to the One itself, which he (i.e., Plato) (1033, 35) in the *Republic* calls unhypothetical.

175. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1077, 19–1079, 13 Cousin (*ad* 137^{c})

(1077, 19) In addition to these [points] one might reasonably investigate a fifth: (1077, 20) since Parmenides said he would begin from his own One, how does he begin from denials of the one rather than affirmations, when in his poetry he affirms all things of it and denies nothing. For (1077, 25) he declares it to be "whole of limb" (fr. 8, 4) and "unshaken" (fr. 8, 4), and says that it is necessary for it to be, and unthinkable for it

ἐστι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐποπτικώτερος (1032, 40) ἢ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ὁρώμενος · ἐπεὶ [134]
καὶ ἐν τούτοις ‘εἰ ἕν ἐστι’ φησίν, οὐκ ‘εἰ ἓν ὄν ἐστιν’, (1033, 1) ὡς ἂν περὶ
μόνου τοῦ ἑνὸς ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος, καὶ ἐπὶ
τῶν ἑξῆς ὑποθέσεων, εἰ ἓν οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει πασῶν ὡς εἴτε ἕν ἐστιν
ἢ (1033, 5) οὐκ ἔστι, πάντα καὶ ἔστι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς ἂν τὸ ἓν σκοπῶν
ἐν πάσαις ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τὸ ἓν ὄν. Πλατωνικὸς οὖν ὁ Παρμενίδης ὢν ἑαυτοῦ [135]
κέκληκεν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τὸ ἓν ὑποτιθεμένην · ὃ γὰρ τῇ ἐκείνου θεωρίᾳ
προσέθηκεν ὁ Πλάτων, (1033, 10) τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ φασὶ φέρων ἀνέθηκεν.
οὐκ ἂν δὲ θαυμάζειν φαῖεν ἂν οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες, εἰ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑνὸς
ἐν μὲν τοῖς ποιήμασιν οὐ φαίνεταί τι λέγων ὁ Παρμενίδης, ἄρρητον γάρ
ἐστιν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ ποιημάτων ἀπολογούμενοι (1033, 15) ἀπὸ τοῦ
ὄντος τὰ ὄντα πάντα γεννώντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀγράφοις πρὸς τὸν Ζήνωνα
συνουσίαις ἐνεδείκνυτό τι περὶ αὐτοῦ, καθόσον λόγοις ἦν δυνατόν, εἰκότως
δ᾽ οὖν ἑαυτοῦ ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀπεκάλεσε τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς (1033, 20)
πραγματείαν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τἀληθέστατα λέγειν, οὑτωσὶ ῥητέον, ὡς ὁ ἡμέτερος
ὑφηγεῖτο καθηγεμών (sc. Συριανός) · ἄρχεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς
ὄντος, τὸ γὰρ εἰ ἕν ἐστιν, ἔχον πρὸς τῷ ἓν καὶ τὸ ἔστι, ταύτῃ προσήκει
τῇ τάξει τῶν πραγμάτων, (1033, 25) ἀνατρέχειν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ
τὸ ἕν, δεικνύντα σαφῶς ὅτι τὸ κυρίως ἓν μόνον τοῦτο βούλεται τὸ ἓν εἶναι
καὶ ἁρπάζει ἑαυτὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ὡς δεύτερον ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ ἓν ὂν
διὰ τὴν ὕφεσιν εἰς τὸ εἶναι προελθόν, (1033, 30) αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἓν κρεῖττον
καὶ τοῦ ἔστι καὶ ὡς εἰ ἔστιν, ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ἔστιν οὐ μένει τὸ κυρίως ἕν ·
ὥστε καὶ ὅτι τὸ ὄντως ὂν ὑποτίθεται καὶ τὸ ἓν ὄν, ἀληθές, καὶ ὅτι διὰ
τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης ἄνεισιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ ἕν, ὅπερ αὐτὸς (sc. Πλάτων)
(1033, 35) ἀνυπόθετον ἐν Πολιτείᾳ προσονομάζει.
ἀπολογούμενοι: ἀπολογούμενος codd.

175. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1077, 19–1079, 13 Cousin (*ad* 137ᶜ)

(1077, 19) ἐκεῖνο δ᾽ἄν τις πέμπτον εἰκότως ἐπὶ τούτοις (1077, 20) ζητήσειε,
πῶς, εἰ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου ἑνὸς ὁ Παρμενίδης εἶπε ποιήσεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπὸ
τῶν ἀποφάσεων ἄρχεται τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τῶν καταφάσεων, αὐτὸς πάντα
καταφάσκων ἐκείνου καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποφάσκων ἐν τῇ ποιήσει. καὶ γὰρ (1077,
25) ‘οὐλομελές’ φησιν αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ ‘ἀτρεμές’ (fr. 8, 4), εἶναί τέ φησιν

not to be, and that anyone who says that it is not is mistaken. (1078, 1) For the path that declares that it is "of persuasion" (fr. 3, 4), according to him, while the one saying that it is not "and that it must needs not be, (1078, 5) this I tell you is an unpersuasive path" (fr. 3, 5–6). And in general he applies many [attributes] to it, writing both that it is able to be spoken and that it is intelligible (fr. 5, 1 etc.). Since the Parmenidean One has such a nature, how, then—when he himself says in this [passage] that it is from this that (1078, 10) he will begin the "training" he proposes—does he proceed first through the denials of the things he himself affirmed in those passages of his own One? To this inquiry too it should be stated that also the Stranger in the *Sophist*, after setting out to prove, on the basis of [the doctrine of] his first teacher (i.e., Parmenides), (1078, 15) that the One Being is superior to the many things-that-are and, in this way Parmenides was right to classify the One Being as prior to the many, investigated whether the Parmenidean One is really one and whether it is the same for it to be one and to be a thing-that-is, (1078, 20) or alternatively whether one and being are different in their own nature. And after investigating he proved that if indeed the One Being is some whole, as Parmenides said, and has a beginning and an end, being partitioned into these [parts] and "whole of limb," (fr. 8, 4) it must have one as an attribute (1078, 25) and must participate in the [attribute] one through being whole, without, however, being itself that which is truly one. But the principle must participate in nothing else because what participates (1079, 1) must be inferior to that in which it participates, since it is in need of something else, namely, that in which it strives to participate. And so if anyone were to pursue the thesis he will deny to the One all the attributes that the person who (1079, 5) posited the One affirmed that it has. And so in this [passage] too Parmenides began, as we have said many times, from his own One, which has one as an attribute, and after he had looked off at the One qua one—itself alone and not as having the one as an attribute, but as one—and after beholding its participation, (1079, 10) he elevated his account up to the pure conception of the One, and through this he knew that all the things necessarily [belong] negatively [to the One] that he applied affirmatively to what has one as an attribute, but not to the One Being itself.

Cf. *Theologia Platonica* iii, 20, (vol. iii, 72, Saffrey-Westerink)

αὐτὸ ἀναγκαῖον, μὴ εἶναι δὲ ἀδόκητον, σφάλλεσθαί τε τὸν λέγοντα αὐτὸ [135]
μὴ εἶναι. (1078, 1) καὶ γὰρ ἡ μὲν εἶναι φάσκουσα αὐτὸ κέλευθος ‘πειθοῦς
ἐστι’ κατ’ αὐτόν (fr. 3, 4), ἡ δὲ μὴ εἶναι λέγουσα ‘καὶ ὡς χρεών ἐστι μὴ εἶναι,
(1078, 5) τὴν δέ τοι φράζω ἀπειθέα ἔμμεν ἀταρπόν’ (fr. 3, 5–6). καὶ ὅλως
πολλὰ κατατείνει περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς ῥητόν ἐστι γράφων καὶ ὡς νοητόν (fr.
5, 1 etc.). πῶς οὖν τοῦ Παρμενιδείου ἑνὸς τοιάνδε φύσιν ἔχοντος, ἐν τούτοις
εἰπὼν αὐτὸς ἀπ’ ἐκείνου (1078, 10) ποιήσεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς προκειμένης
αὐτῷ γυμνασίας διὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων ὁδεύει πρώτων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν ἐκείνοις
τοῦ οἰκείου κατέφησεν ἑνός; λεκτέον δὴ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ζήτησιν ὅτι
καὶ ὁ ἐν Σοφιστῇ ξένος ἐκ τοῦ διδασκάλου (1078, 15) πρώτου ὡρμημένος
δεῖξαι τὸ ἓν ὂν ἐπέκεινα τῶν πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν Παρμενίδην
κατορθοῦντα προτάξαντα τῶν πολλῶν τὸ ἓν ὂν ἐζήτησεν εἰ ὄντως ἕν ἐστι
τὸ Παρμενίδειον ἓν καὶ ταὐτόν ἐστιν ἑνί τε αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ ὄντι, (1078,
20) ἢ ἄλλο μὲν τὸ ἓν τῇ αὐτοῦ φύσει ἄλλο δὲ τὸ ὄν · καὶ ζητήσας ἔδειξεν,
εἴπερ ὅλον τί ἐστι τὸ ἓν ὄν, ὡς ὁ Παρμενίδης εἶπε, καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχον καὶ [136]
τέλος, μεμερισμένον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ οὐλομελὲς ὄν, πεπονθέναι μὲν αὐτὸ
ἀναγκαῖον τὸ (1078, 25) ἓν καὶ μετέχειν διὰ τὸ ὅλον τοῦ ἑνός, οὐ μέντοιγε
αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ ἀληθῶς ἕν · δεῖν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδενὸς ἑτέρου μετέχειν,
διότι τοῦ μετεχομένου (1079, 1) δεύτερον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ μετέχον ὡς
δεόμενον ἄλλου του καὶ οὗ ἐφίεται μετέχειν · ὥστε εἴ τις ἐφέποιτο τῇ
θέσει, τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀποφήσει πάντα ὅσα κατέφησεν ὁ πεπονθὸς αὐτὸ (1079, 5)
θέμενος τὸ ἕν. ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν, ὡς πολλάκις εἴπομεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου ἑνὸς
καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὁ Παρμενίδης, ὅπερ ἦν πεπονθὸς τὸ ἕν, ἀπιδὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἓν
ᾗ ἕν, αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ οὐχ ὡς πεπονθὸς τὸ ἓν ἀλλ’ ὡς ἕν, θεασάμενος τὴν
μέθεξιν (1079, 10) ἀνήγαγε τὸν λόγον εἰς τὴν ἀκραιφνῆ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἔννοιαν,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα οἶδεν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀποφατικῶς ὅσα τῷ πεπονθότι τὸ
ἓν ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἑνὶ ὄντι προσῆγε καταφατικῶς.

Cf. *theologia Platonica* iii, 20 (vol. iii, 72 Saffrey-Westerink).

176. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1079, 35–1080, 4 Cousin (*ad* 137[c])
(1079, 35) We declare, then, that Intellect also knows the Forms and grasps the intelligibles by intellections that are coordinate with them, and this is (1080, 1) a kind of affirmative knowledge; "For Being draws near to Being" (fr. 8, 25) and it is what it intelligizes and it intelligizes what it says, and therefore through its intellection, Intellect in some way says what it is.

177. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1084, 18–36 Cousin (*ad* 137[c])
(1084, 18) It is easy to prove that these [attributes] are in the Monad, (1084, 20) but to them it must be added as well that the Monad is a representation of Intellect, and so all these [attributes] are contained in advance much earlier in Intellect and are consequently denied of the One, because it is above Intellect and all intellective existence. For it is precisely because he (1084, 25) beheld these [attributes] that Parmenides, in his verses about true Being, there names [it] "sphere," "whole," "same," and "different." For it is at the same time, "like the volume of a spherical ball, and equally poised in every direction from the centre" (fr. 8, 43–44), and he calls it "whole of limb" (fr. 8, 4) and "unmoved" (fr. 8, 4). (1084, 30) And so all these [attributes] are primarily in Intellect and are in the Monad and the sensible universe secondarily and after the manner of an image—in the latter physically and in the former mathematically. For the sphere on the intelligible level is the Intellect; on the level of discursive thought it (i.e., the sphere) is the Monad, (1084, 35) and on the level of the senses it (i.e., the sphere) is this cosmos, which bears in itself images of the eternal gods.

178. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1129, 26–1130, 7 Cousin (*ad* 137[e])
(1129, 26) Now some have previously said that "straight" (Plato, *Parm.* 137[e]) here is the unbendingness and immutability of Intellect, and "round" is its convergence on itself and its acting on itself. (1129, 30) Parmenides mentions the latter [attribute in the following passage]: "like the volume of a spherical ball, and equally poised in every direction from the centre" (fr. 8, 43–44), in declaring his opinion about Being—whence some even say (1129, 35) that in this demonstration Plato is reminding the Parmenides who wrote poems that the One transcends every shape,

176. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1079, 35–1080, 4 Cousin (*ad* 137[c]) [136]
(1079, 35) φαμὲν δὴ ὅτι καὶ ὁ νοῦς ταῖς μὲν συζύγοις πρὸς τὰ εἴδη νοήσεσιν αὐτὰ γινώσκει καὶ περιλαμβάνει τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ἔστιν (1080, 1) αὐτὴ καταφατική τις ἡ γνῶσις · ‘ἐὸν γὰρ ἐόντι πελάζει’ (fr. 8, 25), καὶ ὃ νοεῖ, τοῦτο ἔστιν, ὃ δὲ λέγει, τοῦτο νοεῖ, ὃ ἄρα ἐστί, τοῦτο λέγει πως ὁ νοῦς διὰ τῆς νοήσεως.

177. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1084, 18–36 Cousin (*ad* 137[c])
(1084, 18) ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν ἐν τῇ μονάδι ταῦτα (sc. τὰ ἀποφασκόμενα τοῦ ἑνός), δεικνύειν ῥᾴδιον, (1084, 20) προσθετέον δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅτι νοῦ μίμημά ἐστιν ἡ μονάς, ὥστε πολλῷ πρότερον ἐν τῷ νῷ ταῦτα πάντα προείληπται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποφάσκεται τοῦ ἑνός, ὅτι ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἐστι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν νοερὰν οὐσίαν. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης (1084, 25) θεώμενος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι περὶ τὸ ὄντως ὂν ἐκεῖ καὶ σφαῖραν ἀποτίθεται καὶ ὅλον καὶ ταὐτὸν καὶ ἕτερον · ἅμα γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ ‘σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ’ (fr. 8, 43–44) καὶ ‘οὐλομελὲς’ ἐπονομάζει ‘καὶ ἀτρεμές’ (fr. 8, 4) · (1084, 30) ὥστε πάντα ταῦτα πρώτως μέν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ νῷ, δευτέρως δὲ καὶ εἰκονικῶς ἔν τε τῇ μονάδι καὶ τῷ αἰσθητῷ παντί, φυσικῶς μὲν ἐν τούτῳ, μαθηματικῶς δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῃ · ἡ σφαῖρα γὰρ νοητὴ μὲν ὁ νοῦς, διανοητὴ δὲ ἡ μονάς, (1084, 35) αἰσθητὴ δὲ ὁ κόσμος οὗτος εἰκόνας φέρων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἀιδίων θεῶν.

178. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1129, 26–1130, 7 Cousin (*ad* 137[e])
(1129, 26) ἤδη μὲν οὖν τινες τοῦτο τὸ εὐθὺ (sc. Plat. *Parm.* 137[e]) τὸ ἀκλινὲς εἰρήκασιν εἶναι τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄτρεπτον, τὸ δὲ στρογγύλον τὸ εἰς ἑαυτὸ συννεῦον καὶ τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸ ἐνεργοῦν. (1129, 30) τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Παρμενίδης μνημονεύει ‘σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ’ (fr. 8, 43–44) τὸ ὂν ἀποφαινόμενος, ὅθεν καί φασί τινες (1129, 35) τὸν Πλάτωνα διὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ταύτης ὑπομιμνήσκειν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι Παρμενίδην, ὡς τὸ ἓν ἐξῄρηται παντὸς σχήματος περιφεροῦς

round and straight. But we do not accept these [claims] which set the philosophies of the ancients at odds (1130, 1) and make Parmenides his own accuser, especially on a Platonic stage in which there have been many declarations about Parmenides in particular that proclaim Plato's awe of that man. (1130, 5) For it is because the two men are looking at different Ones that the one (i.e., Plato) denies and the other (i.e., Parmenides) affirms the spherical form of the One.

179. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1134, 17–31 Cousin (*ad* 138[a])
(1134, 17) Again, when some Platonists say that Plato there (*Parm*. 138[a]) contradicts the Parmenides who wrote poems, we will not accept (1134, 20) their account. For that man (i.e., Parmenides) says about his own One that, "remaining the same and in the same state … it is not lawful that Being should be incomplete" (fr. 8, 29–32). (1134, 27) But as these passages in fact show, he is philosophizing about Being, not about the One. And indeed these are precisely the [attributes] that the second (1134, 30) hypothesis, which combines Being with the One, will affirm of it.

180. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1152, 18–1153, 9 Cousin (*ad* 138[b])
(1152, 18) He (i.e., Plato) now proceeded to another problem, declaring that the one is neither moved nor (1152, 20) at rest. In fact Parmenides affirmed this [latter claim] in his own poems, and reasonably so, since in them he was philosophizing about the One Being, just as this man (i.e., Plato)will affirm these [attributes] in the second hypothesis. At any rate, that man (i.e., Parmenides) says on one occasion, (1152, 25) "entire, single-limbed, unmoved, and ungenerated" (fr. 8, 4), and again, "Further, it is changeless in the coils of huge bonds" (fr. 8, 26), and again, "It remains the same and in the same state, it lies by itself" (fr. 8, 29), (1152, 30) and again, "And remains thus where it is perpetually (fr. 8, 30); but on other occasions he says, "There the same thing is for conceiving as is for being" (fr. 4), and again, (1152, 35) "For not without Being, when predications have been asserted of it, will you find the cause so as to conceive of it" (fr. 8, 35–36), and again, "Gaze on even absent things with your mind as present, and do so steadily" (fr. 6, 1). Now in these latter [passages], by putting intellection in Being he clearly admits that some motion belongs to it, namely, intellectual [motion], (1153, 1) which Plato knows as well, since he is the one who says that it is not even possible to conceive of

καὶ εὐθέος. ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἀποδεχόμεθα διϊστάν<τα> τὰς τῶν [137]
παλαιῶν φιλοσοφίας (1130, 1) καὶ αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ ποιοῦντα τὸν Παρμενίδην κατήγορον, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν Πλατωνικῇ σκηνῇ, παρ᾽ ἧ πολλαὶ καὶ τοῦ Παρμενίδου γεγόνασιν ἀναρρήσεις τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον (1130, 5) σέβας ἀνακηρύττουσαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν εἰς ἄλλο ἕν, ὁ δὲ εἰς ἄλλο βλέπων ἀποφάσκει τὸ σφαιρικὸν εἶδος ἢ καταφάσκει τοῦ ἑνός.

179. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1134, 17–31 Cousin (*ad* 138[a])
(1134, 17) πάλιν δὲ ὅταν λέγωσιν ἐνταῦθά (sc. *Parm.* 138[a]) τινες τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ἀντιλέγειν τῷ Παρμενίδῃ τῷ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι τὸν Πλάτωνα, οὐκ ἀποδεξόμεθα (1134, 20) τοῦ λόγου. λέγει μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος περὶ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἑνὸς ὅτι ‘ταὐτὸν ἐν ταὐτῷ … θέμις εἶπεν’ (fr. 8, 29–32). (1134, 27) ἀλλ᾽ ὡς καὶ αὗται δηλοῦσιν αἱ ῥήσεις, περὶ τοῦ ὄντος φιλοσοφεῖ ταῦτα καὶ οὐ περὶ τοῦ ἑνός · ἃ δὴ καὶ ἡ δευτέρα καταφήσει περὶ (1134, 30) ἐκείνου ὑπόθεσις μετὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς συμπλέκουσα τὸ ὄν.

180. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1152, 18–1153, 9 Cousin (*ad* 138[b])
(1152, 18) καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο μὲν αὐτὸς πρόβλημα μετῆλθεν ἀποφαίνων τὸ ἓν μήτε κινούμενον μήτε (1152, 20) ἑστώς, ὃ δὴ ὁ Παρμενίδης κατέφησεν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποιήμασιν εἰκότως, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἐν ἐκείνοις φιλοσοφῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ὑποθέσει ταῦτα καταφήσει. λέγει γοῦν ἐκεῖνος τοτὲ μὲν (1152, 25) ‘οὖλον μουνομελές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ᾽ ἀγένητον’ (fr. 8, 4) καὶ πάλιν ‘αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον μεγάλων ἐν πείρασι δεσμῶν’ (ib. 26) καὶ πάλιν ‘ταὐτὸν ἐν ταὐτῷ μίμνει καθ᾽ ἑαυτό τε κεῖται’ (ib. 29) (1152, 30) καὶ πάλιν ‘οὕτως ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένει’ (ib. 30), τοτὲ δὲ ‘ταὐτόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖ νοεῖν τε καὶ εἶναι’ (fr. 4) καὶ πάλιν (1152, 35) ‘οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐόντος ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πεφατισμένον ἐστὶν εὑρήσεις τὸ νοεῖν’ (fr. 8, 35–36), καὶ πάλιν ‘λεῦσσε δ᾽ ὅμως ἀπεόντα νόῳ παρεόντα βεβαίως’ (fr. 6, 1). διὰ μὲν οὖν τούτων νοεῖν ἐν τῷ ὄντι θέμενος, δῆλός ἐστι κίνησιν αὐτῷ τινα τὴν νοητικὴν (1153, 1) δήπου συγχωρῶν ὑπάρχειν, ἣν καὶ Πλάτων οἶδεν·

intellect without motion. And so if according to Parmenides there is intellection in the One Being, (1153, 5) there is motion as well, since together with intellection there is certainly life, and every living thing is moved precisely in virtue of living. But in the former [passages], of course, he declares that the One Being is unmoved, calling it "unshaken" and "remaining" and of its own nature "unmoved."

181. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1161, 12–15 Cousin (*ad* 138[c])
(1161, 12) Furthermore, even Parmenides himself, calling Being a sphere and saying that it intelligizes, will obviously (1161, 15) call its intellection spherical motion.

182. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1177, 1–5 Cousin (*ad* 139[b])
(1177, 1) Consider how he denies these [attributes] too—I mean, sameness and difference—of the One, knowing that the Parmenides who wrote poems put them in the One Being. At any rate he (i.e., Parmenides) says, (1177, 5) "It remains the same and in the same state, it lies by itself" (fr. 8, 29).

183. *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* 1240, 29–37 Cousin (*ad* 141[e])
(1240, 29) Now if the first [principle] is above (1240, 30) existence and above all being, it is also false even that it is, for it is superior to and transcends even being. This is how the Parmenides in Plato differs from the Parmenides who wrote verses, because the latter looks to the One Being and declares that this (1240, 35) is the cause of all things, while the former [looks to] the One, ascending from the One Being to what is only one and is prior to being.

αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λέγων ὅτι νοῦν ἄνευ κινήσεως οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι δυνατόν · [137]
ὥστε εἰ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ ὄντι νόησις κατὰ Παρμενίδην, (1153, 5) ἔστι καὶ ἡ κίνησις, ἐπεὶ καὶ ζωὴ πάντως ἅμα τῷ νοεῖν ἐστι, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ζῶν κινεῖται κατ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν. διὰ δὲ τῶν προτέρων ἀκίνητον δήπου φησὶν εἶναι τὸ ἓν ὄν, ἀτρεμὲς αὐτὸ καὶ μένον καλῶν καὶ αὐτόθεν ἀκίνητον.

181. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1161, 12–15 Cousin (*ad* 138[c])
(1161, 12) καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παρμενίδης σφαῖραν ἀποκαλῶν τὸ ὂν καὶ νοεῖν αὐτὸ λέγων δῆλον ὅτι (1161, 15) καὶ τὴν νόησιν αὐτοῦ κίνησιν προσερεῖ σφαιρικήν.

182. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1177, 1–5 Cousin (*ad* 139[b])
(1177, 1) σκόπει δὲ ὅπως καὶ ταῦτα, τὸ ταὐτὸν λέγω καὶ τὸ ἕτερον, ἀποφάσκει τοῦ ἑνός, εἰδὼς, ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ ὄντι τὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτὰ Παρμενίδην εἶναι θέμενον. λέγει γοῦν ἐκεῖνος (1177, 5) ‘ταὐτόν τ᾽ ἐν [138]
ταὐτῷ μίμνει καθ᾽ ἑαυτό τε κεῖται’ (fr. 8, 29).

183. *in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria* 1240, 29–37 Cousin (*ad* 141[e])
(1240, 29) εἰ οὖν τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ (1240, 30) οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν ἐστι πᾶν, καὶ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ ψεῦδος. ἐπέκεινα γὰρ ἐξῄρηται καὶ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ ταύτῃ διέστηκεν ὁ παρὰ Πλάτωνι Παρμενίδης τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν, ὅτι ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸ ἓν ὂν βλέπει καὶ τοῦτό φησιν (1240, 35) εἶναι πάντων αἴτιον, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἕν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος εἰς τὸ μόνως ἓν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἀναδραμών.

184. *Platonic Theology* i, 9 (vol. i, 34, 17–35, 19; 36, 3–9 Saffrey-Westerink)
(34, 17)How, then, is it still possible to fob off with empty arguments these intuitions which the great Parmenides indicated require a lengthy treatment (*Parm*. 137^{b}) (34, 20) and about which he went through all his argument? How [is it possible] for an elderly man to spend time on mere words and (35, 1) to give so much effort to the power concerned with this—a man fond of contemplating the truth of things-that-are and reckoning that all the other things do not even exist, who had ascended to the very highest contemplation of the One Being—unless someone (35, 5) were to say that Parmenides is being made pointlessly being made fun of by Plato, being dragged down from the most intellective of the things beheld by the soul into competitions suitable for the young? But, if you like, let us consider the following point too in addition to what has already been said: just what did Parmenides promise and on what (35, 10) did he say he would base his account when he applied himself to this treatment? Was it not about Being as he understood it, and the unit of all things-that-are—and straining towards it he forgot that he was urging the many to bring together into one inseparable unity the plurality of things-that-are? Now if this (35, 15) is the One Being which he treated in his poems too, but the One Being, then, either … † … highest, which is established as completely superior to the accounts brought in the *Opinion,* what means is there to blend into a single thing the doctrines about intelligibles together with the arguments that have to do with opinion? … (36, 3) Therefore Parmenides—the man who puts the knowledge of things-that-are (36, 5) superior to the truth that appears to be in the view of those who put sensation ahead of intellect—is far from being about to elevate the knowledge that has to do with opinion to intelligible nature, since it is ambiguous, variable and unstable, or to contemplate real Being by means of this kind of pretended wisdom and empty treatment.

185. *Platonic Theology* i, 14 (vol. i, 66, 3–5; 66, 8–9 Saffrey-Westerink)
(66, 3) But if this Intellect is essentially Intellect (sc. the Intellect that maintains the entire heaven) (since, Parmenides declares, "Conceiving and being are the same thing" (fr. 4).) (66, 5) and is god in virtue of participation …. (66, 8) it is surely necessary for the whole heaven too to depend on its (i.e., Intellect's) divinity and unity.

184. *theologia platonica* i, 9 (i, 34, 17–35, 19; 36, 3–9 Saffrey-Westerink) [138]
(34, 17) πῶς οὖν ἔτι δυνατὸν εἰς ἐπιχειρήσεις διακένους ἀποπέμπειν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ταύτας, περὶ ὧν ὁ μέγας Παρμενίδης ὡς πολλῆς πραγματείας δεομένων ἐνδειξάμενος (Plat. *Parm*. 137[b]) (34, 20) διεπεράνατο τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον; πῶς δὲ πρεσβυτικὸν ἐν λόγοις γυμνοῖς διατρίβειν καὶ τῇ περὶ ταύτην (35, 1) δυνάμει τηλικαύτην ἀποδιδόναι σπουδὴν τὸν τῆς τῶν ὄντων ἀληθείας φιλοθεάμονα καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἄλλα μηδὲ εἶναι λογιζόμενον, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ἀναβεβηκότα τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος περιωπήν; εἰ μή τις ἄλλως κωμῳδεῖσθαι (35, 5) τὸν Παρμενίδην ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος λέγοι καθελκόμενον εἰς νεοπρεπεῖς ἀγῶνας ἀπὸ τῶν νοερωτάτων τῆς ψυχῆς θεαμάτων. εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις θεασώμεθα, τί ποτε ὑποσχόμενος ὁ Παρμενίδης καὶ περὶ τίνος ποιήσεσθαι (35, 10) τὸν λόγον εἰπὼν ἐφήψατο τῆς τοιαύτης πραγματείας. ἆρ᾽ οὐ περὶ τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ὄντος καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων ἑνάδος, ἐφ᾽ ἣν ἀνατεινόμενος ἐλελήθει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς τὰ πλήθη τῶν ὄντων εἰς μίαν ἕνωσιν ἀδιάκριτον συνάγειν παρακελευόμενος; εἰ τοίνυν τοῦτο μέν (35, 15) ἐστι τὸ ἓν ὂν ὑπὲρ οὗ κἀν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἐπραγματεύετο, τὸ δὲ ἓν ὂν εἴτ᾽ οὖν † ἀκρότατον ὃ ὑπερίδρυται παντελῶς τῶν ἐν δόξῃ φερομένων λόγων, τίς μηχανὴ συμφύρειν εἰς ταὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν δόγματα ταῖς δοξαστικαῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσιν; … (36, 3) πολλοῦ ἄρα δεῖ Παρμενίδης ὁ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ὄντων τῆς δοκούσης εἶναι (36, 5) παρὰ τοῖς τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῦ νοῦ προβεβλημένοις ἀληθείας ἐπέκεινα [τοῦ νοῦ] τιθέμενος τὴν δοξαστικὴν γνῶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν νοητὴν φύσιν ἀνάξειν ἀμφίβολον οὖσαν καὶ ποικίλην καὶ ἀστάθμητον, ἢ τὸ ὄντως ὂν μετὰ τῆς τοιαύτης δοξοσοφίας καὶ τῆς διακένου πραγματείας θεωρήσειν.

† lacunam signaverunt Saffrey-Westerink.

185. *theologia platonica* i, 14 (i, 66, 3–5; 66, 8–9 Saffrey-Westerink)
(66, 3) εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς οὗτος (sc. ὁ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν συνέχων) κατ᾽ οὐσίαν μέν ἐστι νοῦς, ἐπεὶ ταὐτόν ἐστι τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ εἶναι, φησὶν ὁ Παρμενίδης (fr. 4), (66, 5) κατὰ μέθεξιν δὲ θεός …. (66, 8) ἀνάγκη δήπου καὶ τὸν ὅλον < οὐρανὸν> εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα καὶ ἕνωσιν ἀνηρτῆσθαι.

HERMIAS

186. *Notes on Plato's Phaedrus* 122, 19–22 Bouillon

(122, 19) Plato was not the first (122, 20) to employ a charioteer and horses; the divinely inspired poets Homer (*Iliad* 8, 438 f.), Orpheus (fr. 78, Kern) and Parmenides [had done so] before him. But being divinely inspired they spoke without giving an explanation, since they were speaking under the influence of divine inspiration.

AMMONIUS

187. *Commentary on Aristotle's De Interpretatione* 133, 16–24 Busse (*ad* 18[a]28)

(133, 16) For in the first place, as Timaeus taught us (Plato, *Ti.* 37[e]) and also as Aristotle himself declares while discussing theology (*metaph.* Λ 7, 1072[a]25) and Parmenides before them—not only the one in Plato (*Parm.* 141[e]) but also the one who wrote his own verses (fr. 8, 5)—among the gods there is nothing either past (133, 20) or future, since in fact each of these is not a thing-that-is—the one [is] no longer, the other [is] not yet, the one has changed and the other is of a nature to change—and it is impossible to apply things of that sort to things that really are and do not admit change, or can even be imagined to. For what is completely unchanging must precede that which changes in any way whatsoever, in order that it may in fact persist while changing.

188. *Commentary on Aristotle's De Interpretatione* 136, 17–25 Busse (*ad* 18[a]28)

(136, 17) For we will not permit ourselves to say that the gods' knowledge parallels the flux of things or that there is anything among them (i.e., the gods) either past or future, nor, as we have learned in the *Timaeus* (Plato, *Ti.* 37[e]), is (136, 20) "was" or "will be," which are significant of some change, said of them (i.e., the gods), but only "is," and not the one ["is"] that is counted together with "was" and "will be" and is coordinate [with them], but the ["is"] that is conceived of as prior to all appearance of time and that signifies their (i.e., the gods') immutability and unchangeability. This is what the great Parmenides too declared to belong to every intelligible thing: "For it was not, (136, 25) nor will it be," he says, "all together, but it only is" (fr. 8, 5).

HERMIAS [139]

186. *in Platonis Phaedrum scholia* 122, 19–22 Bouillon

(122, 19) οὐ πρῶτος δὲ ὁ (122, 20) Πλάτων ἡνίοχον καὶ ἵππους παρέλαβεν ἀλλὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἔνθεοι τῶν ποιητῶν, Ὅμηρος (**Θ** 438 sq.), Ὀρφεύς (fr. 78 Kern), Παρμενίδης · ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων μὲν ἅτε ἐνθέων ἄνευ αἰτίας εἴρηται · ἐνθουσιῶντες γὰρ ἔλεγον.

AMMONIUS

187. *in Aristotelis de interpretatione commentarius* 133, 16–24 Busse (*ad* 18[a]28)

(133, 16) πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὁ Τίμαιος ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξε (Plat. *Tim.* 37[e]) καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης θεολογῶν ἀποφαίνεται (*metaph.* Λ 7, 1072[a]25) καὶ πρὸ τούτων ὁ Παρμενίδης, οὐχ ὁ παρὰ Πλάτωνι μόνον (*Parm.* 141[e]) ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἔπεσιν (fr. 8, 5), οὐδέν ἐστι παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς οὔτε παρεληλυθὸς (133, 20) οὔτε μέλλον, εἴ γε τούτων μὲν ἑκάτερον οὐκ ὄν, τὸ μὲν οὐκέτι τὸ δὲ οὔπω, καὶ τὸ μὲν μεταβεβληκὸς τὸ δὲ πεφυκὸς μεταβάλλειν, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὄντως οὖσι καὶ μεταβολὴν οὐδὲ κατ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν ἐπιδεχομένοις προσαρμόττειν ἀμήχανον · προηγεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸ παντελῶς ἀμετάβλητον τοῦ ὁπωσοῦν μεταβάλλοντος, ἵνα καὶ μένῃ μεταβάλλον.

188. *in Aristotelis de interpretatione commentarius* 136, 17–25 Busse (*ad* 18[a]28)

(136, 17) οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπαραθέειν τῇ ῥύσει τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν τῶν θεῶν γνῶσιν ἀνεξόμεθα λέγειν οὐδὲ εἶναί τι ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνων ἢ παρεληλυθὸς ἢ μέλλον, οὐδὲ λέγεσθαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐν Τιμαίῳ (136, 20) παρειλήφαμεν (37[e]), τὸ ἦν ἢ τὸ ἔσται, μεταβολῆς τινος ὄντα σημαντικά, μόνον δὲ τὸ ἔστι, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ τὸ συναριθμούμενον τῷ τε ἦν καὶ τῷ ἔσται καὶ ἀντιδιαιρούμενον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸ πάσης χρονικῆς ἐμφάσεως ἐπινοούμενον καὶ τὸ ἄτρεπτον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀμετάβλητον σημαῖνον, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ μέγας Παρμενίδης παντὶ τῷ νοητῷ ὑπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται · ‘οὐ γὰρ ἔην (136, 25) οὐδ᾽ ἔσται’, φησίν, ‘ὁμοῦ πᾶν, ἔστι δὲ μοῦνον’ (fr. 8, 5).

ASCLEPIUS

189. *Commentary on books A–Z of Aristotle's Metaphysics* 42, 26–33 Hayduck (*ad* 986^{b}17, cf. t. 26)

(42, 26) So we say that in the [account] of Opinion, since he (i.e., Parmenides) was discussing sensibles, he hypothesized that the elements are two—fire and earth (and the intermediate [elements] are understood along with them)—and on these he hypothesized all the sensibles [depend]. But when he was discussing the intelligibles, [he hypothesized] that what-is is one, (42, 30) revealing the single principle of all [intelligibles] from which they all depend. This is why he declares, "For it was not, it will not be, all together, but it only is, whole-natured" (fr. 8, 5–6). Now in speaking of fire and earth he was saying that the hot is what-is and the cold is what-is-not, the latter being worse and the former better.

190. *Commentary on books A–Z of Aristotle's Metaphysics* 55, 7–9 Hayduck (*ad* 988^{a}34)

(55, 7) For Anaxagoras by introducing mind, and Parmenides [by introducing] Eros posit these as good and beneficial causes. However, they do not declare that things that come to be come to be for the sake of these but that these very things are good efficient causes for them.

191. *Commentary on books A–Z of Aristotle's Metaphysics* 202, 9–19 Hayduck (*ad* 1001^{a}4, cf. t. 28)

(202, 9) There is therefore every (202, 10) necessity for Being itself and the One to be separate and not to have their being in a subject. For the unit creates all things, remaining what it is by virtue of its productive power and not becoming less. For Parmenides used to say that what is other than what-is is not in the sense of being intelligible. For in fact the sensibles exist as things that are not in the sense of being intelligible. Plato too declares: "what is that which is always, and does not have coming-to-be, (202, 15) and what is that which comes to be, but never is?" (Plato, *Ti*. 27^{d}). For it is evident from the following that Parmenides thinks that there is plurality among the things-that-are. For example, he says, "For it was not, it will not be, all together, but it only is" (fr. 8, 5). So if he says "all" it is clear that he knows plurality. And again elsewhere: "equally poised from the centre" (fr. 8, 44). But if it has middles, it is evident that it has extremities too, and so he knows plurality.

ASCLEPIUS [139]

189. *in Aristotelis metaphysicorum libros A–Z commentaria* 42, 26–33 Hayduck (*ad* 986^{b}17, cf. t. 26)

(42, 26) λέγομεν οὖν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς περὶ δόξης, ἐπειδὴ περὶ αἰσθητῶν διελέγετο (sc. Παρμενίδης), ὑπετίθετο δύο εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα, πῦρ καὶ γῆν, καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ συνεπινοεῖται, καὶ ἐκ τούτων τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα ὑπετίθετο · ἡνίκα δὲ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν διελέγετο, ἓν εἶναι τὸ ὄν, (42, 30) δηλῶν τὴν μίαν τῶν πάντων ἀρχήν, ἐξ ἧς τὰ πάντα · διό φησιν 'οὐ γὰρ ἔην, οὐκ ἔσται, ὁμοῦ πᾶν, ἔστι δὲ μοῦνον, οὐλοφυές' (fr. 8, 5–6). λέγων οὖν πῦρ καὶ γῆν τὸ [140]
μὲν θερμὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι ὄν, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν μὴ ὄν, ὡς χεῖρον καὶ κρεῖττον.

190. *in Aristotelis metaphysicorum libros A–Z commentaria* 55, 7–9 Hayduck (*ad* 988^{a}34)

(55, 7) Ἀναξαγόρας γὰρ τὸν νοῦν εἰσαγαγὼν καὶ Παρμενίδης τὸν ἔρωτα ἀγαθὰ μὲν καὶ ἀγαθοποιὰ αἴτια τίθενται ταῦτα, οὐ μὴν τούτων χάριν τὰ γινόμενα γίνεσθαί φασιν ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ποιητικὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῖς ἐστι.

191. *in Aristotelis metaphysicorum libros A–Z commentaria* 202, 9–19 Hayduck (*ad* 1001^{a}4, cf. t. 28)

(202, 9) πᾶσα (202, 10) ἄρα ἀνάγκη αὐτὸ τὸ ὂν καὶ τὸ ἓν κεχωρίσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ἔχειν τὸ εἶναι · ἡ γὰρ ἑνὰς διὰ τὴν γόνιμον αὐτῆς δύναμιν μένουσα ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ μὴ ἐλαττουμένη πάντα παράγει. ὁ γὰρ Παρμενίδης ἔλεγε τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ὂν ὡς νοητόν · τῷ ὄντι γὰρ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ὡς νοητὰ οὐκ ὄντα ὑπάρχουσιν, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ 'τί τὸ ὂν μὲν ἀεί, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον, (202, 15) καὶ τί τὸ γινόμενον, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε;' (*Tim.* 27^{d}). ὅτι γὰρ οἴεται ὁ Παρμενίδης πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς οὖσι, φανερὸν ἐντεῦθεν · τί γάρ; φησίν, 'οὐ γὰρ ἔην, οὐκ ἔσται, ὁμοῦ πᾶν, ἔστι δὲ μοῦνον' (fr. 8, 5). εἰ οὖν πᾶν λέγει, δῆλον ὡς ὅτι οἶδε τό γε πλῆθος. καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ 'μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλές' (fr. 8, 44). εἴ γε μέσα ἔχει, φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ ἄκρα · ὥστε οἶδε τὸ πλῆθος.

192. *Commentary on books A–Z of Aristotle's Metaphysics* 277, 18–22; 277, 25–27 Hayduck (*ad* 1009^{b}9)

(277, 18) It appears in the same way to Parmenides too. For he says, "For as each thing is as regards (277, 20) much-bent limbs, so is mind present to a man" (fr. 17, 1–2), as if for him too the powers of the soul arise from sensations and blendings … (277, 25) and Parmenides declares that the same thing is observed in all cases and in each one, "for the more" "thought" is generated in addition from the sensation that is "more" and is more accurate (fr. 17).

PHILOPONUS (cf. also t. 33a)

193. *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* 21, 30–22, 15 Vitelli (*ad* 184^{b}15, cf. t. 21)

(21, 30) Further it is clear that they were not (22, 1) speaking about natural things, and this is why Aristotle himself declares in his work *On Generation* (cf. tt. 30–33) and his commentators as well, that Parmenides said in his treatment of opinion that the principle of all things is fire and earth, while in his treatment of Truth [he said] that the All is one, limited and unmoved. But we must not suppose that in the treatment (22, 5) of opinion he said what seems true to the many but not to him, while in the treatment of truth [he said] what seems true to him, for in the treatment of opinion too he was writing about what seems true to him. But since in the treatment of truth his account treated intelligibles and said that these [are] things that really and truly are, this is why he gave this title to his book. But in the treatment of opinion his account treats sensibles, (22, 10) which Timaeus too called objects of opinion. For things that are always he says are comprehended by intellection together with reason, whereas sensibles, which he calls things that come to be and perish, he says are objects of opinion [comprehended] by opinion together with irrational sensation (Plato, *Ti.* 28^{a}). And so, concerning the intelligibles he said that they are the One and are unmoved and limited. For since the intelligibles are closer to the One as being near to the single (22, 15) principle of all things, for this reason he called them one.

192. *in Aristotelis metaphysicorum libros A–Z commentaria* 277, 18–22; 277, 25–27 Hayduck (*ad* 1009^{b}9) [140]

(277, 18) καὶ Παρμενίδῃ δὲ εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον φαίνεται. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι ‘ὡς γὰρ ἕκαστον ἔχει μελέων (277, 20) πολυκάμπτων, οὕτως καὶ ὁ νοῦς τὸν ἄνθρωπον παρίσταται’ (fr. 17, 1–2), ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου τῶν ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων ἐκ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν κράσεων γινομένων … (277, 25) καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων δέ φησι Παρμενίδης τὸ αὐτὸ θεωρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου · τὸ γὰρ πλέον νόημα προσγίνεται ἐκ τῆς πλείονος αἰσθήσεως καὶ ἀκριβεστέρας (fr. 17).

PHILOPONUS (cf. etiam t. 33a)

193. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 21, 30–22, 15 Vitelli (*ad* 184^{b}15, cf. t. 21)

(21, 30) ἔτι δὲ δῆλον ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν (22, 1) φυσικῶν ἔλεγον (sc. οἱ περὶ Παρμενίδην), ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ γενέσεώς φησι (cf. tt. 30–33) καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ ὑπομνηματισταί, ὅτι ὁ Παρμενίδης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δόξαν πῦρ καὶ γῆν ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἓν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν καὶ πεπερασμένον καὶ ἀκίνητον. οὐ νομιστέον δὲ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς (22, 5) πρὸς δόξαν οὐ τὰ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα ἔλεγεν ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τὰ αὐτῷ δοκούντα, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δόξαν τὰ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα ἔγραφεν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν ἦν αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὁ λόγος, ταῦτα δὲ ὄντως ὄντα [141]
ἔλεγε καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντα, διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ἐπέγραψε τὸ βιβλίον · ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς δόξαν περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν (22, 10) ὁ λόγος, ἅπερ καὶ ὁ Τίμαιος δοξαστὰ προσηγόρευσε · τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ ὄντα νοήσει φησὶ μετὰ λόγου περιληπτά, τὰ δὲ αἰσθητά, ἅπερ γινόμενα καὶ ἀπολλύμενα καλεῖ, δόξῃ φησί μετ᾽ αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου δοξαστά (Plat. *Tim.* 28^{a}). ὥστε περὶ τῶν νοητῶν ἔλεγε τὸ ἓν εἶναι αὐτὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα καὶ πεπερασμένα · ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ νοητὰ πρὸς τῷ ἑνὶ μᾶλλόν εἰσιν ὡς ἐγγυτέρω ὄντα τῆς μιᾶς τῶν (22, 15) πάντων ἀρχῆς, διὰ τοῦτο ἓν ἐκεῖνα ἐκάλεσε.

194. *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* 65, 4–15; 65, 23–24 Vitelli (*ad* 186ª22, cf. t. 21)

(65, 4) We must also understand Parmenides' (65, 5) accounts charitably in order to grasp his thought from his own [writings]. What, then, does he say about what-is in his verses? "Entire, unique, unmoved and ungenerated" (fr. 8, 4), and again, "It was not, it will not be, all together, but it only is" (fr. 8, 5), (65, 10) and again, "For Being draws near to Being" (fr. 8, 25). But if he says "all together" and "is adjacent to Being," it follows that he knew that plurality exists among things-that-are. But since their account was not concerned with natural things but with intelligibles, for that reason, when they contemplated the unity and (65, 15) unchangeability in the latter, they described them in this way … (65, 23) They say that he (i.e., Aristotle) wrote a separate book about Parmenides' opinion, whom he now speaks riddlingly about by saying "and any others that apply specifically."

195. *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* 110, 17–21; 110, 22–23 Vitelli (*ad* 188ª19, cf. t. 22)

(110, 17) Similarly Parmenides too [said that] fire and earth [are matter]. For he surely did not say, as one might suppose, that fire is an efficient or formal cause and earth a material cause. For if these are contraries, it is impossible for the one (110, 20) to underlie the other as matter. For contraries are destructive of each other, whereas matter preserves the form, and so in this way it could not be that the one is matter and the other is form. But neither is fire an efficient cause, for he hypothesized these as contraries and contraries are equal in strength.

196. *Commentary on Aristotle's On Generation and Corruption* 53, 2–7 Vitelli (*ad* 318ª27, cf. t. 30)

(53, 2) Parmenides called the more material [substance] what-is-not and the more formal [substance] what-is. Indeed this is why this man named earth what-is-not, as having the function of matter, (53, 5) and [named] fire what-is, as efficient and more formal. And so according to Parmenides, the generation of fire would be a simple generation, whereas the generation of earth would be a particular generation, and likewise with perishing: that of fire would be simple and that of earth would be a particular perishing.

194. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 65, 4–15; 65, 23–24 Vitelli (*ad* 186[a]22, cf. t. 21) [141]

(65, 4) δεῖ δὲ εὐγνωμόνως ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν Παρμενίδου (65, 5) λόγων ἀκούοντας ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παρμενίδου τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἑλεῖν. τί οὖν φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος; ‘οὖλον μουνογενὲς καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ᾽ ἀγένητον’ (fr. 8, 4) καὶ πάλιν ‘οὐκ ἦν, οὐκ ἔσται, ὁμοῦ πᾶν, ἔστι δὲ μοῦνον’ (fr. 8, 5) (65, 10) καὶ πάλιν ‘ἐὸν γὰρ ἐόντι πελάζει’ (fr. 8, 25). εἰ δέ φησιν ‘ὁμοῦ πᾶν’ καὶ ‘ἐόντι πελάζει’, ᾔδει ἄρα τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπάρχειν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ μὴ περὶ φυσικῶν ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν, διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις ἕνωσιν θεωροῦντες καὶ τὸ (65, 15) ἀμετάβλητον οὕτως αὐτὰ ἐκάλουν … (65, 23) φασὶ δὲ γεγράφθαι αὐτῷ (sc. Ἀριστοτέλει) ἰδίᾳ βιβλίον πρὸς τὴν Παρμενίδου δόξαν, ὃν νῦν αἰνίττεται διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ‘καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι ἴδιοι’.

195. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* ib. 110, 17–21; 110, 22–23 Vitelli (*ad* 188[a]19, cf. t. 22)

(110, 17) ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὴν γῆν (sc. τὴν ὕλην ἔλεγεν) · οὐ γὰρ δήπου, ὡς ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι, τὸ μὲν πῦρ ποιητικὸν ἢ εἰδικὸν ἔλεγε, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὑλικόν. εἰ γὰρ ἐναντία ἐστὶ ταῦτα, ἀδύνατον τὸ ἕτερον (110, 20) τῷ ἑτέρῳ ὑποκεῖσθαι ὡς ὕλην · φθαρτικὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐναντία, ἡ δὲ ὕλη σωστικὴ τοῦ εἴδους ἐστίν … (110, 22) ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ποιητικὸν τὸ πῦρ · ἐναντία γὰρ αὐτὰ ὑπετίθετο, τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἰσοσθενῆ εἰσι.

196. *in Aristotelis libros de generatione et corruptione commentaria* 53, 2–7 Vitelli (*ad* 318[a]27, cf. t. 30)

(53, 2) τὴν μὲν ὑλικωτέραν (sc. οὐσίαν) μὴ ὂν ἐκάλουν οἱ περὶ Παρμενίδην τὴν δὲ εἰδικωτέραν ὄν · διὰ γάρ τοι τοῦτο οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν μὲν γῆν μὴ ὂν ὠνόμαζεν ὡς ὕλης λόγον ἐπέχουσαν, (53, 5) τὸ δὲ πῦρ ὂν ὡς ποιοῦν καὶ εἰδικώτερον, ὥστε εἴη ἂν κατὰ Παρμενίδην ἡ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς γένεσις ἁπλῆ γένεσις, ἡ δὲ τῆς γῆς γένεσις τὶς γένεσις · καὶ φθορὰ δὲ ὡσαύτως, ἡ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς ἁπλῆ, ἡ δὲ τῆς γῆς τὶς φθορά.

OLYMPIODORUS

197. *Commentary on Plato's Phaedo* 27, 26–28, 1 Westerink
[comment on 165^{b}, "or is it like what the poets always keep saying over and over, that we neither hear nor see anything accurately?"] (27, 26) By poets he means Parmenides, Empedocles and Epicharmus. For these men (28, 1) say that sensation knows nothing accurate.

198. *Commentary on Plato's Phaedo* 75, 6–9 Westerink
[comment on 78^{b}, "to those (sc. eternal things)"]
(75, 6) Only "is" applies to them (i.e., eternal things)—not [the "is"] that is coordinate with the other temporal designations, but the one that signifies Being: "For it was not, it will not be, all together, but it only is" (fr. 8, 5).

DAMASCIUS (cf. also t. 156)

199.[25] *Commentary on Plato's Phaedo* 80, 1–3 Westerink (*ad* 65^{b}5)
(80, 1) That some say that the senses are accurate in relation to truth and others dishonor them as not true: the latter are Parmenides, Empedocles and Anaxagoras, the former are Protagoras and Epicurus.

200. *On Principles* i, 67, 21–26 Ruelle
(67, 21) Neither, therefore, does Being proceed into many either through descent or through being divided into parts or through procession in any way, "For it will not sever Being from cleaving to Being" (fr. 6, 2), says Parmenides. This is why he also said that Being [is] one; neither, therefore, (67, 25) should anyone say that it proceeds unless [he says that] he will cut it off as well. Therefore [it holds] much more [that these claims should] not [be made about] the One either.

25. In the first edition, this testimonium was incorrectly attributed to Olympiodorus. (RMcK)

OLYMPIODORUS [141]

197. *in Platonis Phaedonem commentaria* 27, 26–28, 1 Westerink (*ad* 165[b]: ἢ τά γε τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμῖν ἀεὶ θρυλοῦσιν, ὅτι οὔτ᾽ ἀκούομεν ἀκριβὲς [142] οὐδὲν οὔτε ὁρῶμεν;)
(27, 26) ποιητὰς λέγει Παρμενίδην, Ἐμπεδοκλέα, Ἐπίχαρμον · οὗτοι (28, 1) γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς λέγουσιν εἰδέναι τὴν αἴσθησιν.

198. *in Platonis Phaedonem commentaria* 75, 6–9 Westerink (*ad* 78[b]4: ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνων δὲ (sc. τῶν ἀιδίων))
(75, 6) ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνων δὲ (sc. τῶν ἀιδίων) τὸ ἔστιν μόνον ἁρμόττει, οὐ τὸ ἀντιδιαιρούμενον τοῖς ἄλλοις χρονικοῖς προσρήμασιν ἀλλὰ τὸ σημαῖνον ὕπαρξιν · ‘οὐ γὰρ ἔην, οὐκ ἔσται, ὁμοῦ πᾶν, ἔστι δὲ μοῦνον’ (fr. 8, 5).

DAMASCIUS (cf. etiam t. 156)

199.[26] *in Phaedonem* 80, 1–3 Westerink (*ad* 65[b]5)
(80, 1) ὅτι οἱ μὲν τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀκριβεῖς εἶναί φασι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, οἱ δὲ ἀτιμάζουσιν ὡς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς · οὗτοι μὲν Παρμενίδης, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ἀναξαγόρας, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ Πρωταγόρας, Ἐπίκουρος.

200. *de principiis* i, 67, 21–26 Ruelle
(67, 21) οὐδὲ τὸ ὂν ἄρα πρόεισιν εἰς πολλὰ ἢ κατὰ ὕφεσιν ἢ κατὰ μερισμὸν ἢ ὁπωσοῦν κατὰ πρόοδον · ‘οὐ γὰρ ἀποτμήσει τὸ ἐὸν τοῦ ἐόντος ἔχεσθαι’ (fr. 6, 2), φησὶν ὁ Παρμενίδης. διὸ καὶ ἓν ἄρα τὸ ὂν ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγεν· οὐδὲ ἄρα (67, 25) προϊέναι φαίη τις ἄν, εἴπερ μηδὲ ἀποτμήσεσθαι · πολλῷ ἄρα μειζόνως, οὐδὲ τὸ ἕν.

26. In the first edition, this testimonium was incorrectly attributed to Olympiodorus. (RMcK)

201. *On Principles* i, 131, 4–12 Ruelle

(131, 4) The conception of Being is not (131, 5) something supremely simple nor does it refuse to admit anything that is pluralized in any way whatever, as the One [does]. Still, however, it does not accept separation since it is (a) only one and (b) simply Being, "For Being draws near to Being" (fr. 8, 25), says Parmenides in his verses. This is why he also calls it one, because one is the only attribute it has, as Plato says (Plato, *Soph.* 245^{a} (cf. t. 11)). But it is none of the many things-that-are but [only] Being itself. (131, 10) And Being, therefore, is like that which is unified immediately after the One and before all the things that are separated. But once this kind of unified thing is hypothesized for us, there is no longer any room for the puzzles.

SIMPLICIUS (cf. also tt. 36–39, 42–43)

202. *Commentary on the four Books of Aristotle's On the Heavens* 136, 32–137, 6 Heiberg (*ad* 270^{b}16)

(136, 32) For in fact (137, 1) Parmenides is the first we have heard of to propound this argument (i.e., that nothing is generated from what-is-not), writing as follows in his verses about what-is being ungenerated: "For what parentage … that anything is not" (fr. 8, 6–9).

203. *Commentary on the four Books of Aristotle's On the Heavens* 556, 12–14; 556, 24–558, 17; 559, 14–18; 559, 20–560, 4 Heiberg (*ad* 298^{b}14, cf. t. 20)

(556, 12) He first discusses Melissus and Parmenides, of whom the one declares that there is no generation at all, whereas Parmenides [holds that there is generation] not in truth but in opinion ….

(556, 24) And, someone might say, what prevents them from being called natural philosophers (556, 25) or from being examined as natural philosophers? Alternatively, why did both Melissus and Parmenides entitle their treatises "On Nature"? But this might not be so important, since the word "nature" was common, so that people frequently dare to speak of the nature of god and we speak of the nature of things-that-are. Moreover, in their very treatises they discussed not only things beyond nature but also natural things, (556, 30) and perhaps this is why they did not refuse to use "On Nature" as a title.

201. *de principiis* i, 131, 4–12 Ruelle [142]

(131, 4) ἡ τοῦ ὄντος ἔννοια οὔτε (131, 5) ἁπλούστατόν τι οὐδὲ ἀναίνεται τὸ ὁπωσοῦν πεπληθυσμένον, ὥσπερ τὸ ἕν, οὔτε μέντοι δέχεται διάκρισιν, ὅ γέ ἐστιν ἓν μόνον καὶ ἁπλῶς ὄν, 'ἐὸν γὰρ ἐόντι πελάζει'(fr. 8, 25), φησὶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι Παρμενίδης · διὸ καὶ ἓν αὐτὸ καλεῖ, ὅτι μόνον τὸ ἓν ἂν πεπόνθοι, ὡς λέγει Πλάτων (*soph.* 245[a]) · ἔστι δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἀλλ' αὐτὸ (131, 10) τὸ ὄν · καὶ τὸ ὂν ἄρα ὥσπερ τὸ ἡνωμένον εὐθὺς τὸ μετὰ τὸ ἓν καὶ πρὸ τῶν διακρινομένων ἁπάντων. τοιούτου δὲ ὑποτεθέντος ἡμῖν τοῦ ἡνωμένου οὐδεμίαν ἔτι χώραν ἔχουσιν αἱ ἀπορίαι.

SIMPLICIUS (cf. etiam tt. 36–39, 42–43)

202. *in Aristotelis quattuor libros de caelo commentaria* 136, 32–137, 6 Heiberg (*ad* 270[b]16)

(136, 32) καὶ γὰρ (137, 1) Παρμενίδης ὁ πρῶτος ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον (sc. ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος μηδὲν γίνεσθαι) ἐρωτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι περὶ τοῦ ἀγένητον εἶναι τὸ ὂν τάδε γέγραφε · 'τίνα γὰρ γένναν … ἐστὶν ὅπως οὐκ ἔστι' (fr. 8, 6–9).

203. *in Aristotelis quattuor libros de caelo commentaria* 556, 12–14; 556, 24–558, 17; 559, 14–18; 559, 20–560, 4 Heiberg (*ad* 298[b]14, cf. t. 20)

(556, 12) πρώτους δὲ προχειρίζεται τοὺς περὶ Μέλισσον καὶ Παρμενίδην, ὧν ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ ὅλως γένεσιν εἶναί φησι, Παρμενίδης δὲ οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν [143] ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν … (556, 24) καὶ τί κωλύει, φαίη ἄν τις, μὴ λέγεσθαι φυσικοὺς ἐκείνους (556, 25) μηδὲ ὡς φυσικοὺς εὐθύνεσθαι; ἢ ὅτι 'Περὶ φύσεως' ἐπέγραφον τὰ συγγράμματα καὶ Μέλισσος καὶ Παρμενίδης; τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν εἴη τοσοῦτον · καὶ γὰρ καὶ κοινὸν ἦν ὄνομα τῆς φύσεως, καθὸ καὶ θεοῦ φύσιν πολλάκις τολμῶσιν εἰπεῖν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν λέγομεν, καὶ μέντοι οὐ περὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ φύσιν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς συγγράμμασι (556, 30) διελέγοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἴσως οὐ παρῃτοῦντο περὶ φύσεως ἐπιγράφειν.

(557, 1) But the charge Aristotle brings against them in refuting the cause of their gross error is really hard if it is true. For "those men," he says, supposing that there is nothing "other than the substance of sensible things" in existence, were "the first" to conceive that there must be some ungenerated and unmoved things of that (557, 5) nature if there is to be scientific knowledge, since there is no science of things that are always in flux, and it is Plato's Parmenides who says that a person will not "even have anywhere" to turn "his thought" if the eternal Forms are not hypothesized to exist. After conceiving these ideas they transferred to generated sensible things the arguments that apply to unmoved intelligible things, if indeed they are proposing (557, 10) to speak about nature when they speak of the attributes of those other things. And if Melissus used "On nature, or on that-which-is" as a title, it is clear that he thought that nature is that-which-is and that natural things are things-that-are—and these are the sensibles. And perhaps this is what Aristotle meant by saying "they supposed nothing other than the substance of the sensibles" by calling that-which-is, one. For since the sensible (557, 15) is evidently thought to be, if what-is is one, it cannot be anything beside this.

But Melissus says, "If it is, it will be one, for if there were two, they could not be unlimited, but would have limits against each another," while Parmenides calls it "entire, unique, unmoved, and ungenerated" (fr. 8, 4). But this time, as usual, Aristotle objected to the apparent meaning of the (557, 20) arguments, taking care to prevent rather superficial people from making fallacious inferences. On the other hand, those men (i.e., Parmenides and Melissus) hypothesized two kinds of existence, one of what really is, the intelligible, and one of what comes to be, the sensible, which they did not consider worthy to call something that is unqualifiedly, but something that appears to be. This is why he says that the truth concerns that-which-is, but opinion concerns that which comes to be. In any case Parmenides says, (557, 25) "You must … to end" (fr. 1, 28–32). (558, 3) Also, after completing his account of what really is, when he is about to teach about sensibles, he continues: (558, 5) "Therewith … of my verse" (fr. 8, 50–52). After presenting the ordering of sensibles, he continues further, "Thus … its mark to each" (fr. 20). How, then, did Parmenides suppose that only sensibles exist—he who philosophized such things about the intelligible which it is now superfluous to append? How did he transfer to sensibles things that apply to intelligibles—he who (558, 15) presented the unity of the intelligible which really is as evidently separate from

[143] (557, 1) ἀλλ᾽ ὅπερ Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς διαμαρτίας ἐξελέγχων σκληρὸν ὄντως ἦν, εἴπερ ἀληθὲς ἦν · ἐκεῖνοι γάρ, φησίν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἄλλο παρὰ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν οὐσίαν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐν ὑποστάσει εἶναι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἐννοήσαντες ὅτι ἀνάγκη τοιαύτας τινὰς ἀγενήτους καὶ ἀκινήτους εἶναι (557, 5) φύσεις, εἴπερ ἔστι γνῶσις ἐπιστημονική· τῶν γὰρ ἀεὶ ῥεόντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιστήμη, καὶ λέγει καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι Παρμενίδης ὅτι οὐδὲ ὅποι τρέψει τις τὴν διάνοιαν ἕξει μὴ τῶν ἀιδίων εἰδῶν ὑποτιθεμένων εἶναι · ταῦτα οὖν ἐννοήσαντες μετήνεγκαν ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ γενητὰ τοὺς τοῖς νοητοῖς καὶ ἀκινήτοις ἐφαρμόζοντας λόγους, εἴ γε περὶ φύσεως προτιθέμενοι (557, 10) λέγειν τὰ ἐκείνοις προσήκοντα λέγουσι. καὶ εἰ ‘Περὶ φύσεως ἢ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος’ ἐπέγραψε Μέλισσος, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν φύσιν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸ ὂν καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ τὰ ὄντα, ταῦτα δέ ἐστι τὰ αἰσθητά. καὶ ταύτῃ δὲ ἴσως ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης εἶπεν αὐτοὺς ‘μηδὲν ἄλλο παρὰ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν οὐσίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν’ τῷ ἓν λέγειν τὸ ὄν · τοῦ γὰρ αἰσθητοῦ ἐναργῶς (557, 15) εἶναι δοκοῦντος, εἰ ἓν τὸ ὄν ἐστιν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἄλλο παρὰ τοῦτο. λέγει δὲ Μέλισσος μὲν ‘εἰ γὰρ εἴη, ἓν εἴη ἄν · εἰ γὰρ δύο εἴη, οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἄπειρα εἶναι ἀλλ᾽ ἔχοι ἂν πείρατα πρὸς ἄλληλα’ (fr. 6), Παρμενίδης δὲ ‘οὖλον μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ᾽ ἀγένητον’ (fr. 8, 4). ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὡς ἔθος αὐτῷ, πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ νῦν τῶν (557, 20) λόγων ὑπήντησε προνοῶν τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἐπιπολαιοτέρους παραλογίζεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι διττὴν ὑπόστασιν ὑπετίθεντο, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος τοῦ νοητοῦ, τὴν δὲ τοῦ γινομένου τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ, ὅπερ οὐκ ἠξίουν καλεῖν ὂν ἁπλῶς ἀλλὰ δοκοῦν ὄν. διὸ περὶ τὸ ὂν ἀλήθειαν εἶναί φησι, περὶ δὲ τὸ γινόμενον δόξαν. λέγει γοῦν ὁ Παρμενίδης, (557, 25) ‘χρεὼ δέ σε … περῶντα’ (fr. 1, 28–32). (558, 3) ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπληρώσας τὸν περὶ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος λόγον καὶ μέλλων περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν διδάσκειν ἐπήγαγεν · (558, 5) ‘ἐν τῷ σοι … ἀκούων’ (fr. 8, 50–52). παραδοὺς δὲ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν διακόσμησιν ἐπήγαγε πάλιν · ‘οὕτω τοι … ἐπίσημον ἑκάστῳ’ (fr. 20). (558, 12) πῶς οὖν τὰ αἰσθητὰ μόνον εἶναι Παρμενίδης ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ περὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ τοιαῦτα φιλοσοφήσας, ἅπερ νῦν περιττόν ἐστι παραγράφειν; πῶς δὲ τὰ τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐφαρμόζοντα μετήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ὁ χωρὶς μὲν (558, 15) τὴν ἕνωσιν τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ

the ordering of sensibles, and who did not consider the sensible worthy of calling by the name of what-is? … (559, 14) How, then, could anyone suppose that they think that only the sensible exists? (559, 15) They even eliminate generation from what really is. For of that Parmenides declared that "becoming has been extinguished and perishing is unheard of" (fr. 8, 21), and Melissus agrees with Parmenides. However they clearly speak of the generation of sensibles … (559, 20) Parmenides says that he begins his treatment of sensibles saying "how earth and sun … started (559, 25) to come into being" (fr. 10), and he presents the generation of things that come to be and perish, even to the point of discussing the parts of animals. And Parmenides clearly was not ignorant that (560, 1) he himself was generated just as he was not ignorant that he had two feet either, though he said that what-is is one. But as Aristotle did well to pronounce in the *Metaphysics*, "Parmenides seems somehow to see" (*metaph*. A5, 986^{b}27), we must suppose that Aristotle intends this consideration to apply in all cases after his refutation of the apparent meaning.

204. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 29, 5–19; 29, 26–31, 17 Diels (*ad* 184^{b}15, cf. t. 21)

(29, 5) For some [of the ancients], such as Xenophanes, Parmenides and Melissus, discussed the intelligible first principle as well. Xenophanes and Parmenides declared it to be one and limited, (a) since unity must pre-exist plurality, (b) since the cause of boundary and limit in all things must be determined by reference to limit rather than to unlimitedness, and (29, 10) (c) since that which is in every way complete, which has attained its proper end, must be limited, and further must be the end of all things and so also a principle. For what is incomplete, since it is lacking, has not yet attained a limit. Except that Xenophanes posits it as the cause of all things and above all things, above motion and rest, and superior to every pair of corresponding opposites, as Plato also does in the first hypothesis of the *Parmenides.* (29, 15) But Parmenides, viewing that which is constant and invariable as superior to that (i.e., the first principle of Xenophanes and Plato) and beyond every change, and doubtless beyond actuality and potentiality as well, celebrates it as unmoved and alone, as transcendent of all things: "Alone and unmoved is that for which as a whole the name is 'to be'" (fr. 8, 38). Melissus, however … (29, 26) Now this is how Melissus, looking off at what is without a beginning or an end in time and always is, declared it unlimited. Parmenides too testifies that it is like that in almost those very words: (30, 1) "That

ὄντως ὄντος παραδούς, χωρὶς δὲ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν διακόσμησιν ἐναργῶς [143]
καὶ μηδὲ ἀξιῶν τῷ τοῦ ὄντος ὀνόματι τὸ αἰσθητὸν καλεῖν; … (559, 14) [144]
πῶς οὖν ἄν τις αὐτοὺς ὑπολάβοι μόνου τὸ αἰσθητὸν νομίζειν εἶναι; ἀλλὰ
(559, 15) καὶ γένεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἀναιροῦσιν · ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνου γὰρ
καὶ Παρμενίδης εἶπε τὸ ‘γένεσις μὲν ἀπέσβεσται καὶ ἄπυστος ὄλεθρος’
(fr. 8, 21) καὶ Μέλισσος ὡς Παρμενίδης · τῶν μέντοι αἰσθητῶν γένεσιν
σαφῶς λέγουσι … (559, 20) Παρμενίδης δὲ περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἄρξασθαί
φησι λέγειν, ‘πῶς γαῖα καὶ ἥλιος … ὡρμήθησαν (559, 25) γίγνεσθαι’ (fr.
10), καὶ τῶν γινομένων καὶ φθειρομένων μέχρι τῶν μορίων τῶν ζῴων τὴν
γένεσιν παραδίδωσι. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἠγνόει Παρμενίδης, ὅτι γενητὸς
(560, 1) αὐτὸς ἦν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὅτι δύο πόδας εἶχεν, ἓν λέγων τὸ ὄν, ἀλλ᾽
ὅπερ ἐν τῇ Μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ καλῶς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπεφθέγξατο, τὸ
‘Παρμενίδης δὲ ἔοικέ που βλέπειν’ (A5, 986^{b}27), τοῦτο πανταχοῦ μετὰ
τὸν τοῦ φαινομένου ἔλεγχον ἐπιφέρειν τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην νομιστέον.

204. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 29, 5–19; 29, 26–31, 17 Diels (*ad* 184^{b}15, cf. t. 21)

(29, 5) καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν (sc. τῶν παλαιῶν) περὶ τῆς νοητῆς καὶ πρώτης
ἀρχῆς διελέχθησαν, ὡς Ξενοφάνης τε καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Μέλισσος, ὁ
μὲν Ξενοφάνης καὶ Παρμενίδης ἓν λέγοντες καὶ πεπερασμένον. ἀνάγκη
γὰρ τὸ ἓν τοῦ πλήθους προϋπάρχειν καὶ τὸ πᾶσιν ὅρου καὶ πέρατος
αἴτιον κατὰ τὸ πέρας μᾶλλον ἢπερ κατὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἀφορίζεσθαι (29,
10) καὶ τὸ πάντῃ τέλειον τὸ τέλος τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπειληφὸς πεπερασμένον
εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τέλος τῶν πάντων, ὡς καὶ ἀρχή · τὸ γὰρ ἀτελὲς ἐνδεὲς
ὂν οὔπω πέρας ἀπείληφεν. πλὴν ὁ μὲν Ξενοφάνης ὡς πάντων αἴτιον
καὶ πάντων ὑπερανέχον καὶ κινήσεως αὐτὸ καὶ ἠρεμίας καὶ ὡς πάσης
ἀντιστοιχίας ἐπέκεινα τίθησιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
ὑποθέσει Παρμενίδου · (29, 15) ὁ δὲ Παρμενίδης τὸ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ
ὡσαύτως ἔχον αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσης μεταβολῆς, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ
δυνάμεως, ἐπέκεινα θεασάμενος ἀκίνητον αὐτὸ ἀνυμνεῖ καὶ μόνον ὡς
πάντων ἐξῃρημένον ‘οἷον, ἀκίνητον τελέθει τῷ παντὶ ὄνομα εἶναι’ (fr. 8,
38) · Μέλισσος δὲ … (29, 26) οὕτως μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ κατὰ χρόνον ἄναρχον
καὶ ἀτελεύτητον καὶ ἀεὶ ὂν ὁ Μέλισσος ἀπιδὼν ἄπειρον ἀπεφήνατο. τὸ
δὲ τοιοῦτον καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖ λέγων δι᾽ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν τῶν

Being is ungenerated … all together" (fr. 8, 3–5). Now this is how he too declares it to be uninterrupted, ungenerated, and unlimited. (30, 5) But he indicates the conception of limit in these [verses]: "Remaining the same and in the same state … lack everything" (fr. 8, 29–33). (30, 11) For if it is something that is and not something that is not, it is not lacking, and since it is not lacking, it is complete, and being complete it has an end and is not without an end, and having an end it has a limit and boundary. Thus there has proven to be no contrariety in the conceptions of these men in what they say about the same thing. But when Parmenides proceeded (30, 15) from intelligibles to sensibles, or rather from truth to opinion, as he himself states where he says, "Therewith I put a stop for you … deceptive composition of my verse" (fr. 8, 50–52). (30, 20) He too posited as the elementary principles of things that are generated, the primary opposition, which he calls light and darkness, fire and earth, or the dense and the rare, or the same and the different, saying immediately after the previously quoted verses, "For they resolved … heavy body" (fr. 8, 53–59). (31, 3) And amidst the verses a short passage in prose is inserted as if it were by Parmenides himself. It goes as follows: to this are [applied the terms] 'rare,' 'hot,' (31, 5) 'light' (i.e., the opposite of darkness), 'soft,' and 'light' (i.e., the opposite of heavy), while to the dense the names 'cold,' 'darkness,' 'hard,' and 'heavy' are given, since these answer severally to one another. Thus he clearly assumed two opposite elements, because previously he determined what-is as one, and he declares that they have gone astray who do not see the opposition of the elements that bring about generation or who do not clearly make it known. (31, 10) Aristotle followed him in positing the contraries as principles. And Parmenides has clearly presented the efficient cause not only of bodies that undergo generation, but also of incorporeal things that bring generation to completion, saying: "And those over them [were filled] with night … male conversely with female" (fr. 12, 2–6).

205. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 34, 12–17 Diels (*ad* 184^{b}15 cf. t. 21)

(34, 12) Except that he (i.e., Empedocles) utters nothing contrary to Parmenides and Melissus, but in fact viewed the elementary opposition and efficient (34, 15) cause in the same way as Parmenides did too, but where Parmenides posits as a single common [efficient cause] the goddess who is established in the middle of all things and is responsible for all generation, Empedocles viewed opposition in the efficient causes as well.

ῥημάτων (30, 1) ‘ὡς ἀγένητον ἐὸν … ὁμοῦ πᾶν’ (fr. 8, 3–5). οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτος ὡς ἀνέκλειπτον καὶ ὡς ἀγένητον καὶ ἄπειρον (30, 5) εἶναί φησι. τὴν δὲ τοῦ πέρατος ἔννοιαν δι’ ἐκείνων ἐδήλωσε τῶν ἐπῶν · ‘ταὐτόν τ’ ἐν ταὐτῷ … παντὸς ἐδεῖτο’ (fr. 8, 29–33). (30, 11) εἰ γὰρ ὄν ἐστι καὶ οὐχὶ μὴ ὄν, ἀνενδεές ἐστιν, ἀνενδεὲς δὲ ὂν τέλειόν ἐστι, τέλειον δὲ ὂν ἔχει τέλος καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτελεύτητον, τέλος δὲ ἔχον πέρας ἔχει καὶ ὅρον. οὕτως μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία κατὰ τὰς ἐννοίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γέγονεν ἐναντίωσις ἐν οἷς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λέγουσι. μετελθὼν δὲ (30, 15) ἀπὸ τῶν νοητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ὁ Παρμενίδης ἤτοι ἀπὸ ἀληθείας, ὡς αὐτός φησιν, ἐπὶ δόξαν, ἐν οἷς λέγει ‘ἐν τῷ σοι παύω … ἀπατηλὸν ἀκούων’ (fr. 8, 50–52), (30, 20) τῶν γενητῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ αὐτὸς στοιχειώδεις μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἀντίθεσιν ἔθετο, ἢν φῶς καλεῖ καὶ σκότος, πῦρ καὶ γῆν ἢ πυκνὸν καὶ ἀραιὸν ἢ ταὐτὸν καὶ ἕτερον, λέγων ἐφεξῆς τοῖς πρότερον παρακειμένοις ἔπεσι ‘μορφὰς γὰρ κατέθεντο … ἐμβριθές τε’ (fr. 8, 53–59). (31, 3) καὶ δὴ καὶ καταλογάδην μεταξὺ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐμφέρεταί τι ῥησείδιον ὡς αὐτοῦ Παρμενίδου ἔχον οὕτως, ‘ἐπὶ τῷδέ ἐστι τὸ ‘ἀραιὸν’ καὶ τὸ ‘θερμὸν’ καὶ τὸ (31, 5) ‘φάος’ καὶ τὸ ‘μαλθακὸν’ καὶ τὸ ‘κοῦφον’, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πυκνῷ ὠνόμασται τὸ ‘ψυχρὸν’ καὶ τὸ ‘ζόφος’ καὶ ‘σκληρὸν’ καὶ ‘βαρύ’ · ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπεκρίθη ἑκατέρως ἑκάτερα.’ οὕτω σαφῶς ἀντίθετα δύο στοιχεῖα ἔλαβε, διὸ πρότερον ἓν τὸ ὂν διέγνω, καὶ πεπλανῆσθαι δέ φησι τοὺς τὴν ἀντίθεσιν τῶν τὴν γένεσιν συνιστώντων στοιχείων μὴ συνορῶντας ἢ μὴ σαφῶς ἀποκαλύπτοντας, ὥπερ (31, 10) καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀκολουθῶν ἀρχὰς ἔθετο τὰ ἐναντία. καὶ ποιητικὸν δὲ αἴτιον οὐ σωμάτων μόνον τῶν ἐν τῇ γενέσει ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσωμάτων τῶν τὴν γένεσιν συμπληρούντων σαφῶς παραδέδωκεν ὁ Παρμενίδης λέγων ‘αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ ταῖς νυκτός … ἄρσεν θηλυτέρῳ’ (fr. 12, 2–6). [144] [145]

205. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 34, 12–17 Diels (*ad* 184^{b}15, cf. t. 21)

(34, 12) πλὴν ὅτι καὶ οὗτος (sc. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) οὐδὲν ἐναντίον Παρμενίδῃ καὶ Μελίσσῳ φθέγγεται ἀλλά γε τήν τε στοιχειώδη ἀντίθεσιν ὡς καὶ Παρμενίδης ἐθεάσατο καὶ ποιητικὸν (34, 15) αἴτιον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἓν κοινὸν τὴν ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἱδρυμένην καὶ πάσης γενέσεως αἰτίαν δαίμονα τίθησιν, οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποιητικοῖς αἰτίοις τὴν ἀντίθεσιν ἐθεάσατο.

206. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 36, 26–28 Diels (*ad* 184^{b}15, cf. t. 21)

(36, 26) We will hear Aristotle refuting the opinions of earlier philosophers and before Aristotle Plato clearly does the same and before either of these men, both Parmenides and Xenophanes.

207. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 37, 22–40, 8 Diels (*ad* 184^{b}15, cf. t. 21)

(37, 22) "He (i.e., Aristotle) did not say 'like Parmenides and Melissus'" (Aristotle, *phys.* 184^{b}16), says Alexander, "supposing that Parmenides and Melissus posited one principle and called it unmoved. For these men did not posit a principle at all; they said that the All is one, (37, 25) which is inconsistent with saying that there is a principle. For those who posit a principle agree that there is more than one thing-that-is, introducing along with the principle the things whose principle it is as well. But after stating the first set of contradictory alternatives 'that there is either one principle or more than one' he again makes use of a set of contradictory alternatives for the first member of the division: 'if the principle is one, it is either unmoved or moved.' But since it is implausible to say (37, 30) that the principle is one and unmoved he posited it with an explanation. For it is no less implausible than this, but even more so, that the All is one and unmoved, but even this view has its champions—Parmenides and Melissus. Even if this view (i.e., that of Parmenides and Melissus) is not exactly (38, 1) the same as the other (i.e., that the principle is one and unmoved), it still amounts to the same thing."

Alexander says this word for word, but I do not think it suits Aristotle's genius to explain an implausible thesis by an even more implausible one. And in fact he does not even mention Parmenides' and Melissus' opinion as a different implausible one (38, 5) over and above the one that claims that the principle is one and unmoved, for these are the men he refutes as saying this. But Aristotle accepts this statement from these men charitably. "For even those who investigate how many existing things there are," he says, "investigate in the same way; for they first investigate whether the things from which existing things come are one or many" (*phys.* 184^{b}22–24). And so he believes that these (38, 10) men philosophize about the principle of existing things, and he determined the section of the division that covers them when he hypothesized the principle as one and unmoved. For that which really is, which is

206. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 36, 26–28 Diels (*ad* 184ᵇ15, cf. t. 21) [145]

(36, 26) Ἀριστοτέλους ἐλέγχοντος ἀκουσόμεθα τὰς τῶν προτέρων φιλοσόφων δόξας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ὁ Πλάτων τοῦτο φαίνεται ποιῶν καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν ὅ τε Παρμενίδης καὶ Ξενοφάνης.

207. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 37, 22–40, 8 Diels (*ad* 184ᵇ15, cf. t. 21)

(37, 22) ‘οὐχ ὡς Παρμενίδου δέ’, φησὶν Ἀλέξανδρος, ‘καὶ Μελίσσου μίαν ἀρχὴν τιθεμένων καὶ ταύτην ἀκίνητον λεγόντων, οὕτως εἶπε τὸ “ὡς Παρμενίδης καὶ Μέλισσος” (sc. Ar. 184ᵇ16). οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδὲ ὅλως ἀρχὴν ἐτίθεντο · ἓν γὰρ ἔλεγον τὸ πᾶν, (37, 25) ὃ μαχόμενόν ἐστι τῷ ἀρχὴν λέγειν εἶναι · οἱ γὰρ ἀρχὴν τιθέμενοι ὁμολογοῦσι πλείω τὰ ὄντα εἶναι, τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τὰ ὧν ἐστιν ἀρχὴ συνεισάγοντες. ἀλλ’ εἰπὼν τὸ πρῶτον διαιρετικὸν τὸ “ἢ μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ πλείους” ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει πάλιν διαιρετικῷ χρῆται τῷ “εἰ μία ἡ ἀρχή, ἤτοι ἀκίνητος ἢ κινουμένη”. ὃν δὲ ἀπίθανον τὸ ἀρχὴν (37, 30) μίαν καὶ ἀκίνητον ταύτην λέγειν, μετὰ παραμυθίας ἔθετο. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἧττον ἀπίθανον τούτου ὂν ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ ἓν τὸ πᾶν εἶναι καὶ ἀκίνητον, ὅμως προστάτας ἔχει Παρμενίδην καὶ Μέλισσον · καὶ εἰ μὴ ἄντικρυς γὰρ (38, 1) ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλ’ εἰς ταὐτόν γε συντρέχει.’ ταῦτα οὖν αὐτῇ λέξει τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντος τὸ μὲν τῇ μᾶλλον ἀπιθάνῳ παραμυθεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπίθανον θέσιν οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους μεγαλονοίας. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ὡς ἑτέρας ἀπιθάνου [146] δόξης μέμνηται τῆς Παρμενίδου καὶ Μελίσσου (38, 5) παρὰ τὴν λέγουσαν μίαν καὶ ἀκίνητον τὴν ἀρχήν, τούτους γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς τοῦτο λέγοντας ἐλέγχει, ἀλλ’ εὐγνωμόνως τοῦτο γοῦν Ἀριστοτέλους τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεξαμένου. ‘ὁμοίως γὰρ ζητοῦσι’, φησί, ‘καὶ οἱ τὰ ὄντα πόσα ζητοῦντες (184ᵇ22–24) · ἐξ ὧν γὰρ τὰ ὄντα ἐστί, ζητοῦσι πρῶτον ταῦτα πότερον ἓν ἢ πολλά’. ὥστε περὶ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὄντων οἴεται τούτους (38, 10) τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ τὸ κατ’ αὐτοὺς τμῆμα τῆς διαιρέσεως ἀφωρίσατο μίαν καὶ ἀκίνητον ὑποθέμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. τὸ γὰρ ὄντως ὂν τὸ ἡνωμένον, ὃ καὶ

unified and is both principle and cause of the many separate things not as their elementary [cause] but as the [cause] that produces them, they called a single thing-that-is. Then after taking in turn the first section, which says that there is one principle, and dividing it into the set of exhaustive contradictory alternatives that (38, 15) the one principle is unmoved or moved, and taking [the alternative that it is] unmoved, he contradicts those who declare what-is to be one and unmoved with the very [arguments] with which he should have contradicted those who declare that the principle is one and unmoved. For even if they use different names, they too are saying and investigating the same things.

And Alexander agrees that in his discussion directed towards Truth, that is, his discussion of intelligible being, Parmenides (38, 20) declares that-which-is to be one, unmoved and ungenerated, "but in discussing nature according to the opinion of the many and the appearances," he says, "no longer declaring that that-which-is is one or ungenerated, he hypothesized fire and earth as principles of things that are generated, hypothesizing earth as matter and fire as efficient cause; and he names," he says, "fire light and earth darkness." And if Alexander understood "according to the opinion of the (38, 25) many and appearances" as Parmenides means, calling the sensible opinable, it would be well. But if he thinks that those arguments are in every way false and if he thinks that light or fire is called an efficient cause, he does not think well. For after completing his account of the intelligible, Parmenides continues with the very words I cited above too, (38, 30) "Therewith I will put a stop for you … outstrip you in practical judgment" (fr. 8, 50–61). (39, 10) He calls this account opinable and deceptive not because it is unqualifiedly false but because it has descended from the intelligible truth to what appears [to the senses] and seems, the sensible. Again, a little below, after speaking about the two elements, he goes on to talk of the efficient [cause] as follows: "For the narrower … governs all things" (fr. 12, 1–3). (39, 17) He declares her to be the cause of the gods too, saying, "First of all the gods she devised love" (fr. 13), etc. And he says she sends souls from the visible [realm] to the (39, 20) unseen [realm] at one time, and back again at another. I am forced to say these things at length because of the deep ignorance of ancient writings that prevails nowadays.

Since they say that what-is is one they reasonably declared it to be unmoved as well, since in fact they were discussing natural things.

ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τῶν πολλῶν καὶ διακεκριμένων ἐστὶν οὐχ ὡς στοιχειώδης [146]
ἀλλ᾽ ὡς προαγωγὸς ἐκείνων, ἓν ὂν ἔλεγον. ἀναγκαίῳ δὲ πάλιν διαιρετικῷ διελὼν τὸ ἕτερον τμῆμα τὸ λέγον μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ ἀκίνητον (38, 15) ἢ κινουμένην εἶναι τὴν μίαν καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ἀκίνητον, ἅπερ ἔδει πρὸς τοὺς μίαν καὶ ἀκίνητον τὴν ἀρχὴν λέγοντας ἀντειπεῖν, ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἓν τὸ ὂν καὶ ἀκίνητον λέγοντας ἀντιλέγει. κἂν γὰρ ὀνόμασιν ἄλλοις χρῶνται, τὰ αὐτὰ ὅμως κἀκεῖνοι λέγουσί τε καὶ ζητοῦσιν. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν μὲν τοῖς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἅπερ ἐστὶ περὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ ὄντος, τὸν Παρμενίδην (38, 20) ἓν τὸ ὂν καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀγένητον λέγειν, ‘κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα’, φησί, ‘φυσιολογῶν, οὔτε ἓν λέγων ἔτι εἶναι τὸ ὂν οὔτε ἀγένητον, ἀρχὰς τῶν γινομένων ὑπέθετο πῦρ καὶ γῆν, τὴν γῆν μὲν ὡς ὕλην ὑποτιθεὶς τὸ δὲ πῦρ ὡς ποιητικὸν αἴτιον · καὶ ὀνομάζει, φησί, τὸ μὲν πῦρ φῶς, τὴν δὲ γῆν σκότος.’ καὶ εἰ μὲν ‘κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν (38, 25) δόξαν καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα’ οὕτως ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξεδέξατο, ὡς ὁ Παρμενίδης βούλεται δοξαστὸν τὸ αἰσθητὸν καλῶν, εὖ ἄν ἔχοι · εἰ δὲ ψευδεῖς πάντῃ τοὺς λόγους οἴεται ἐκείνους καὶ εἰ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον τὸ φῶς ἢ τὸ πῦρ νομίζει λέγεσθαι, οὐ καλῶς οἴεται. συμπληρώσας γὰρ τὸν περὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ λόγον ὁ Παρμενίδης ἐπάγει ταυτί, ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον παρεθέμην· (38, 30) ‘ἐν τῷ σοι παύσω … παρελάσσῃ’ (fr. 8, 50–61). (39, 10) δοξαστὸν οὖν καὶ ἀπατηλὸν τοῦτον καλεῖ τὸν λόγον οὐχ ὡς ψευδῆ ἁπλῶς ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς νοητῆς ἀληθείας εἰς τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ δοκοῦν, τὸ αἰσθητόν, ἐκπεπτωκότα. μετ᾽ ὀλίγα δὲ πάλιν περὶ τῶν δυεῖν στοιχείων εἰπὼν ἐπάγει καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν λέγων οὕτως · ‘αἱ γὰρ στεινότεραι … κυβερνᾷ’ (fr. 12, 1–3). (39, 17) ταύτην καὶ θεῶν αἰτίαν εἶναί φησι λέγων ‘πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων’ (fr. 13) καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς πέμπειν ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς (39, 20) εἰς τὸ ἀιδές, ποτὲ δὲ ἀνάπαλίν φησιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν νῦν ἄγνοιαν τῶν παλαιῶν γραμμάτων μηκύνειν ἀναγκάζομαι. εἰκότως δὲ ἓν λέγοντες τὸ ὂν καὶ ἀκίνητον ἔλεγον, εἴπερ περὶ φυσικῶν διελέγοντο. συνεισήγετο

For along with motion would be introduced that in respect of which motion [takes place]—whether quality or quantity or something else—and place too would be introduced [along with it] if there was (39, 25) natural motion, but that is different from what undergoes motion. But Parmenides, speaking about intelligible being, declares, "It is changeless," he says, "in the coils of huge bonds … authentic conviction" (fr. 8, 26–28), (40, 2) and he introduces the cause of motionlessness: "It remains thus where it is perpetually … would lack everything" (fr. 8, 30–33). (40, 7) For as what-is-not, he says, is lacking everything, so what-is is not lacking and is complete. But what is moved is in need of that on account of which it is moved; therefore what-is is not moved.

208. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 77, 9–80, 4 Diels (*ad* 185ª20, cf. t. 21)

(77, 9) Since Alexander of Aphrodisias considers it worthwhile to contradict with his own arguments (77, 10) those who say that what-is is one, let's see briefly how he seems to be correct and also how the ancient philosophy remains unrefuted. "To those who say that the other things, those that are subject to generation, do not exist since they sometimes are and sometimes are not, and that only the eternal substance exists since it in no way participates in not being, we should first speak on the basis of the manifest facts and common (77, 15) conception and usage. For they seem to everyone to exist and this is how people think and speak. Next, if they deny that they exist because they come to be and perish, since what comes to be comes to be something and what perishes perishes from being, what comes to be and what perishes would be existing things. For even if they do not exist in the same way as eternal things, that does not mean that they do not exist. And if it is because (77, 20) they perish that they do not exist," he says, "when they do not perish and in the respect that they do not perish, in that respect they would exist at that time."

To these and suchlike doctrines the common argument should be stated that (a) just as we call white anything that is tinged with whiteness in any way whatsoever, even if it is mixed up together with more of the contrary, but we also call white that which is unmixed with the contrary, and likewise for beautiful, and (b) what is strictly called each of those [terms] (77, 25) is what is purely so, while what is mixed with the contrary is called so roughly and loosely, (c) so also what is "all together" (fr. 8, 5) in all respects would be called chiefly what is, while

γὰρ τῇ κινήσει καὶ τὸ καθ' ὃ ἡ κίνησις, εἴτε κατὰ ποιότητα εἴτε κατὰ [146]
ποσότητα ἢ κατ' ἄλλο τι, συνεισήγετο δὲ καὶ ὁ τόπος, εἴπερ ἦν (39, 25)
φυσικὴ κίνησις, ἄλλος ὢν παρὰ τὸ κινούμενον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Παρμενίδης
περὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ λέγων ὄντος 'αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον,' φησί, 'μεγάλων ἐν πείρασι [147]
δεσμῶν … πίστις ἀληθής, (fr. 8, 26–28), (40, 2) καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς
ἀκινησίας ἐπάγει, 'οὕτως ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένει … παντὸς ἐδεῖτο' (fr. 8,
30–33). (40, 7) ὡς γὰρ τὸ μὴ ὄν, φησίν, ἐνδεὲς πάντων ἐστίν, οὕτως τὸ ὂν
ἀνενδεὲς καὶ τέλειον. τὸ δὲ κινούμενον ἐνδεὲς ἐκείνου δι' ὃ κινεῖται · τὸ
ἄρα ὂν οὐ κινεῖται.

208. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 77, 9–80, 4 Diels (*ad* 185ª20, cf. t. 21)

(77, 9) ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Ἀφροδισιεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ δι' οἰκείων ἐπιχειρημάτων
(77, 10) ἀντιλέγειν ἀξιοῖ τοῖς ἓν τὸ ὂν λέγουσι, φέρε συντόμως ἴδωμεν πῇ
καὶ αὐτὸς εὖ λέγειν δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ παλαιὰ φιλοσοφία μένει ἀνέλεγκτος. 'πρὸς
γὰρ τοὺς λέγοντας', φησί, 'μὴ εἶναι τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐν γενέσει ὡς ποτὲ μὲν
ὄντα ποτὲ δὲ μὴ ὄντα, μόνην δὲ εἶναι τὴν ἀίδιον οὐσίαν διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς
τοῦ μὴ εἶναι μετέχειν, πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναργείας καὶ τῆς κοινῆς (77, 15)
ἐννοίας καὶ χρήσεως ῥητέον. πᾶσι γὰρ ὄντα τε εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ οὕτως
φρονοῦσί τε καὶ λέγουσιν. ἔπειτα εἰ διότι γίνεται καὶ φθείρεται οὗ φασιν
αὐτὰ εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ὄν τι γίνεται καὶ τὸ φθειρόμενον ἐξ
ὄντος φθείρεται, εἴη ἂν καὶ τὸ γινόμενον καὶ τὸ φθειρόμενον τῶν ὄντων.
οὐ γὰρ εἰ μὴ ὁμοίως ἔστι τοῖς ἀιδίοις, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ εἰ διὰ (77,
20) τοῦτο μὴ ἔστι', φησίν, 'ὅτι φθείρεται, ὅτε μὴ φθείρεται καὶ καθ' ὃ μὴ
φθείρεται, κατὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἴη καὶ τότε.' πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
κοινὸς λεγέσθω ὁ λόγος, ὅτι ὥσπερ λευκὸν λέγομεν καὶ τὸ ὁπωσοῦν
λευκότητι παρακεχρωσμένον, κἂν πλείονι τῷ ἐναντίῳ συναναπέφυρται,
λευκὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀμιγὲς τοῦ ἐναντίου, καὶ καλὸν ὁμοίως, καὶ κυρίως μὲν
τούτων (77, 25) ἕκαστον λέγεται τὸ εἰλικρινῶς τοιοῦτον, ὁλοσχερῶς δὲ καὶ
καταχρηστικῶς τὸ τῷ ἐναντίῳ συμμεμιγμένον, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ὂν κυρίως
μὲν ἂν λέγοιτο τὸ κατὰ πάντα ὂν 'ὁμοῦ πᾶν' (fr. 8, 5), τὸ δὲ γινόμενον

what comes to be and perishes does not exist before it comes to be and after it perishes it is no longer, and when it seems to exist, since it has its existence in coming to be and perishing, never (77, 30) "remaining in the same state," (fr. 8, 29) not even then should it strictly be called a thing-that-is but something that comes to be and perishes, because of the continuous flux that interchanges all things, which Heraclitus spoke of riddlingly in the phrase "not being able to step twice into the same river," using the perpetual flux of the river as an image for coming to be, which contains more non-being than being: for what-is, as Parmenides says, has other signs. But it is better to hear (78, 1) the very things he says and demonstrates about that which strictly is. For after faulting those who combine what-is and what-is-not in the intelligible, "by whom this has been accepted as both being and not being the same and not the same" (fr. 5, 8–9) (78, 5) and after turning them away from the way that investigates what-is-not—"But do you keep your thought from this way of enquiry" (fr. 7, 2)—he continues, "Only one story … very many (78, 10) signs" (fr. 8, 1–3), and he then presents the signs of what strictly is: "That Being is ungenerated … loosen it in her fetters" (fr. 8, 3–14). By saying this about what strictly is he evidently demonstrates that (78, 25) this entity is ungenerated: for it [did not come to be] from what-is, since another entity did not pre-exist it, nor from what-is-not, since what-is-not does not even exist. And further, why did it come to be then and not earlier or later? Nor [did it come to be] from what in one way is, but in another way is not, as what is generated comes to be, for what in one way is but in another way is not could not pre-exist that which is without qualification, but exists after it. Also, in Plato (79, 1) Timaeus says, "The past and future are forms of time that have come to be, and we do not notice that it is incorrect for us to attribute them to the eternal substance, for we say that it was and is and will be, but on the true account, 'is' alone properly belongs to it. 'Was' and 'will be' should only be spoken in relation to generation that goes on in time" (*Ti*. 37^{e}4–38^{a}2). (79, 5) And so if Alexander wants to prove that things that are subject to generation exist in any way whatsoever, and for this reason are loosely called things that are even if they are mixed up together with more non-being, and if he relies on the ordinary usage of the word, he will not need many arguments. But if he believes that what comes to be and perishes, in which there is more non-being than being, is a thing that strictly is, he did not (79, 10) pay attention to the signs of that-which-is that were spoken by Parmenides, nor does he

καὶ φθειρόμενον πρὸ μὲν τοῦ γενέσθαι οὔπω ἔστι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ φθαρῆναι [147]
οὐκέτι ἔστιν. καὶ ὅτε δὲ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι καὶ
φθείρεσθαι τὸ εἶναι ἔχει μηδέποτε (77, 30) ‘ἐν ταὐτῷ μένον’ (fr. 8, 29),
οὐδὲ τότε ὂν ἂν λέγοιτο κυρίως, ἀλλὰ γινόμενον καὶ φθειρόμενον διὰ
τὴν συνεχῆ ῥοὴν τὴν πάντα ἐναλλάσσουσαν · ἣν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ᾐνίξατο
διὰ τοῦ ‘εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν δὶς μὴ ἂν ἐμβῆναι’ (fr. 91) τῇ ἐνδελεχεῖ
τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥοῇ τὴν γένεσιν ἀπεικάζων πλέον τὸ μὴ ὂν ἔχουσαν τοῦ
ὄντος · τὸ γὰρ ὄν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Παρμενίδης, ἄλλα ἔχει σημεῖα. κάλλιον δὲ
αὐτῶν (78, 1) ἀκούειν τῶν περὶ τοῦ κυρίως ὄντος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λεγομένων καὶ
ἀποδεικνυμένων. μεμψάμενος γὰρ τοῖς τὸ ὂν καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν συμφέρουσιν ἐν
τῷ νοητῷ, ‘οἷς τὸ πέλειν τε καὶ οὐκ εἶναι ταὐτὸν νενόμισται κοὐ ταὐτόν’
(fr. 6, 8–9) (78, 5) καὶ ἀποστρέψας τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς τὸ μὴ ὂν ζητούσης, ‘ἀλλὰ
σὺ τῆσδ’ ἀφ’ ὁδοῦ διζήσιος εἶργε νόημα’ (fr. 7, 2), ἐπάγει ‘μοῦνος δ’ ἔτι
μῦθος … (78, 10) πολλὰ μάλα’ (fr. 8, 1–3) καὶ παραδίδωσι λοιπὸν τὰ τοῦ
κυρίως ὄντος σημεῖα · ‘ὡς ἀγένητον ἐόν … (78, 23) χαλάσασα πέδῃσιν’
(fr. 8, 3–14). ταῦτα δὴ περὶ τοῦ κυρίως ὄντος λέγων ἐναργῶς ἀποδείκνυσιν
ὅτι ἀγένητον (78, 25) τοῦτο τὸ ὄν · οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ὄντος, οὐ γὰρ προϋπῆρχεν [148]
ἄλλο ὄν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστι τὸ μὴ ὄν. καὶ διὰ τί δὴ
τότε ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον ἐγένετο; ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ πῇ μὲν
ὄντος πῇ δὲ μὴ ὄντος, ὡς τὸ γενητὸν γίνεται, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ ἁπλῶς ὄντος
προϋπάρχοι τὸ πῇ μὲν ὂν πῇ δὲ μὴ ὄν, ἀλλὰ μετ’ αὐτὸ ὑφέστηκε. καὶ ὁ
παρὰ Πλάτωνι (79, 1) δὲ Τίμαιος ‘τό τε ἦν ἔσται τε’, φησί (37e), ‘χρόνου
γεγονότα εἴδη, ἀναφέροντες λανθάνομεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀίδιον οὐσίαν οὐκ ὀρθῶς.
λέγομεν γὰρ δὴ ὡς ἦν ἔστι τε καὶ ἔσται · τῇ δὲ τὸ ἔστι μόνον κατὰ τὸν
ἀληθῆ λόγον προσήκει. τὸ δὲ ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔσται περὶ τὴν ἐν χρόνῳ γένεσιν
ἰοῦσαν πρέπει λέγεσθαι.’ (79, 5) ὥστε εἰ μὲν ὁπωσοῦν ὑφεστηκότα τὰ ἐν
γενέσει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταχρηστικῶς ὄντα λεγόμενα, κἂν πλείονι τῷ μὴ
ὄντι συναναπέφυρται, βούλεται δεῖξαι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς
πολλοῖς τοῦ ὀνόματος χρήσει ἐπαναπαύεται, οὐ πολλῶν δεήσεται λόγων.
εἰ δὲ οἴεται κυρίως ὂν εἶναι τὸ γινόμενον καὶ φθειρόμενον, ἐν ᾧ πλέον τοῦ
ὄντος τὸ μὴ ὄν, οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὸ (79, 10) τοῦ Παρμενίδου ῥηθεῖσι σημείοις

pay heed to Aristotle, who does well to call the Parmenidean [entity] "what just is," i.e., strictly is.

Alexander also faults Parmenides and Melissus for proving that what-is is unmoved because what is moved is held to depart from that in which it is; therefore, if what-is were to be moved too, it would depart from that in (79, 15) which it is; but it is in being; but what departs from being perishes, and what-is is imperishable. "But if the only [kind of] motion were [motion] in respect of substance (which would be called more strictly change, not motion), it would perhaps be reasonable for them to make these claims. (Although not even that which changes in respect of its own substance changes into not being unqualifiedly but into not being what it was, but something else; (79, 20) if, then, [this objection is to have force, it will hold for] what changes in respect of substance unqualifiedly, not in respect of a particular substance.) But since there are several [kinds of] motions, among which are [motion] in respect of quality, which is not a motion in respect of substance, their fear," he says, "is empty and vain."

It is surprising that after agreeing that "what changes not in respect of a particular substance but [in respect of substance] unqualifiedly" departs to not being he faults those who say that if what-is unqualifiedly (79, 25) and strictly changes, it perishes. For if it were some particular sort of thing that is, when it departed from [being] that sort of thing, nothing would prevent it from changing into another sort of thing. But since it is unqualifiedly, when it departs from this, what would it come to be? How could that particular entity alter which is constant and invariable, and is neither an accident of anything else nor is anything else an accident of it, but is just that very thing that it is? Therefore (79, 30) Parmenides after first proving through what he had previously said that what-is is ungenerated and imperishable, did well to continue, "Further, it is changeless … have strayed very far away" (fr. 8, 26–28), (80, 3) from which it is also clear that he thinks of the sensible, in which there is generation and perishing, as one thing, and of intelligible being as another.

[148] τοῦ ὄντος παρηκολούθησεν οὔτε τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει προσέχει τὸν νοῦν καλῶς τὸ Παρμενίδειον ‘ὅπερ ὂν’ καλέσαντι (186ᵃ33), τουτέστι κυρίως ὄν. μέμφεται δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Μέλισσον καὶ ὅτι ἀκίνητον δεικνύουσι τὸ ὄν, διότι τὸ κινούμενον ἐξίστασθαι δοκεῖ τούτου ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν · εἰ οὖν καὶ τὸ ὂν κινοῖτο, ἐκσταίη ἂν τούτου ἐν (79, 15) ᾧ ἐστιν, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ εἶναι · τὸ δὲ ἐξιστάμενον τοῦ εἶναι φθείρεται · ἄφθαρτον δὲ τὸ ὄν. ‘ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἡ κατ’ οὐσίαν’, φησίν, ‘ἦν μόνη κίνησις, ἣν μεταβολὴν ἄν τις κυριώτερον ἀλλ’ οὐ κίνησιν λέγοι, ἴσως εὐλόγως ἂν ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἐλέγετο. καίτοι οὐδὲ τὸ κατ’ οὐσίαν τὴν αὑτοῦ μεταβάλλον εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἁπλῶς ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ μὴ τοῦτο εἶναι ὃ ἦν, ἄλλο δέ τι, μεταβάλλει · (79, 20) ἀλλ’ εἴπερ ἄρα, τὸ κατ’ οὐσίαν μεταβάλλον ἁπλῶς, οὐ τήνδε. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείους εἰσὶ κινήσεις, ὧν καὶ ἡ κατὰ ποιότητα οὐκ οὖσα κατ’ οὐσίαν, κενόν’, ὥς φησι, ‘καὶ μάταιον τὸ δέος αὐτῶν’. καὶ θαυμαστὸν ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁμολογήσας ὅτι ‘τὸ κατ’ οὐσίαν μεταβάλλον οὐ τήνδε ἀλλ’ ἁπλῶς’ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ἂν οἴχοιτο, μέμφεται τοῖς λέγουσιν, εἰ μεταβάλλοι τὸ ἁπλῶς ὂν καὶ (79, 25) κυρίως ὄν, φθείρεσθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοιόνδε ὂν ἦν, ἐξιστάμενον τοῦ τοιοῦδε οὐδὲν ἐκώλυε τὸ <εἰς> ἄλλο τοιόνδε μεταβάλλειν · ἐπεὶ δὲ ἁπλῶς ὄν, ἐξιστάμενον τούτου τί ἂν γένοιτο; πῶς ἂν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὂν ἀλλοιοῖτο τὸ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχον, τὸ μήτε αὐτὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἄλλῳ μήτε ἄλλο τι συμβεβηκὸς ἔχον, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὂν ὅπερ ἐστί; καλῶς οὖν ὁ (79, 30) Παρμενίδης προδείξας διὰ τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων ὅτι ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτόν ἐστι τὸ ὂν ἐπήγαγεν ‘αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον … ἐπλάγχθησαν’ (fr. 8, 26–28). (80, 3) ἐξ οὗ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἄλλο τὸ αἰσθητὸν οἶδεν, ἐν ᾧ γένεσις καὶ ὄλεθρος, καὶ ἄλλο τὸ νοητὸν ὄν.

209. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 86, 19–87, 23 Diels (*ad* 185^{b}5, cf. t. 21)

(86, 19) I am surprised at Aristotle for objecting (86, 20) to those signs of the one which Parmenides declares to belong to the One Being. For he celebrates it as continuous: "Therefore it is all united, for Being draws near to Being" (fr. 8, 25), and it is indivisible, "since it is all alike" (fr. 8, 22), (86, 25) and Parmenides also declares in the following words that one and the same account of being holds for all things: "It is necessary to assert and conceive that this is Being. For it is for being, but Nothing is not" (fr. 5, 1–2). Thus, if whatever anyone might say or think of is that-which-is, there will be one account (86, 30) of being for all things. "And nothing" else "is or will be, another thing alongside Being, since … (87, 1) will be a name" (fr. 8, 37–38). In fact these men would accept the points introduced by Aristotle as absurdities for these hypotheses, if only we understand them charitably. For being indivisible, their One Being will be neither limited nor unlimited (87, 5) as a body. For indeed even Parmenides puts bodies among the objects of opinion, and Melissus says, "Being one, it must not have body. But if it had thickness, it would have parts and no longer would be one." And the indivisible, then, will have a limit—not as the limit of a body, but as the end and the beginning of all things-that-are, precisely in the same way as Aristotle too states that on his own view, intellect, or the (87, 10) first cause, is one—proclaiming "the rule of many is not a good thing" (*metaph*. Λ 10, 1076^{a}4)—and indivisible, proving also that intellect itself and the intelligible and intellection are unmoved, the end of all things, and the same. And he took this not only from Plato but also from Parmenides, who says, "The same thing is for conceiving … will you find conceive of it" (fr. 8, 34–36). (87, 17) For intellection is for the sake of the intelligible, i.e., that-which-is, and is its end. But further Aristotle introduced absurdities by taking "whole," "parts" and "continuous" as they apply to body. But if they were taken according to those men's (87, 20) conception, those men would even accept having parts as being in some rank of being, since he says that it is whole: "entire, unique" (fr. 8, 4), and that because of its continuity it is divisible ad infinitum: "Therefore it is all united, for Being draws near to Being" (fr. 8, 25).

209. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 86, 19–87, 23 Diels (*ad* 185^{b}5, cf. t. 21) [148]

(86, 19) θαυμάζω δὲ ἔγωγε τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τοῦ ἑνὸς τὰ [149]
σημαινόμενα (86, 20) ἀντειρηκότος, ἃ καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης τῷ ἑνὶ ὄντι προσεῖναί φησι. καὶ γὰρ συνεχὲς αὐτὸ ἀνυμνεῖ, ‘τῷ ξυνεχὲς πᾶν ἐστιν· ἐὸν γὰρ ἐόντι πελάζει’ (fr. 8, 25), καὶ ἀδιαίρετόν ἐστιν, ‘ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐστιν ὁμοῖον’ (ib. 22), (86, 25) ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάντων ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον τὸν τοῦ ὄντος ὁ Παρμενίδης φησὶν ἐν τούτοις · ‘χρὴ τὸ λέγειν τε νοεῖν τ’ ἐὸν ἔμμεναι · ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι, μηδὲν δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν’ (fr. 5, 1–2). εἰ οὖν ὅπερ ἄν τις ἢ εἴπῃ ἢ νοήσῃ τὸ ὄν ἐστι, πάντων εἷς ἔσται λόγος ὁ (86, 30) τοῦ ὄντος, οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἢ ἔσται πάρεξ, ‘ἄλλο πάρεξ τοῦ ἐόντος. ἐπεὶ … (87, 1) ὄνομ’ ἔσται’ (fr. 8, 36–38). καὶ τὰ ἐπαγόμενα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ὡς ἄτοπα ταύταις ταῖς ὑποθέσεσι δέξαιντο ἂν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι, εἴ τις εὐγνωμόνως αὐτῶν ἀκούσειεν. ἀδιαίρετον γὰρ ὂν τὸ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἓν ὂν οὔτε πεπερασμένον οὔτε ἄπειρον (87, 5) ὡς σῶμα ἔσται · καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης τὰ σώματα ἐν τοῖς δοξαστοῖς τίθησι καὶ ὁ Μέλισσος ‘ἓν ἐόν’, φησί, ‘δεῖ αὐτὸ σῶμα μὴ ἔχειν. εἰ δὲ ἔχοι πάχος, ἔχοι ἂν μόρια καὶ οὐκέτι ἓν εἴη’ (fr. 9). καὶ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον οὖν τὸ πέρας οὐχ ὡς πέρας ἕξει σώματος ἀλλ’ ὡς τέλος πάντων καὶ ἀρχὴ τῶν ὄντων καὶ ἁπλῶς οὕτως ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν παρ’ αὐτῷ νοῦν ἤτοι τὸ (87, 10) πρῶτον αἴτιον ἕν τε εἶναί φησιν, ‘οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη’ βοῶν (*metaph.* Λ 10, 1076^{a}4), καὶ ἀμέριστον, δεικνὺς καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ τέλος πάντων καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ νοῦν καὶ νοητόν καὶ νόησιν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ παρὰ Πλάτωνος μόνου ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Παρμενίδου λαβὼν λέγοντος ‘ταὐτὸν δ’ ἐστι νοεῖν … (87, 16) εὑρήσεις τὸ νοεῖν’ (fr. 8, 34–36) · ἕνεκα γὰρ τοῦ νοητοῦ, ταὐτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν τοῦ ὄντος, ἐστὶ τὸ νοεῖν τέλος ὂν αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὅλον καὶ τὰ μέρη καὶ τὸ συνεχὲς ὡς ἐπὶ σώματος λαμβάνων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης τὰ ἄτοπα ἐπήγαγεν. εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων (87, 20) ἔννοιαν λαμβάνοιντο, δέξαιντο ἂν ἐν τάξει τινὶ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τὸ μέρη ἔχειν, εἴπερ ὅλον αὐτό φησιν, ‘οὖλον μουνογενές τε’ (ib. 4), καὶ τὸ διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν ἐπ’ ἄπειρον εἶναι διαιρετόν, ‘τῷ ξυνεχὲς πᾶν ἐστιν, ἐὸν γὰρ ἐόντι πελάζει’ (ib. 25).

210. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 116, 6–117, 15 Diels (*ad* 186ª24, cf. t. 21) (t. 36 follows)

(116, 6) Porphyry too writes this, [taking] some things from Parmenides' verses, I think, some things from Aristotle, and from whomever else a person who wanted to set out Parmenides' opinion plausibly would mention. His account goes as follows. "If there is anything aside from what is white, it is not white, and if there is anything aside from what is good, (116, 10) it is not good, and if there is anything aside from what-is, it is not; but what is not is nothing; therefore there is only what-is. Therefore what-is is one. For if there are not one but a plurality of things-that-are, they will differ from one another either in being or in not being; but they cannot differ in being, for they are alike precisely in respect of being, and things that are alike are undifferentiated insofar as they are alike and in fact are not different, and things that are not (116, 15) different are one. Nor [can they differ] in not being, for things that are different must first be, and things-that-are-not do not differ at all from one another. Now if, he says, the plurality that is being hypothesized can differ and be different from one another neither in being nor in not being, it is clear that they will all be one and this is ungenerated and imperishable."

Moreover in what follows Aristotle seems to recall the Parmenidean account in the following way: (116, 20) if "is" signifies a single thing and both members of a contradictory proposition cannot hold simultaneously, there will not be anything that is not. He too has the same thing in mind as the foregoing. For if "is" signifies a single thing, what is aside from that (i.e., from what-is) is not and is nothing. And if both members of a contradictory proposition do not coexist, so that the same thing is simultaneously both a thing-that-is and a thing-that-is-not, it is clear that that which is aside from what-is will be a thing-that-is-not, and what-is-not is nothing.

(116, 25) If anyone desires to hear Parmenides himself stating these premises, he will find the premise that says that what is other than what-is is not and is nothing, which is the same as the [premise] that "is" is said in only one way, in the following verses: "The one, that a thing is … (117, 1) nor tell of it" (fr. 3, 3–8). That both members of a contradictory proposition are not simultaneously true, he states in the verses in which he faults those who combine contradictory claims into the same thing. For after saying, "For it is for being … I keep you first of all" (fr. 5, 1–3), (117, 7) he continues, "but secondly from that … backward again" (fr. 5, 4–9). (117, 14) So Aristotle first refutes the falsehood of the premises of this argument (117, 15) and then its invalidity.

210. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 116, 6–117, 15 Diels (*ad* 186ª24, cf. t. 21) (t. 36 subsequitur) [149]

(116, 6) Πορφύριος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν Παρμενιδείων ἐπῶν, ὡς οἶμαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ ὧν ἄν τις πιθανῶς ἐκθέσθαι τὴν Παρμενίδου δόξαν βουλόμενος εἴποι, γράφει ταῦτα, ἔχει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος οὕτως · ‘εἴ τι παρὰ τὸ λευκόν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖνο οὐ λευκόν ἐστι, καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ τὸ ἀγαθόν (116, 10) ἐστιν, ἐκεῖνο οὐκ ἀγαθόν ἐστι, καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ τὸ ὄν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖνο οὐκ ὄν ἐστι · τὸ δὲ οὐκ ὂν οὐδέν · τὸ ὂν ἄρα μόνον ἐστίν · ἓν ἄρα τὸ ὄν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ ἕν ἐστιν ἀλλὰ πλείω τὰ ὄντα, ἤτοι τῷ εἶναι διοίσει ἀλλήλων ἢ τῷ μὴ εἶναι · ἀλλ’ οὔτε τῷ εἶναι διαφέροι ἄν, κατὰ γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι ὅμοιά ἐστι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια ᾗ ὅμοια ἀδιάφορα καὶ οὐχ ἕτερα τυγχάνει ὄντα, τὰ δὲ μὴ (116, 15) ἕτερα ἕν ἐστιν · οὔτε τῷ μὴ εἶναι, τὰ γὰρ διαφέροντα πρότερον εἶναι δεῖ, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὄντα οὐδὲν διαφέρει ἀλλήλων · εἰ τοίνυν πλείω φησίν ὑποτιθέμενα μήτε τῷ εἶναι μήτε τῷ [150] μὴ εἶναι διαφέρειν οἷόν τε καὶ ἕτερα εἶναι ἀλλήλων, δῆλον ὡς ἓν πάντα ἔσται καὶ τοῦτο ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἄφθαρτον.’ ὁ μέντοι Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ἔοικεν οὕτω πως ἀπομνημονεύειν τοῦ Παρμενιδείου (116, 20) λόγου · εἰ ἓν σημαίνει τὸ ὂν καὶ μὴ οἷόν τε εἶναι ἅμα τὴν ἀντίφασιν, οὐκ ἔσται οὐδὲν μὴ ὄν. ταὐτὸν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐννοεῖ τοῖς προτέροις · εἰ γὰρ ἓν σημαίνει τὸ ὄν, τὸ παρ’ ἐκεῖνο οὐκ ὂν καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι. καὶ εἰ μὴ συνυπάρχει ἡ ἀντίφασις, ὥστε ταὐτὸν καὶ ὂν ἅμα καὶ οὐκ ὂν εἶναι, δῆλον ὅτι τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ὂν ἔσται καὶ τὸ οὐκ ὂν οὐδέν.

(116, 25) εἰ δέ τις ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παρμενίδου ταύτας λέγοντος ἀκοῦσαι τὰς προτάσεις, τὴν μὲν τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ὂν καὶ οὐδὲν λέγουσαν, ἥτις ἡ αὐτή ἐστι τῇ τὸ ὂν μοναχῶς λέγεσθαι, εὑρήσει ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔπεσιν, (116, 28) ‘ἡ μὲν ὅπως ἐστίν τε … (117, 1) οὔτε φράσαις’ (fr. 3, 3–8) · ὅτι δὲ ἡ ἀντίφασις οὐ συναληθεύει, δι’ ἐκείνων λέγει τῶν ἐπῶν, δι’ ὧν μέμφεται τοῖς εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγουσι τὰ ἀντικείμενα · εἰπὼν γὰρ (117, 4) ‘ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι … διζήσιος <εἴργω>’ (fr. 5, 1–3), (117, 7) <ἐπάγει> ‘αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ’ ἀπὸ τῆς … κέλευθος’ (ib. 4–9). (117, 14) τούτου δὴ τοῦ λόγου πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψεῦδος ἐλέγχει τῶν προτάσεων ὁ (117, 15) Ἀριστοτέλης, εἶτα τὸ ἀσυλλόγιστον.

211. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 120, 12–29 Diels (*ad* 186ª25, cf. t. 21)

(120, 12) On account of their ignorance of these things, the philosophers called Megarians, taking as an evident premise that things whose accounts are different are themselves different, and that (120, 15) things that are different are separate from one another, believed that they proved that each thing is separate from itself. For since there is one account of musical Socrates and another of white Socrates, Socrates himself will be separate from himself. But it is clear that he is the same in respect of the subject in virtue of which he in fact is Socrates, and he is different in respect of his accidents, just as he is one thing or many (120, 20) in one respect or another. Moreover it is clear that Parmenides above all was not ignorant of this difference, since while speaking of one thing he predicated so many things of it. For it is "entire, unique, unmoved and ungenerated" (fr. 8, 4), and unmoved and eternal and indivisible and thousands of other things, all of which, on account of the inseparable (120, 25) unity there (i.e., in the One Being) of these [attributes] that are predicated of it, proved to be one, because they were all separated after it by a single cause, and from them we attribute the separate predicates to it. However, Parmenides nowhere stated this rule, since this logical practice (i.e., of fully setting out the premises of arguments) did not suit the brevity of speech used by the ancients.

212. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 139, 24–27; 140, 21–25 Diels (*ad* 187ª1, cf. t. 21)

(139, 24) However, Porphyry declares that the argument based on dichotomy is due to Parmenides (139, 25) who was attempting to prove from it that what-is is one. He writes as follows: "Parmenides had another argument which claimed to prove through dichotomy that what-is is only one and also without parts and indivisible." … (140, 21) But it is worth considering carefully whether the argument is due to Parmenides rather than Zeno, as Alexander thinks too. For no such thing is said in the writings of Parmenides and the fullest inquiry traces the puzzle of the dichotomy (140, 25) back to Zeno.

211. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 120, 12–29 Diels (*ad* 186ª25, cf. t. 21) [150]

(120, 12) διὰ δὲ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἄγνοιαν καὶ οἱ Μεγαρικοὶ κληθέντες φιλόσοφοι, λαβόντες ὡς ἐναργῆ πρότασιν ὅτι ὧν οἱ λόγοι ἕτεροι, ταῦτα ἕτερά ἐστι, καὶ ὅτι τὰ (120, 15) ἕτερα κεχώρισται ἀλλήλων, ἐδόκουν δεικνύναι αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ κεχωρισμένον ἕκαστον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἄλλος μὲν λόγος Σωκράτους μουσικοῦ, ἄλλος δὲ Σωκράτους λευκοῦ, εἴη ἂν καὶ Σωκράτης αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ κεχωρισμένος. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὸ ὑποκείμενον, καθ' ὃ καὶ ἔστι Σωκράτης, ὁ αὐτός ἐστι, κατὰ δὲ τὰ συμβεβηκότα ἕτερος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἓν καὶ πολλὰ (120, 20) κατ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο. ὅτι μέντοι Παρμενίδης μάλιστα πάντων οὐκ ἠγνόει τὴν τοιαύτην διαφορὰν δῆλον, εἴπερ ἓν λέγων τοσαῦτα κατηγόρει αὐτοῦ, ἔστι γὰρ 'οὖλον μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ' ἀγένητον' (fr. 8, 4) καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀίδιον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ μυρία ἄλλα, ἅπερ διὰ τὴν ἀδιάκριτον (120, 25) τούτων ἐκεῖ ἕνωσιν τῶν κατηγορηθέντων αὐτοῦ ἓν πάντα ἦν, ὡς πάντων ἑνὶ αἰτίῳ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸ διακριθέντων, ἀφ' ὧν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο τὰς διακεκριμένας κατηγορίας ἀναφέρομεν. τὸν μέντοι κανόνα αὐτὸν οὐδαμοῦ Παρμενίδης ἐξήνεγκεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν οἰκεῖον τὸ κανονικὸν τοῦτο τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων βραχυλογίας.

212. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 139, 24–27; 140, 21–25 Diels (*ad* 187ª1, cf. t. 21)

(139, 24) ὁ μέντοι Πορφύριος καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς διχοτομίας λόγον Παρμενίδου (139, 25) φησὶν εἶναι ἓν τὸ ὂν ἐκ ταύτης πειρωμένου δεικνύναι. γράφει δὲ οὕτως· 'ἕτερος δὲ ἦν λόγος τῷ Παρμενίδῃ ὁ διὰ τῆς διχοτομίας οἰόμενος δεικνύναι τὸ ὂν ἓν εἶναι μόνον καὶ τοῦτο ἀμερὲς καὶ ἀδιαίρετον …' (140, 21) ἐφιστάνειν δὲ ἄξιον, εἰ Παρμενίδου καὶ μὴ Ζήνωνός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, [151] ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοκεῖ. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Παρμενιδείοις λέγεταί τι τοιοῦτο καὶ ἡ πλείστη ἱστορία τὴν ἐκ τῆς διχοτομίας ἀπορίαν εἰς τὸν Ζήνωνα (140, 25) ἀναπέμπει.

213. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 142, 28–147, 32; 148, 3–22 Diels (*ad* 187[a]1, cf. t. 21)

(142, 28) Since we have now reached the end of the arguments against Parmenides, it will be a good idea to trace out the opinion of Parmenides himself about the One Being, as is (142, 30) in keeping with the present topic, and to consider against what point the counter-arguments have arisen.

That Parmenides does not posit the One Being as something that comes to be and perishes is shown by his sign that declares the One ungenerated and imperishable, where he says, "Only one story of the way … imperishable" (fr. 8, 1–3). (143, 1) Nor does he want the One Being to be in any way corporeal, since he declares it indivisible, saying, "Nor is it divisible, since it is all alike" (fr. 8, 22). So what he says does not even apply to the heaven, as (143, 5) Eudemus reports (fr. 45 Wehrli, cf. t. 38) that some supposed when they heard [the expression], "from every viewpoint, like the volume of a spherical ball" (fr. 8, 43). For the heaven is not indivisible, and not like a sphere either, but it *is* a sphere—the most precise [sphere] among natural things. That Parmenides holds that the One Being is not a psychic entity either is shown by his calling it unmoved: (143, 10) "Alone and unmoved is that for which as a whole the name is 'to be'" (fr. 8, 38), since even according to the Eleatics psychic substance has motion. He also says that Being is all together: "since it is now all together" (fr. 8, 5)—and constant and invariable: (143, 15) "remaining the same and in the same state, it lies by itself" (fr. 8, 29). And clearly it possesses [the characteristics] "all together" and being constant— hich are superior to psychic existence—in substance, in potentiality and in actuality.

He never calls it intellective either. For the intellective exists in virtue of separation from the intelligible and return towards the intelligible, (143, 20) but the One Being, he says, is identical with intellection and the intelligible and obviously with Intellect, writing as follows: "The same thing is for conceiving as is the cause of the thought conceived; for not without Being," that is, the intelligible, "when predications have been asserted of it, (143, 25) will you find the cause so as to conceive of it" (fr. 8, 34–36). But the intellective is further separated into Forms, just as the intelligible in its unity contains in advance the separation of the Forms. For wherever there is separation there is difference, and where there is this [difference], that-which-is-not shows up as well, for each [of the different things] is not the other; but Parmenides completely

213. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 142, 28–147, 32; 148, 3–22 Diels (*ad* 187[a]1, cf. t. 21) [151]

(142, 28) ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρὸς πέρας ἤδη τῶν πρὸς Παρμενίδην λόγων ἀφίγμεθα, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι τήν τε Παρμενίδου δόξαν αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος ὡς (142, 30) σύμμετρον τοῖς προκειμένοις ἀνιχνεῦσαι καὶ τὰς ἀντιλογίας πρὸς τί γεγόνασιν ἐπισκέψασθαι. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ τῶν γινομένων τι καὶ φθειρομένων ὁ Παρμενίδης τὸ ἓν ὂν τίθεται, δηλοῖ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτοῦ ἓν τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον λέγον, ἐν οἷς φησι (142, 34) 'μόνος δ' ἔτι μῦθος ὁδοῖο … ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστιν' (fr. 8, 1–3). (143, 1) οὐ μὴν ουδὲ σωματικὸν ὅλως τὸ ἓν ὂν εἶναι βούλεται, εἴπερ ἀδιαίρετον αὐτό φησι λέγων 'οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐστιν ὁμοῖον' (fr. 8, 22). ὥστ' οὐδὲ τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐφαρμόττει τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα, ὥς τινας ὑπολαβεῖν (143, 5) ὁ Εὔδημός φησιν (fr. 45 Wehrli) ἀκούσαντας τοῦ 'πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ' (fr. 8, 43), οὐ γὰρ ἀδιαίρετος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅμοιος σφαίρᾳ· ἀλλὰ σφαιρά ἐστιν ἡ τῶν φυσικῶν ἀκριβεστάτη. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ ψυχικὸν τὸ ἓν ὂν ὁ Παρμενίδης λέγει, δηλοῖ τὸ ἀκίνητον αὐτὸ φάναι, (143, 10) 'οἷον ἀκίνητον τελέθει τῷ παντὶ ὄνομα εἶναι' (fr. 8, 38), τῆς ψυχικῆς οὐσίας καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἐλεατικοὺς κίνησιν ἐχούσης. λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁμοῦ πᾶν εἶναι τὸ ὄν, 'ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν' (fr. 8, 5) καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχειν, (143, 15) 'ταὐτὸν ὂν ἐν ταὐτῷ τε μένον καθ' ἑαυτό τε κεῖται' (ib. 29). καὶ δηλονότι καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἔχει τό τε 'ὁμοῦ πᾶν' καὶ τὸ κατὰ ταὐτά, ἅπερ ἐπέκεινα τῆς ψυχικῆς ἐστιν ὑποστάσεως. μήποτε δὲ οὐδὲ νοερὸν αὐτό φησι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ νοερὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ διάκρισιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἐπιστροφὴν ὑπέστη, (143, 20) τὸ δὲ ἓν ὂν ταὐτὸν εἶναί φησι νοεῖν τε καὶ νοητὸν καὶ νοῦν δηλονότι γράφων οὕτως· 'ταὐτὸν δ' ἐστὶ νοεῖν τε καὶ οὕνεκέν ἐστι νόημα. οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐόντος', τουτέστι τοῦ νοητοῦ, 'ἐν ᾧ πεφατισμένον ἐστίν, (143, 25) εὑρήσεις τὸ νοεῖν' (ib. 34–36). ἔτι δὲ τὸ νοερὸν διακεκριμένον ἐστὶν εἰς εἴδη, ὥσπερ τὸ νοητὸν ἡνωμένως τὴν τῶν εἰδῶν διάκρισιν προείληφεν· ὅπου δὲ διάκρισις, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἑτερότης· ταύτης δὲ οὔσης καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν παραφαίνεται, τὸ γὰρ ἕτερον οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπερ τὸ ἕτερον, ὁ δὲ Παρμενίδης τὸ μὴ ὂν ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος παντάπασιν

banishes what-is-not from the One (143, 30) Being: (144, 1) "For this principle shall never … this way of enquiry" (fr. 7, 1–2).

Nor does he want the One Being to be a common characteristic: neither one that exists among our conceptions, which is generated later and is the result of abstraction (for this [kind of common characteristic] is neither ungenerated nor indestructible) nor one that is a common characteristic that occurs in things, (144, 5) for this [kind] is sensible and belongs to the deceptive objects of opinion, which he discusses later, and is also other than the differences [that exist between things], with the result that it is already subject to difference and what-is-not. Further, how could the property of being now all together be true of this, or that of including in itself intellect and the intelligible?

But is he perhaps claiming that the One Being is an individual substance, or is this not still more discordant? For an individual substance (144, 10) is generated, marked by difference, enmattered, sensible, and varying along with its accident. It is also divisible and undergoes motion.

What remains is that the intelligible cause of all things, through which there is both intellect and intellection, in which all things are contained in advance in a way that brings them together in one unity and in a unified way—it remains that this is the Parmenidean One Being, in which there is a single nature of both One and Being. This is also why (144, 15) Zeno announced that if anyone could show him the One he would produce Being, not because he gave up on the One but because it coexists together with Being.

And in fact all the previously mentioned conclusions apply to this One Being: being ungenerated and imperishable, and being complete, unique. For what is prior to every separation could not be posterior to that which is [linked] with something else. Also the property of being "all (144, 20) together" belongs to this, as does the fact that what-is-not has no room anywhere in it, and in addition the properties of being indivisible and unmoved in respect of every kind of division and motion, and of standing as the constant and invariable cause and limit of all things. If this is the object of intellection, then clearly it is the intelligible, for the intelligible is the object of both intellection and intellect. And if both intellection and the intelligible (144, 25) are the same in the same, the superiority of its unity would be indescribable.

In case someone supposes that I am not sticking to the text, I am pleased to append to these comments Parmenides' verses on the One Being, since they are not many—both to gain trust in what I have said

(143, 30) ἐξορίζει · ‘οὐ γὰρ μήποτε … (144, 1) εἶργε νόημα’ (fr. 7, 1–2). ἀλλ’ [151]
οὐδὲ κοινότητά τινα εἶναι βούλεται τὸ ἓν ὄν, οὔτε τὴν ὑστερογενῆ καὶ ἐξ
ἀφαιρέσεως ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐννοίαις ὑφισταμένην, οὔτε γὰρ ἀγένητος
οὔτε ἀνώλεθρός ἐστιν αὕτη, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασίν ἐστι (144, 5)
κοινότης · αἰσθητὴ γὰρ αὕτη καὶ τῶν δοξαστῶν καὶ ἀπατηλῶν, περὶ ὧν
ὕστερον λέγει, καὶ ἄλλη παρὰ τὰς διαφοράς ἐστιν, ὡς ἤδη πεπονθέναι
τὴν ἑτερότητα καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν. πῶς δ’ ἂν ἐπὶ ταύτης ἀληθεύοι τὸ νῦν εἶναι
ὁμοῦ πᾶν ἢ τὸ συνῃρηκέναι ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὸ νοητόν; ἀλλ’ ἆρα [152]
μὴ οὐσίαν λέγει τὴν ἄτομον τὸ ἓν ὄν, ἣ αὕτη πλέον ἀπᾴδει; καὶ γὰρ
γενητὴ (144, 10) ἡ ἄτομος οὐσία καὶ ἑτερότητι διειλημμένη καὶ ἔνυλος
καὶ αἰσθητὴ καὶ ἄλλη παρὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἔστι δὲ καὶ διαιρετὴ καὶ ἐν
κινήσει. λείπεται οὖν τὸ νοητὸν πάντων αἴτιον, δι’ ὃ καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐστι καὶ
τὸ νοεῖν, ἐν ᾧ πάντα κατὰ μίαν ἕνωσιν συνῃρημένως προείληπται καὶ
ἡνωμένως, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ Παρμενίδειον ἓν ὄν, ἐν ᾧ μία φύσις καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς
καὶ ὄντος ἐστί. διὸ καὶ (144, 15) Ζήνων ἔλεγεν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ τὸ ἓν ἐπιδείξοι,
αὐτὸς ἀποδώσειν τὸ ὄν, οὐχ ὡς ἀπογινώσκων τοῦ ἑνός, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἅμα τῷ
ὄντι συνυφεστῶτος. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἑνὶ ὄντι πάντα ἁρμόττει τὰ εἰρημένα
συμπεράσματα · καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον καὶ τὸ ὁλόκληρον
μονογενές. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι μεθ’ ἑτέρου δεύτερον οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὸ πρὸ πάσης ὂν
διακρίσεως. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ‘ὁμοῦ (144, 20) πᾶν’ προσήκει καὶ τὸ μηδαμῇ
χώραν ἔχειν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ μὴ ὄν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀκίνητον κατὰ
πᾶν εἶδος διαιρέσεως καὶ κινήσεως καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως
αἴτιον καὶ πέρας τῶν πάντων ἑστάναι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν οὗ ἕνεκα τὸ νοεῖν,
δῆλον ὅτι τὸ νοητόν ἐστι · τοῦ γὰρ νοητοῦ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ ὁ νοῦς.
εἰ δὲ ταὐτὸν ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ (144, 25) τὸ νοητόν, ἄφατος ἂν
εἴη ἡ τῆς ἑνώσεως ὑπερβολή. καὶ εἴ τῳ μὴ δοκῶ γλίσχρος, ἡδέως ἂν τὰ
περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἔπη τοῦ Παρμενίδου μηδὲ πολλὰ ὄντα τοῖσδε τοῖς
ὑπομνήμασι παραγράψαιμι διά τε τὴν πίστιν τῶν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ λεγομένων

and on account of the rarity of Parmenides' treatise. The [verses] that occur after the elimination of what-is-not go as follows: "Only one story … deceptive composition of my verse" (fr. 8, 1–52).

(146, 26) These are Parmenides' verses about the One Being. After them he proceeds to discuss the objects of opinion, hypothesizing other principles for them which Aristotle too mentions in the following passage: "For even Parmenides makes the hot and the cold principles, though he calls them fire and earth" (*phys.* 188^{a}20–22 (cf. t. 22)). If he calls the One Being (146, 30) "like the volume of a spherical ball" (fr. 8, 43), do not be surprised: because of his poetry (147, 1) he is applying a mythical image. How does this differ from calling it a "silver egg," as Orpheus did (fr. 70 Kern)? And it is clear that some of his claims apply to what comes after [the One Being] as well, if we take them roughly, as the property of being "ungenerated and imperishable" belongs to both Soul and Intellect, and that of being "unmoved and remaining (147, 5) in the same" belongs to Intellect. But all of them together, understood without qualification, are appropriate to it (i.e., the One Being). For even if Soul and Intellect are ungenerated in some sense, [that property] belongs to them as derived from the intelligible. And it (i.e., the One Being) is what strictly possesses the property of being unmoved, since in it not even motion in respect of actuality has been distinguished, and the property of remaining in the same belongs strictly to what remains, whereas Soul and highly honored Intellect have proceeded (147, 10) from that which remains and have returned towards it. But it is clear that everything that is said to belong to it (i.e., the One Being) is contained in advance in it in a unified way, but separately and, as they made clear in the account, it has proceeded from it, posterior to it. It also seems to have been presented by Parmenides as the first cause, if indeed the all is "one" (fr. 8, 6) "together" (fr. 8, 5) and the "ultimate limit" (fr. 8, 42). But even if he did not call it simply One but One Being, (147, 15) and if [he called it] "unique" (fr. 8, 4) and if it is a limit but is "in a state of perfection" (fr. 8, 42), perhaps [those terms] indicate that the ineffable cause of all things is established above it.

How then do Plato and Aristotle show themselves as objecting to Parmenides? Plato, who objects to him on two points—for claiming that what-is is one and for completely eliminating what-is-not—makes his counter-argument from the standpoint of the intellective and separate ordering, (147, 20) in which Being is separated from the One and they do not both remain one, and the parts [are separated] from the

καὶ διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τοῦ Παρμενιδείου συγγράμματος. ἔχει δὲ οὑτωσὶ τὰ [152]
μετὰ τὴν τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἀναίρεσιν · (145, 1) ‘μόνος δ’ ἔτι μῦθος … (146, 25) ἀπατηλὸν ἀκούων’ (fr. 8, 1–52).

(146, 26) ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἔπη τοῦ Παρμενίδου, μεθ’ ἃ λοιπὸν περὶ τῶν δοξαστῶν διαλέγεται ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὑποτιθέμενος, ὧν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς μνημονεύει λέγων (188[a]20) ‘καὶ γὰρ Παρμενίδης θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἀρχὰς ποιεῖ, ταῦτα δὲ προσαγορεύει πῦρ καὶ γῆν.’ εἰ δ’ (146, 30) ‘εὐκύκλου σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ’ τὸ ἓν ὄν φησι, μὴ θαυμάσῃς · διὰ γὰρ τὴν ποίησιν καὶ μυθικοῦ τινος (147, 1) παράπτεται πλάσματος. τί οὖν διέφερε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἢ ὡς Ὀρφεὺς εἶπεν ‘ὠεὸν ἀργύφεον’ (fr. 70 K); καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τινὰ μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων ὁλοσχερέστερον λεγόμενα καὶ ἄλλοις ἐφαρμόττει τοῖς μετ’ αὐτό · ὥσπερ τὸ ‘ἀγένητον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον’ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ νοῒ προσήκει καὶ τὸ ‘ἀκίνητον καὶ ἐν ταὐτῷ (147, 5) μένον’ τῷ νοῒ · πάντα δὲ ἅμα καὶ εἰλικρινῶς ἀκουόμενα ἐκείνῳ πρέπει. κἂν γὰρ κατά τι σημαινόμενον ἀγένητός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ὁ νοῦς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ νοητοῦ παρήχθη. καὶ τὸ ἀκίνητον ἔχει κυρίως, ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲ ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν κίνησις διακέκριται καὶ τὸ ἐν ταὐτῷ μένειν κυρίως τῷ μένοντι προσήκει. ψυχὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ πολυτίμητος νοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ μένοντος (147, 10) προελήλυθε καὶ ἐπέστραπται πρὸς αὐτό. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ὅσα ὑπάρχειν ἐκείνῳ λέγεται ἡνωμένως μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ προείληπται, διακεκριμένως δὲ καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐμφαίνεται ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ μετ’ αὐτὸ προελήλυθε. καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν ὡς πρῶτον αἴτιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Παρμενίδου [153]
παραδίδοσθαι, εἴπερ ἕν ἐστι ὁμοῦ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ‘πεῖρας πύματον’. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἁπλῶς ἓν αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ ἓν ὂν εἶπε, (147, 15) καὶ εἰ ‘μονογενές’, καὶ εἰ πέρας μὲν ‘τετελεσμένον’ δέ, τάχα ἐνδείκνυται τὴν ἄρρητον τῶν πάντων αἰτίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἱδρῦσθαι.

πῶς οὖν καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀντιλέγοντες φαίνονται πρὸς τὸν Παρμενίδην; ἢ ὁ μὲν Πλάτων, διχῶς ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ κατά τε τὸ ἓν λέγειν τὸ ὂν καὶ κατὰ τὸ τελέως ἀναιρεῖν τὸ μὴ ὄν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νοεροῦ καὶ διακεκριμένου διακόσμου τὴν ἀντιλογίαν (147, 20) πεποίηται, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ὂν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς διεκρίθη καὶ οὐκ ἔμεινεν ἄμφω ἓν καὶ τὰ μέρη ἀπὸ

whole. On the basis of these claims Plato proved that the things-that-are are not one, but more than one. He also proved [that] what-is-not [is] on the basis of the difference among separate Forms, on account of which [difference] what is there, since it is considered in respect of one peculiar characteristic, is something that is, but is not motion or rest, and each of the others (147, 25) is what it is, but is not the remainder of them. And it is clear that this certainly holds wherever separation and difference have been revealed—both among intellective things in a way appropriate to Forms, and among sensible things in a way that involves extension.

Parmenides himself clearly admits this kind of what-is-not among the objects of opinion, since he calls the order of his verses about mortal opinions deceptive, and since where there is deception there is (147, 30) what-is-not—for the person who is deceived is one who believes that what-is-not is or that what-is is not. Further, not only Parmenides but also Plato eliminates that which completely is-not—since he even avoids inquiry about it, saying, … (*Soph*. 258^{e}6–259^{a}4). And there is nothing surprising about showing that this kind of not-being is found in this kind of thing that is, determined as it is by a single peculiar characteristic, (148, 5) while in that which is complete and intelligible and is all things in a unified way before all, not even this kind of not-being has any room.

Aristotle brings his counter-argument on the basis of a division. What-is, he says, is said either in many ways and in this way is many, or in only one way, and is either a substance or an accident. And it is clear that none of these applies to the intelligible, for it is in the sphere of generation (148, 10) that this division turns up, and, if indeed [it turns up there] in virtue of a cause, it is contained in advance in the intellective separation.

But no one should fault Plato and Aristotle for objecting to different conceptions (i.e., different from Parmenides'); they are benefiting mankind by preventing future misunderstandings—since they both show

[153] τοῦ ὅλου. ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔδειξεν ὁ Πλάτων ὅτι οὐχ ἓν ἀλλὰ πλείω τοῦ ἑνὸς τὰ ὄντα · τὸ δὲ μὴ ὂν ἔδειξεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν τοῖς διακεκριμένοις εἴδεσιν ἑτερότητος, δι᾽ ἣν τὸ ἐκεῖ ὂν κατὰ μίαν ἰδιότητα εἰλημμένον ὂν μέν ἐστι, κίνησις δὲ ἢ στάσις οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (147, 25) ἕκαστόν ἐστι μὲν ὅ ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκεῖ πάντως ἐστίν, ὅπου καὶ διάκρισις ἐξεφάνη καὶ ἑτερότης, ἐν μὲν τοῖς νοεροῖς εἰδητικῶς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς διαστατικῶς.[27] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μὴ ὂν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παρμενίδης ἐν τοῖς δοξαστοῖς συγχωρῶν φαίνεται, εἴπερ ἀπατηλὸν καλεῖ τῶν ἐπῶν τὸν κόσμον τὸν περὶ τὰς βροτείους δόξας, ὅπου δὲ ἀπάτη, ἐκεῖ (147, 30) τὸ μὴ ὄν · ἀπατᾶται γὰρ ὁ τὸ μὴ ὂν εἶναι ἢ τὸ ὂν μὴ εἶναι ἡγούμενος. τὸ μέντοι παντελῶς μὴ ὂν οὐχ ὁ Παρμενίδης μόνος ἀναιρεῖ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων, ὅς γε καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἀποφεύγει τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων · … (*soph.* 258^{e}6–9^{a}4) (148, 3) καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ὄντι τῷ κατὰ μίαν ἰδιότητα ἀφωρισμένῳ (148, 5) τὸ τοιοῦτον μὴ ὂν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἐν τῷ ὁλοτελεῖ καὶ νοητῷ καὶ πάντα ὄντι πρὸ πάντων ἡνωμένως μηδεμίαν χώραν ἔχοντος μηδὲ τοῦ τοιούτου μὴ ὄντος. ὁ μέντοι Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκ διαιρέσεως προσαγαγὼν τὴν ἀντιλογίαν, ἢ πολλαχῶς, φησί, λέγεται τὸ ὂν καὶ οὕτως πολλὰ ἔσται, ἢ μοναχῶς καὶ ἡ οὐσία ἢ συμβεβηκός. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲν τούτων τῷ νοητῷ προσήκει, ἐν τῇ γενέσει (148, 10) τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης ἀναφαινομένης καὶ εἴπερ ἄρα κατ᾽ αἰτίαν ἐν τῇ νοερᾷ διακρίσει προειλημμένης. μηδεὶς δὲ τῷ Πλάτωνι καὶ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει μεμφέσθω πρὸς ἄλλας ἐννοίας ἀντιλέγοντι. φιλανθρώπως γὰρ τὰς γενησομένας παρακοὰς προαναστέλλουσιν · ἐπεὶ ὅτι σοφὸν οἴονται τὸν Παρμενίδην

27. This sentence was omitted from the first edition. (RMcK)

that they think Parmenides wise, Plato by testifying to the "entirely noble depth" in the man's thought (*Theaet*. 184^{a}1, cf. t. 7) (148, 15) and presenting him as teaching Socrates the most profound lessons, Aristotle by considering that he somehow "sees further" (*metaph*. A 5, 986^{b}27, cf. t. 26) and contrasting him with the natural philosophers. Both Plato in the *Parmenides* presents this One Being, celebrating its superiority, and Aristotle [does so] in the *Metaphysics*, contending earnestly that it is one, and proclaiming (148, 20) "the rule of many is not a good thing" (*metaph*. Λ 10, 1076^{a}4) after he too had previously celebrated unity and had correctly beheld that intellect and the intelligible and substance and potentiality and actuality are the same thing there (i.e., in the case under consideration).

214. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 162, 11–22 Diels (*ad* 187^{a}26)
(162, 11) For Parmenides too proved that what really is is ungenerated on the basis of its being generated neither from what-is (for before it there was not anything that was) nor from what-is-not (for it must be generated from something, whereas what-is-not is nothing). Parmenides did a wonderful job of adding the reason why it is certainly necessary for a thing that is generated to be generated from what-is. (162, 15) In general, he says, if [it is generated] from what-is-not, what is the chance of its being generated just when it was generated rather than earlier or later? He writes as follows: "For what parentage … from Nothing?" (fr. 8, 6–10).

215. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 179, 29–180, 13 Diels (*ad* 188^{a}19, cf. t. 22)
(179, 29) For also those who declare what-is to be one and unmoved, (179, 30) such as Parmenides, also make the principles of natural things contrary. He too in his treatment of opinion "makes the hot and the cold principles, though he calls them fire and earth," and light and night or darkness. For after his discussion of truth he says: (180, 1) "For they resolved … heavy body" (fr. 8, 53–59), (180, 8) and a little later: "Now since … is there Nothing" (fr. 11). (180, 13) But if "neither has no share," it is shown both that both are principles and that they are contraries.

δηλοῦσιν ὁ μὲν Πλάτων ‘βάθος παντάπασι γενναῖον’ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ [153]
ἀνδρὸς (148, 15) μαρτυρῶν (*Theaet.* 183[e]) καὶ διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν τοῦ Σωκράτους τῶν ἀκροτάτων μαθημάτων παραδιδούς, ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης μᾶλλόν που βλέπειν αὐτὸν ὑπονοῶν (*metaph.* A5, 986[b]27) καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς αὐτὸν ἀντιδιαστέλλων. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τὸ ἓν ὂν τοῦτο παραδέδωκεν ἐν τῷ Παρμενίδῃ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνυμνῶν, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ ἓν αὐτὸ εἶναι διατεινόμενος καὶ ἀναβοῶν (148, 20) ‘οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη’ (*metaph.* Λ 10, 1076[a]4), πρότερον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὗτος τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀνυμνήσας καὶ ὅτι ταὐτὸν ἐκεῖ νοῦς καὶ νοητὸν καὶ οὐσία καὶ δύναμις καὶ ἐνέργεια καλῶς θεασάμενος.
[154]

144, 22 αἴτιον καὶ πέρας scripsi (cf. 147, 13–15): ὄν τε καὶ πέρατι codd.

214. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 162, 11–22 Diels (*ad* 187[a]26)
(162, 11) καὶ γὰρ καὶ Παρμενίδης ὅτι ἀγένητον τὸ ὄντως ὂν ἔδειξεν ἐκ τοῦ μήτε ἐξ ὄντος αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἦν τι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὄν · μήτε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, δεῖ γὰρ ἔκ τινος γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὂν οὐδέν ἐστι. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν τοῦ δεῖν πάντως ἐξ ὄντος γίνεσθαι (162, 15) τὸ γινόμενον θαυμαστῶς ὁ Παρμενίδης προσέθηκεν. ὅλως γάρ, φησίν, εἰ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, τίς ἡ ἀποκλήρωσις τοῦ τότε γενέσθαι, ὅτε ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον; γράφει δὲ οὕτως · (162, 18) ‘τίνα γὰρ γέννην … φῦν;’ (fr. 8, 6–10).

215. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 179, 29–180, 13 Diels (*ad* 188[a]19, cf. t. 22)
(179, 29) καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἓν τὸ ὂν καὶ ἀκίνητον (179, 30) λέγοντες, ὥσπερ Παρμενίδης, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν φυσικῶν ἐναντίας ποιοῦσι τὰς ἀρχάς. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δόξαν ‘θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἀρχὰς ποιεῖ · ταῦτα δὲ προσαγορεύει πῦρ καὶ γῆν’ καὶ φῶς καὶ νύκτα ἤτοι σκότος. λέγει γὰρ μετὰ τὰ περὶ ἀληθείας · (180, 1) ‘μορφὰς γὰρ κατέθεντο … ἐμβριθές τε’ (fr. 8, 53–59), (180, 6) καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα πάλιν · ‘αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ … μέτα μηδέν’ (fr. 11). (180, 13) εἰ δὲ μηδετέρῳ μέτα μηδέν, καὶ ὅτι ἀρχαὶ ἄμφω καὶ ὅτι ἐναντίαι δηλοῦται.

216. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 243, 31–244, 2 Diels (*ad* 191^{b}35, cf. t. 23)
(243, 31) It is clear that Parmenides was looking off at what unqualifiedly is not when he eliminated what-is-not, saying, (244, 1) "For this principle shall never … enquiry" (fr. 7, 1–2).

217. *Commentary on the books of Aristotle's Physics* 650, 11–14 Diels (*ad* 213^{b}4)
(650, 11) Also, just as there is no room in what completely is for what-is-not does not, neither is there for the void. "But do you … enquiry" (fr. 7, 2), declares the great Parmenides.

BOETHIUS

218. *Consolation of philosophy* iii, 12, 96
For such is the form of the divine substance that it neither spreads out into what is outside itself nor does it take anything from outside into itself, but as Parmenides says about it, "from every viewpoint … ball" (fr. 8, 43), it rotates the moving sphere of the world while keeping itself unmoved.

ANONYMUS BYZANTINUS I

219. Anonymus Byzantinus ed. Treu p. 52, 19 (= Maass, *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* p. 318, Martin 26, 26–27, 3)
(26, 26) Of the fixed stars that rotate with the universe, some are unnamed and unapprehended by us, as Parmenides the (27, 1) natural philosopher also said, while a thousand have been named down to the sixth magnitude, according to Aratus.

ANONYMUS BYZANTINUS II

220. Scholia ad Basilii *Hexahemeron,* ed. Pasquali, *Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, Nachrichten* 1910, XXV, p. 201, 2
[comment on: "if you hypothesize that what is beneath the earth is water"]: (201, 2) Parmenides in his verse called the earth "rooted in water" (fr. 16).

216. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 243, 31–244, 2 Diels (*ad* 191^{b}35, cf. t. 23) [154]
(243, 31) δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ὁ μὲν Παρμενίδης εἰς τὸ ἁπλῶς μὴ ὂν ἀποβλέπων ἀνῄρει τὸ μὴ ὂν λέγων (244, 1) ‘οὐ γὰρ μήποτε … νόημα’ (fr. 7, 1–2).

217. *in Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 650, 11–14 Diels (*ad* 213^{b}4)
(650, 11) καὶ τὸ κενὸν οὐκ ἔχει χώραν ἐν τῷ παντελῶς ὄντι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ μὴ ὄν, ‘ἀλλὰ σὺ … νόημα’ (fr. 7, 2) φησὶν ὁ μέγας Παρμενίδης.

BOETHIUS

218. *consolatio philosophiae* iii, 12, 96
ea est enim divinae forma substantiae ut neque in externa dilabatur nec in se externum aliquid ipsa suscipiat, sed sicut de ea Parmenides ait πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου … ὄγκῳ (fr. 8, 43), rerum orbem mobilem rotat, dum se immobilem ipsa conservat.

ANONYMUS BYZANTINUS 1

219. Anononymus Byzantinus ed. Treu 52, 19 (= Maass, *commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* p. 318, Martin 26, 26–27, 3
(26, 26) καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπλανῶν τῶν σὺν τῷ παντὶ περιαγομένων τὰ μὲν ἀκατονόμαστα ἡμῖν καὶ ἀπερίληπτα, ὡς καὶ Παρμενίδης ὁ (27, 1) φυσικὸς εἴρηκε, τὰ δὲ κατωνομασμένα ἕως ἕκτου μεγέθους χίλιά εἰσι κατὰ τὸν Ἄρατον. [155]

ANONYMUS BYZANTINUS 2

220. Scholia ad Basilii *Hexahemeron,* ed. Pasquali, *Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, Nachrichten* 1910, XXV, 201, 2
(201, 2) Παρμενίδης ἐν τῇ στιχοποιίᾳ ‘ὑδατόριζον’ (fr. 16) εἶπεν τὴν γῆν.

221. Scholia ad Basilii *Hexahemeron,* ed. Pasquali, *Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, Nachrichten* 1910, XXVI, p. 201, 3–4
[comment on: "the earth remains unmoved"]: (201, 3) Parmenides of Elea and Xenophanes of Colophon declared that the earth is unmoved.

221. Scholia ad Basilii *Hexahemeron,* ed. Pasquali, *Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, Nachrichten* 1910, XXVI, 201, 3–4 [155]
(201, 3) τὴν γῆν ἀκίνητον ἔφη Παρμενίδης ὁ Ἐλεάτης, Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος …

COMMENTARY

Commentary

[156]

FRAGMENT 1

The first 23 lines of P.'s poem describe a journey on which the poet imagines himself to have been driven by divine charioteers to a remote region, where he was welcomed by a goddess, whose address to him constitutes the whole of the rest of the work. The description appears to combine an account of a genuine visionary experience with symbolic elements and allusions to P.'s cosmological theories, as set out in the concluding part of the poem, in a way reminiscent of the *Divina Commedia* (*see* Introd. Sect. 3 (iii)). The last 9 lines of fr. 1 contain the goddess' preface to her address, in which she promises to inform him not only about the 'still heart of persuasive reality', but also about 'human beliefs which comprise no authentic conviction' and which are concerned with subjects which have no being except in experience.

The first 30 lines of the fragment are preserved by Sextus Empiricus (t. 136) together with fr. 7, 2–7, which he cites as if it were the immediate continuation. Sextus describes the lines as the commencement of P.'s poem περὶ φύσεως ['On Nature']. This was the conventional title of the work in later times (cf. tt. 124, 126) and Simplicius makes clear (t. 203) that it stood at the head of his manuscript. Xenophon includes the Eleatics among τῶν … περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων ['those who concern themselves with the nature of all things'] (t. 13), and Aristotle makes his main criticism of P. ἐν τοῖς περὶ φύσεως ['in our work on nature'] (cf. t. 26), but P. cannot have entitled his poem περὶ φύσεως ['On Nature'], since he confines the noun to the Beliefs of Mortals (frr. 9, ll.1, 5; 17, 3). It is possible that Empedocles so named his cosmological poem (cf. Hippocr. *de prisc. med.* 20); the phrase was later used indiscriminately as a title for Presocratic works, and was naturally fathered on P. because of his concern with τὸ ὅλον ['the whole'] (cf. Plat. *Lys.* 214^{b}).

P.'s contrast between what the goddess later (fr. 8, 50–52) describes as her reliable account of reality and her deceptive verses about human beliefs may be compared with Hecataeus' antithesis in the introduction to his *Genealogies:* Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται · τάδε γράφω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ

[156] ἀληθέα εἶναι · οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαί-
νονται, εἰσίν ['The following is the account of Hecataeus of Miletus. I write these things as they appear to me to be true. For the stories of the Greeks are many and foolish, as they appear to me'] (fr. 1 Jac.). Since the pronoun
[157] με ['me'] in P.'s first line needs a reference, it is reasonable to suppose that his poem was similarly introduced by some such phrase as Παρμενίδης Πύρητος Ἐλεάτης ὧδε μυθεῖται ['the following is the account of Parmenides of Elea, son of Pyrhes']. Any other title would then have been superfluous.

1 ἵπποι ταί με φέρουσιν ['the mares that carry me']: P.'s team, like all the figures in the prologue save himself, is female. Mares were most generally used in racing (cf. Jebb on Bacchyl. iii, 3), but P.'s choice here is motivated by his view (t. 34) that the female constitution is 'hotter' than the male and therefore more akin to the element of fire or light, which is the source of 'better and purer understanding' (t. 45).

1–2 The variations of tense and mood φέρουσιν ['carry'] … ἱκάνοι ['reached'] … πέμπον ['kept conveying'] … βῆσαν ['had set'] are significant. The present φέρουσιν indicates that P. regards himself as still drawn by the mares, though the journey to the goddess is past. They must then symbolise his own impulse to philosophise (*see* Introd. Sect. 3 (iii)). Their significance is strongly emphasised both here and in ll.24–25.

ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ θυμὸς ἱκάνοι ['as far as ever my spirit reached']: the optative is that of indefinite frequency, as in σπερχοίατο ['made haste'] in l.8. θυμός ['spirit'] was particularly used of a horse's mettle (cf. Xen. *eq.* 9 passim) but Diels' citation from Homer (ο 339, πέμψει δ' ὅππῃ σε κραδίη θυμός τε κελεύει ['you will be escorted wherever your heart and spirit bid']) is enough to show that P. alludes in the first instance to his own θυμός, of which the mares are the incarnation and symbol. The sense is that, once they had set him on the way to the goddess, they were able, as they were not previously, to take him as far as ever he desired.

2–3 ὁδὸν … πολύφημον … δαίμονος ['the goddess' way of much discourse']: the genitive is possessive; the way 'belongs to' the goddess, perhaps in the sense not merely that it leads to her but that it is prescribed by her (cf. l.28 n.), in the same way as in Pindar the way to the Island of the Blest 'belongs to' Zeus in the sense of being appointed by him for the chosen few (*Ol.* ii, 70, Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν ['the road of Zeus to the tower of Kronos'], schol. τὴν ὑπὸ Διὸς δεδειγμένην αὐτοῖς) ['the (sc. road) shown to them by

Zeus']. δαίμονος is understood as masculine in Sextus' paraphrase (t. 136) and as symbolising λόγος ['reason'], but it is impossible to doubt that it refers to the θεά ['goddess'] of l.22, who will, if the road to the habitation of the gods belongs to her, be pre-eminent among them. [157]

In Homer the word πολύφημος ['of much discourse'] characterises ἀοιδός ['bard'] and ἀγορήν (assembly) and means 'with many stories or voices'. If the way of the goddess is the Pythagorean life (Introd. Sect. 3 (iii)), the sense here will be similar, i.e. 'the way with much discourse'; cf. the language ascribed by Plato to the Pythagoreans (τοῖς γνησίως φιλοσόφοις ['the true philosophers']): κινδυνεύει τοι ὥσπερ ἀτραπός τις ἐκφέρειν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ σκέψει ['there is likely to be something like a path to guide us with reason in our thinking'] (*Phaedo* 66[b]) and to P. himself: ἕλκυσον δὲ σαυτὸν καὶ γύμνασαι μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς δοκούσης ἀχρήστου εἶναι καὶ καλουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀδολεσχίας … ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς διὰ πάντων διεξόδου τε καὶ πλάνης ἀδύνατον ἐντυχόντα τῷ ἀληθεῖ νοῦν σχεῖν ['drag yourself up and get more training through something that seems useless and that most people call idle chatter … without this universal and indirect method it is impossible to attain the truth and obtain understanding'] (*Parm.* 135[d], 136[e]). [158]

ἣ κατὰ πάντ' ἄ<ν>τη<ν> φέρει εἰδότα φῶτα ['which carries through every stage to meet her face to face a man of understanding']: the only manuscript readings here are the meaningless πάντ' ἄτη (**N**), πάντἀτη (L) and πάντα τῇ (E etc.). The supposed reading of **N** (ἄστη) is simply a mistake of Mutschmann the editor of Sextus (*see CQ* xviii, 1968, p. 75); in spite of various interpretations it is incompatible with l.27 and with the whole context. Emendations are numerous (αὐτὴ, ἀσινῆ, τατὴ, ἀδαῆ, ἀιδῆ etc.) but the truth was probably found by Heyne, although his concomitant alteration of εἰδότα shows that he failed to appreciate the felicity of his correction of ἄτη. For εἰδότα φῶτα ['man of understanding'] is the antithesis to βροτοὶ εἰδότες οὐδέν ['mortals with no understanding'] (fr. 5, 4), who are characterised as moving on a παλίντροπος κέλευθος ['journey that turns backwards again'] (ib. 9), and in lines immediately following a passage of Homer to which P. alludes in his description of the gateway (fr. 1, 14–21 after *Il.* **Θ** 393–396 = **E** 749–752, *see* Introd. Sect. 3 (i)), the antithesis of πάλιν τρέπεσθαι ['turn backwards'] is ἄντην ἔρχεσθαι ['meet face to face'] (βάσκ' ἴθι, **Ἶ**ρι ταχεῖα, πάλιν τρέπε μηδ' ἔα ἄντην/ἔρχεσθ' ['go quickly, swift Iris, turn them back and do not let them meet me face to face'], **Θ** 399–400). The correction ἄντην ['face to face'] is therefore exactly apt. It is not incompatible with the paraphrase cited by Sextus ἐπὶ τὴν ἁπάντων

[158] ὁδηγεῖ γνῶσιν ['guides the way to the knowledge of all things'], which may well have been made from an uncorrupted text.

The pronoun ἣ ['which'] refers not to δαίμονος ['goddess'] but to ὁδὸν ['way'], as is shown by the continuation τῇ φερόμην ['on this I was carried']; this leads by a natural transition into the repetition of the statement that he was drawn by the mares (τῇ γάρ με … φέρον ἵπποι ['for on this the … mares were carrying me']). There is no sense in which he was drawn by the goddess, though Simplicius speaks of her as 'sending' souls between the visible and the invisible worlds (πέμπειν, t. 207). The phrase ὁδὸν … ἣ … φέρει εἰδότα φῶτα ['way … which carries … a man of understanding'] is antithetical to the current expression ὁδὸν λαοφόρον, which was as old as Homer (O 682) and appears in the Pythagorean injunction τὰς λεωφόρους μὴ βαδίζειν ['not to walk on highways'] (Porph. *V.P.* 42). P.'s εἰδὼς φώς ['man of understanding'] may thus be identified as the Pythagorean philosopher.

κατὰ πάντ' ['through every stage']: through every point implied in the indefinite optative ἱκάνοι ['reached'] (l.1.); Plato uses the phrase in a slightly different sense in *Tim.* 30[d], κατὰ πάντα τελέῳ ['complete in every way'].

εἰδότα φῶτα ['man of understanding']: sc. Parmenides and anyone else similarly qualified. It is clear that what P. claims to have known at this stage of his journey cannot be any of the things which are subsequently revealed to him by the goddess (*see* Introd. Sect. 3 (ii)); the knowledge which he as
[159] yet possesses is only what qualifies him to be driven by the daughters of the sun along the ὁδὸν πολύφημον δαίμονος ['goddess' way of much discourse'].

The use of εἰδώς ['of understanding'] without qualification to denote the *conoscente* occurs especially in religious or theological contexts (e.g. Aristoph. *nub.* 1241 Ζεὺς γελοῖος ὀμνύμενος τοῖς εἰδόσιν ['swearing by Zeus is a joke for those who understand'], Pl. *symp.* 199[a] (Ἔρως) κάλλιστος καὶ ἄριστος δῆλον ὅτι τοῖς μὴ γιγνώσκουσιν, οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῖς γε εἰδόσιν ['(sc. Eros) is clearly most beautiful and best to those that do not know him, for he is surely not so to those who do'], Eur. *Rhes.* 973, Alexis fr. 267). The sense of P.'s phrase is later elucidated by himself in the contrasting phrase βροτοὶ εἰδότες οὐδὲν ['mortals with no understanding'] in fr. 5, 4. The philosophers there referred to are said to know nothing in the sense that they accept uncritically the reality of sensible objects (*see* n.). The understanding alluded to in εἰδότα φῶτα will therefore be the awareness that reality cannot be known through the senses. The ground of this dissatisfaction with the senses is formulated by the goddess as the law of contradiction (*see* n. on fr. 5, 7–9), but this is a part of her revelation and does not yet form part of P.'s knowledge, which is simply that of the 'genuine philosopher', who

ἀτιμάζει τὸ σῶμα καὶ φεύγει ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ [‘disdans the body and flees from it’] (Plat. *Phaedo* 64[e], 65[d]). [159]

4 πολύφραστοι [‘sagacious’] appears to be a coinage of P. recalling Achilles’ injunction to his horses, φράζεσθε σαωσέμεν ἡνιοχῆα [‘take care to keep your charioteer safe’] (*Il.* T 401). Hesiod however has Γαίης ἐννεσίῃσι πολυφραδέεσσι [‘cunning suggestions of Gaia’] (*theog.* 494) and ἄνδρα πολυφραδέοντα [‘cunning man’] (fr. 310). The adverb ἐπιφραδέως [‘cunningly’] used of the Heliades in l.16 appears likewise to be new. The related words suggest an affinity between mares and charioteers (who perhaps represent different elements in P.’s personality, Introd. Sect. 3 (iii)), as Plato characterises the spirited element of the soul (τὸ θυμοειδές) as ἐπίκουρον … τῷ λογιστικῷ φύσει [‘by nature an ally of the rational element’] (*resp.* iv, 441[a]). Where he adopts the chariot-image for the soul, Plato represents the gods with two good horses but men with one good and one bad (*Phaedr.* 246[b]).

5 κοῦραι [‘maidens’]: the word is emphatic, since female charioteers are unusual. They are not further identified till l.9, as the mares, though mentioned in l.1, are not further described till l.4; Diels remarks (*PL* 22) that this is a genuine epic trait, especially frequent in the use of the pronoun followed later by a proper name (e.g. ἡ δ᾽ ἦ τοι τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀναίνετο ἔργον ἀεικές, δῖα Κλυταιμνήστρη [‘but at first lady Clytemnestra refused to do the unseemly deed’], γ 265).

6 Both P. and Aeschylus assimilate the screeching of the nave, as it turns round the axle, to the sound of the shepherd’s pipe (cf. Aesch. *suppl.* 181, σύριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν ἀξονήλατοι [‘the axle-driven pipes are not silent’]). The tragedians’ use of σῦριγξ [‘pipe’] as a synonym for χνοίη [‘nave’] (Aesch. l.c., *sept.* 205, Soph. *El.* 721, Eur. *Hipp.* 1234) may owe as much to the noise made by the nave as to its tubular shape (Diels, *PL* p. 49). Aeschylus ascribes the noise to the nave (ll. cc., *sept.* 153), P. more exactly to the axle, considering the nave as an instrument, like the pipe. [160]

7 αἰθόμενος means ‘burning’ (not merely ‘glowing’). The blazing axle is the only feature of the chariot noted by P. as extraordinary; it derives in part from the fiery chariot of Hera in Homer (v. Introd. Sect. 3 (i)) but it is expressly related by P. to his reaching the light (called φλογὸς αἰθέριον πῦρ [‘aetherial fire of flame’], fr. 8, 56). It is noteworthy however that the allusion to the overheating of the axle, as to its screeching, is founded on physical fact (cf. l.13 n.).

[160]

7–8 P.'s language owes something to Homer's description of the landfall of the Phaeacian ship (ἠπείρῳ ἐπέκελσεν, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ (cf. l.1) ἥμισυ πάσης | σπερχομένη · τοίων γὰρ ἐπείγετο χέρσ' ἐρετάων ['it ran half its length up on the shore in its speed, so mighty were the oarsmen that were urging it forward'], ν 114–115). The assonance between Homer's σπερχομένη τοίων ['in its speed, so mighty'] and P.'s αἰθομένη δοιοῖς ['blazing metalled'] is also probably poetic reminiscence.

ἐπείγετο: 'was urged forward.'

δινωτοῖσιν ['metalled']: in Homer this word seems to be used of wooden objects 'inlaid' or 'overlaid' with another substance; it may be used without qualification (δινωτοῖσι λέχεσσι ['inlaid bed'], Γ 391) as here, or the overlay or inlay may be specified (leather and bronze, Ν 406–407; ivory and silver, τ 56). It seems more likely that P. used the word to signify 'metal-faced' (as Diomedes' car was χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένα κασσιτέρῳ τε ['coated with gold and tin'], Ψ 503) or 'with metal tyres' (D. B. Robinson, cf. Ε 724–725 etc.) than that he changed its sense to 'whirling' (LSJ, Diels etc.).

9–10 ἡλιάδες κοῦραι ['daughters of the sun']: Sextus' Stoic authority understood P.'s Heliades as an allegory for the eyes (t. 136), but it is clear that P. believed in the reality (on the non-metaphysical level) of such divinities (tt. 2, 54) and that, in so far as the Heliades are also symbolic, they stand for the intelligence, not the eyes (Introd. Sect. 3 (iii)).

In Homer the daughters of the sun (apart from Circe, who was born of a different mother and plays a separate rôle) were the nymphs Phaëthusa and Lampetië, who tended his cattle and sheep on the island of Thrinacia (μ 131 sq.). Hesiod (fr. 311) increased their number to seven and placed them in charge of their father's horses, which they lent against his command to their brother Phaëthon, after whose death they were changed into poplars. This story was followed by Aeschylus in his *Heliades.* P. ignores the legend of their transformation and therewith the whole story of Phaëthon, as he ignores Hesiod's treatment of Night and Day (*see* below).

προλιποῦσαι δώματα νυκτὸς ἐς φάος ['deserted the abode of night for the
[161] light']: the word-order shows that ἐς φάος ['for the light'] goes closely with προλιποῦσαι ['deserted'], not (as Diels punctuated) with πέμπειν ['convey']; cf. αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων (sc. τὴν πόλιν) ἐς Πελοπόννησον ['after they had abandoned (sc. the city and gone) to the Peloponnese'], Hdt. viii, 50, etc.

The antithesis night-light anticipates that between the two Forms so named in the Beliefs of Mortals and indicates that the cosmology of the prologue is related to that of the 'Beliefs'.

The expression δώματα νυκτός ['abode of night'] echoes Hesiod's νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς οἰκία δεινά ['dread house of dark night'] (*theog.* 744), as Diels recognised, but P. makes clear both by the antithesis with φάος ['light'] and by his *verbatim* quotation from Homer in l.11 that he does not personify night and day and that his 'house of night' (which is contrasted with ἡμέτερον δῶ ['our dwelling'], l.25) is not that of Hesiod. [161]

The sequence of events is shown by the tenses. It is after they have left the 'house of night' for the light and have thrown back their veils that they keep urging on the horses (σπερχοίατο ['made haste'] is a frequentative optative like ἱκάνοι ['reached'] in l.1), so that the axle whistles and blazes, and they replace the mares as subject of the verb πέμπειν ['convey'].

ὠσάμεναι … καλύπτρας ['having thrust … kerchiefs']: to throw away the καλύπτρα or κρήδεμνον ('mantilla') was a sign of abandonment either to grief (Χ 468) or to relaxation (ζ 100); to hold it before the face a sign of reserve, in modesty (α 334) or grief (*H. Dem.* 197). The Heliades 'push back their mantillas from their heads' and increase their speed because they have reached the light which is their natural habitation. The suggestion that they are at home in the 'house of night', from which they emerge to meet P. after he has commenced his journey along the way of the goddess, rests on the mistaken assumption that P. envisages night and her house in Hesiodic terms instead of in those of his own cosmology.

11 The language of this line is deliberately chosen and only attention to the implied allusions will reveal the sense.

The line opens with a phrase (ἔνθα πύλαι ['there … gates']) reminiscent of the classic epic allusions to the gates of Tartarus (ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι ['there are the iron gates'], Θ 15; ἔνθα δὲ μαρμάρεαί τε πύλαι ['there are the marble gates'], Hes. *theog.* 811, perhaps not by Hesiod). It continues with a word for word quotation from Homer's description of the absence of darkness in Laestrygonia (ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἤματός εἰσι κέλευθοι ['for the journeys of night and day are near'], κ 86).

An allusion to Laestrygonia is likely to have been suggested to P. partly by the apparent reference to a distant gate in Homer's phrase Τηλέπυλον ['Far-gated'] Λαιστρυγονίην ['Laestrygonia'] (κ 82), whether he understood the first word as the name of a city or (like Didymus) as an adjective, and partly by its perpetual daylight. A first approximation to his meaning will then be that he is approaching a remote gateway leading to a realm of perpetual light. Now according to Simplicius (in *phys.* p. 39, t. 207) the goddess who governs the physical world, whom there is reason to identify with the [162]

[162] divinity of the prologue (*see* n. on l.22), 'sends the souls now from the visible (τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς) to the invisible (τὸ ἀιδές) and now in the opposite direction'. This statement is confirmed and supplemented by Numenius' remark (t. 133) that P. referred to the two celestial gateways through which souls descend εἰς γένεσιν ['to birth'] and ascend εἰς θεούς ['to the gods']. Since in the prologue P. travels to a divinity, and since she uses the plural pronoun ἡμέτερον ['our'] in l.25, it is reasonable to identify the gate through which he passes as that through which souls 'ascend εἰς θεούς' (cf. n. on fr. 12, 3).

In Homer the phrase 'journeys of night and day' seems to signify the shepherds' homeward journey at night and their outward journey in the morning. P. uses it in a slightly altered sense to refer to the souls' journeys in night or darkness and in daylight. The expression 'gateway of the journeys of night and day' means that the gateway leads from journeys of the one kind to those of the other.

Since the phrase 'house of night' refers to the region which P. has left, it seems likely that, when Simplicius speaks of souls travelling ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς εἰς τὸ ἀιδές, ποτὲ δὲ ἀνάπαλιν ['from the visible realm to the unseen realm at one time and back again at another'], he refers, not as in common literary usage to the daylight of the human world and the darkness of 'Hades' (Pl. *Phaedo* 80^{d}, *Crat.* 404^{b}, cf. *Od.* ω 10, κατ' εὐρώεντα κέλευθα ['along the dank ways']), but conversely to the perpetual light of the divine world and the relative darkness of the human world. This accords with P.'s phrase ἔνθα πύλαι ['there … gates'], which would be especially appropriate if it supplemented the allusion to the remoteness of the gateway and its opening on a region of light with a reference to Tartarus; this would be present if the phrase were taken to imply a view that the human world which P. is leaving is the true Tartarus, where souls are punished with incarceration (cf. Emped. fr. 121; Lucr. iii, 978 sq.; Jaeger, *Theology of the early Greek philosophers* 148 sq.; Rohde, *Psyche* c. xi, n. 77). It may seem that the two words ἔνθα πύλαι are insufficient evidence to attribute this view to P., but the attribution is strongly confirmed by his adoption in fr. 8, 28 from the same passage of the *Iliad* of the phrase τῆλε μάλα ['very far away'] to allude to the sphere of γένεσις καὶ ὄλεθρος ['becoming and perishing'] (*see* n. ad loc. and on στυγεροῖο τόκου ['hateful birth'], fr. 12, 4).

12 Homer has the form σφᾶς ['them'] only in E 567, elsewhere σφεας or σφέας. ὑπέρθυρον ['lintel'] is the fifth century prose form of the epic ὑπερθύριον (*Od.* η 90, [Hes.] sc. 271). λάινον ['of stone'] is to be understood with it. ἀμφὶς ἔχει: 'enclose' at both top and bottom.

In Homer the fabulous thresholds of Tartarus and Alcinous' palace are of bronze but those of gateways in the real world (of the temple at Delphi and Odysseus' palace, I 404, ϑ 80, ρ 30) are of stone. P.'s allusion to stone places his gateway firmly in the physical world analysed in the 'Beliefs'. [163]

13 πλῆνται ['fit closely'] is a present tense formed from the Homeric preterite πλῆντο. The form is unique and may have been coined by P., who uses πλῆντο in fr. 12, 1. The Homeric form is used as a passive past tense of both πίμπλημι ['fill'] and πελάζω ['come near']; in the former use it governs the genitive (as in fr. 12, 1 of P.), in the latter, the dative. Since πλῆνται governs the dative, and since ϑύρετρον means strictly door-frame, it seems that P. intends πλῆνται as a part of πελάζω and that the sense of l.13 is 'the gates themselves are closely fitted to a great door-frame in the aether'. The description is remarkably matter-of-fact and not unlike the building-order in a Mytilenean inscription (*IG* 12(2), 14) καὶ τοῖς οἰκημάτεσσι ϑύρετρα μαρμάρινα … ἐπταπάχεα καὶ ὄδοις μαρμαρίνοις καὶ ϑύραις ἁρμοζοίσαις τοῖς ϑυρέτροισι ['seven-cubit marble lintels for the rooms and the marble thresholds, and doors that fit the lintels'].

The epithet αἰϑέριαι ['in the aether'] implies that the gates give access to the αἰϑήρ ['aether'] or outermost fiery region of the physical universe, of which there is reason to consider the goddess herself a personification (*see* Introd. Sect. 3 (iii) and nn. on frr. 1, 22; 12, 3); its sense qualifies ϑυρέτροις ['architrave'] as well as πύλαι ['gates'].

14–17 δίκη πολύποινος ['retributive justice']: in the passage of Homer from which P. borrowed some elements of his description of the gateway (*see* Introd. Sect. 3 (i)) the doors of heaven are in charge of the Horae (**Θ** 393–395= E 749–751), one of whom according to Hesiod (*theog.* 901–902) was Dike.

The adjective πολύποινος ['retributive'] is cited again only from 'Orpheus' fr. 158 K, where as here it qualifies Dike ['Justice']. Diels (*PL* 11) regarded this as a possible source for P.'s phrase, but the date of the Orphic line is quite uncertain. P. is addicted to compound adjectives with πολυ - ['much-'] (cf. fr. 1, 2, 4, 18; 7, 3, 5; 16, 1): adjectives with - ποινος ['-avenging'] are especially characteristic of Aeschylus, who has ἀντίποινος (twice), παλίμποινος, γυναικόποινος, τεκνόποινος, ὑστερόποινος (twice), ὠκύποινος. P.'s πολύποινος cannot allude solely to his own destiny and is most reasonably associated with the activity of the goddess who 'sends the souls now from the visible to the invisible and now in the opposite direction' (*see* n. on l.11). If so, this goddess and Dike are one and the same (*see* n. on l.22).

[163] κληῖδας ἀμοιβούς ['keys which allow to open first one gate then the other']: the sense of this must be considered along with that of βαλανωτὸν ὀχῆα ['locked bar'] (l.16). Since the latter phrase makes clear that the gate has only one bar (ὀχῆα, in inscriptions usually μοχλός), the plural κληῖδας cannot have this sense, as it sometimes has, and as might be supposed from the phrase ὀχῆες … ἐπημοιβοί in *Il.* M 455–456, but must mean 'keys'. The
[164] question then arises, why was there more than one key? Diels treats the plural as 'poetic', but this is unexpected in a passage of precise description. There is a further problem about the meaning of ἀμοιβούς.

Diels (*PL* 51, 141–145; *Antike Technik,* 2nd edition, 1920, p. 55) thought the phrase βαλανωτὸν ὀχῆα referred to the 'Laconian lock' (cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 421 sq. etc.), in which a number of βάλανοι or pins inside the lock were lifted by a single key, and that κληῖδας ἀμοιβούς should be understood accordingly as 'the key which takes the place of the βάλανοι inside the lock'. It is however not certain that the Laconian lock is as old as Parmenides, and even if it were, it is clear from Aeneas Tacticus cc. 18–20 (cf. also Thuc. ii, 4, 3) that for city-gates, which consisted usually of two doors opening inwards, a simpler form of locking was still normal in the middle of the 4th century B.C. This consisted in a cross-bar with a separate metal βάλανος or bolt-pin, which was dropped through a vertical hole in the bar into a corresponding hole in a bracket on the gate or in the masonry, so that the bar was locked in place. The bolt-pin was short enough to disappear within the bar and so shaped as to be removable only with a key made to fit it (κλείς, technically called βαλανάγρα or καρκίνος). This arrangement, which was also used for locking house-doors (cf. Xen. *Oec.* ix, 5, τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν … θύρᾳ βαλανωτῇ ὡρισμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος ['the women's quarters … separated from the men's quarters by a bolted door']; Aristoph. *eccl.* 361, βεβαλάνωκε τὴν θύραν ['he has bolted the door']; *av.* 1159), is exactly described in the phrase βαλανωτὸν ὀχῆα. Aeneas recommends (c. 20) as a precaution against treachery that the bar of a city-gate should have holes for three dissimilar bolt-pins and that these should not be removable but be held in place by an iron plate, so that each can be raised by its key only high enough to enable the bar to be drawn. P. is not concerned with such refinements; his use of the plural κληῖδας does however suggest that his gate had more than one βάλανος, each of which required its own key, like the βαλάνους … τρεῖς μὴ ὁμοτρόπους ['three bolt-pins of different shapes'] of Aeneas. Here, as throughout the description, P. is concerned to emphasise the impregnability of the divine realm.

Why then are the keys called ἀμοιβούς? The adjective is poetic and rare [164]
and seems always to include the notion of succession (cf. *Palatine Anthology* vii, 341, Πρόκλος ἐγὼ Λύκιος γενόμην γένος, ὃν Συριανὸς ἐνθάδ' ἀμοιβὸν ἑῆς θρέψε διδασκαλίης ['I am Proclus, of Lydian stock by birth, whom Syrianus brought up here as successor of his doctrine'], i.e. 'as inheritor of his doctrine'). Apart from this, the explanation of Diels is ruled out along with an allusion to the Laconian lock. Nor is the translation 'retributive' more plausible: retribution belongs to Dike, not to her keys, and has already been expressed in the epithet πολύποινος. It is better to suppose that ἀμοιβούς governs the pronoun τῶν (sc. πυλῶν ['gates']) with the sense 'letting them alternate', i.e. swing open successively, as P. asserts that they do a moment later with [165]
the adverb ἀμοιβαδόν ['successively'] (l.19). The leaves of city-gates were normally opened separately, since effort was needed to move them and each was bolted to the floor. For the transitive sense thus attributed to ἀμοιβούς cf. *Il.* Ξ 381, τεύχε' ἄμειβον ('caused them to exchange armour').

ἐπιφραδέως ['cunningly'] appears to be a coinage of P. based on the Homeric use of ἐπιφράζομαι ['think of doing']. Homer has both εὐφραδέως (τ 352 only) and ἀφραδέως (Ψ 426 etc.). The adjective ἐπιφραδής does not occur; the adverb is cited next from Apoll. Rhod. i, 1336 (etc.).

ἀπτερέως ['in a moment'] is quoted elsewhere only from Hes. fr. 204, 84 and Apoll. Rhod. iv, 1763. Lycophron *Alex.* 627 has ἀπτέρως (schol. ὁμοπτέρως, ταχέως) and *trag. adesp.* fr. 429, ἄπτερον τάχος.

17–20 θυρέτρων χάσμ': 'the opening of the door-frame.'

ἀχανές ['vacant'] occurs first here, then in Soph. fr. 1030 and frequently in later writers, especially in Plutarch.

ἀναπτάμεναι ['swung open']: the aorist ἐπτάμην belongs normally to πέτομαι, not (as here) to πετάννυμι. P. uses ἀναπτάμεναι as a convenient aorist form corresponding to the epic perfect participle ἀναπεπταμένας (σανίδας) Μ 122.

Greek city-gates were not hung on hinges but fixed to posts (στροφεῖς, P.'s πολυχάλκους ἄξονας ['bronze-fitted posts']), which turned in sockets (ἐν σύριγξιν) sunk in threshold and lintel behind the door-frame (cf. Lawrence, *Greek aims in fortification,* c. 12). P.'s epithet πολυχάλκους ['bronze-fitted'] refers to the metal shoes or pivots on which the posts turned. The sockets were likewise commonly metal-lined; P.'s use of the term σῦριγξ for the sockets (for which the later technical terms were τόρμος and, for the metal lining of the threshold-socket, ὅλμος or ληνός) may convey an allusion to the screech made by the turning of the pivots (cf. l.6 n.)

[165] Diels supposed (*PL* 119–123) that γόμφοις signifies the bronze shoes of the posts and περόνῃσιν their pointed pivots. This ascribes an unexampled and unlikely sense to γόμφος, and the surviving pivots of city-gates are (as Diels recognised) rounded not pointed. The natural interpretation of the phrase is 'fixed (to the leaves of the gate) with pegs (of wood) and nails or rivets (of iron)'; for these cf. Lawrence, l.c., F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* I, 88 sq.

ἀμοιβαδόν ['successively']: next in Apoll. Rhod. ii, 1226.

εἰλίξασαι ['turning']: P. uses the Ionic form affected also by Aeschylus, though Homer has always ἑλίσσω.

20 [166] It is noteworthy that the best ms. of Sextus preserves the form αὐτέων ['them'], when our mss. of Homer twice give the feminine plural as αὐτῶν (**T** 302, μ 130) and only once as αὐτέων (**M** 424). Elsewhere Homer uses αὐτάων.

20–21 For the Homeric source of this *see* Introd. Sect. 3 (i).

22 θεὰ: the goddess who welcomes P. has been alluded to as δαίμων (ll.2–3 n.); though her address to him forms the whole of the remainder of the poem, she remains anonymous, unless with Sextus she is identified with the Justice of l.14. The name given her by Syrianus ('Hypsipyle', t. 165) is clearly his own invention.

It is notable that P. regards related powers as operative in his accounts of both reality and human beliefs. In the former he speaks indifferently of reality as determined by δίκη ['justice'] (8, 14), ἀνάγκη ['necessity'] (8, 30), μοῖρα ['fate'] (8, 37), while in the latter he mentions as controlling powers ἀνάγκη (9, 6), δαίμων, ἣ πάντα κυβερνᾷ ['the divinity who governs all things'] (12, 3) and an intelligent creative power (fr. 13 μητίσατο ['devised']), which is identified by Simplicius (t. 207) with the governing divinity of fr. 12, 3 and is named Genesis by Plato (t. 1, cf. fr. 13 n.) and Aphrodite by Plutarch (t. 111), while Aëtius calls her ἀνάγκη, εἱμαρμένη ['fate'], δίκη, πρόνοια ['providence'] (tt. 58, 61). The dominant rôle thus given to a female power may reasonably be taken to suggest that the unnamed divinity of the prologue is identical not only with the 'requiting Justice' of l.14, who holds the keys to the region of light, but with the creative goddess of the 'Beliefs', who sends souls both from light to darkness and back again. For the relation of this goddess to the powers named in the Ἀλήθεια ['Reality'] *see* n. on fr. 9, 6–7.

P. appears to have identified the divinity of the 'Beliefs' with a ring of light in the plane of the zodiac (*see* n. on fr. 12, 3). The deity of the

prologue must then be taken as a personification of this cosmic power of [166]
a similar kind to that by Hesiod of e.g. Night and Day (*theog.* 148–157) or to the regular Greek equation of Hephaestus and fire. A systematic and explicit 'physical' or allegorical interpretation of the Olympic pantheon is ascribed to P. by Menander of Laodicea (tt. 151–152). P. however is not primarily concerned, like the older Theagenes of Rhegium, to reinterpret traditional myths (though Plato t. 2 perhaps implies that he engaged in this also) but to analyse human experience systematically. It is not therefore surprising that he should extend the common Greek personification of natural phenomena to include a postulate of his own physics, particularly since he denied substantial reality to all physical phenomena equally. It is because of the goddess' many aspects that, although she is named 'Justice' in l.14, she can still speak of justice in the third person (fr. 1, 28; 8, 14). The ascription of diverse names and forms to one god is in accordance with P.'s treatment of the predicates of Being itself as alternative names (Introd. [167]
Sect. 7). Aeschylus' description of Ge-Themis as πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία ['one form with many names'] (*P.V.* 210) is thoroughly Parmenidean both in expression and thought.

Tannéry noted (*Science Hellène* 243) that the cultivation of mythical personifications in science was characteristic of the Pythagorean order (cf. Macrobius, t. 161). Whether the figure of Necessity was first introduced by Pythagoras or Parmenides is open to doubt.

An echo from Hesiod, if the likeness is not accidental (καί με θεὰ πρόφρων ὑπεδέξατο ['and the goddess received me warmly'], cf. ᾧ πρόφρων γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάς ['whose prayers the goddess receives warmly'], *theog.* 419), suggests that P.'s divinity possibly owes some traits to the Hecate whom Hesiod celebrates as the most universal of goddesses (cf. Orph. fr. 316 K; *Hymn.* i, 6, παντὸς κόσμου κληδοῦχον ἄνασσαν ['queen who holds the keys of all the world']; Procl. in *Plat. remp.* ii, 121, 8 Kr.).

χεῖρα δὲ χειρὶ ['my … hand in hers']: for the Homeric antecedent of this *see* Introd. Sect. 3 (i).

24–25 ὦ κοῦρ' ['O youth']: the word κοῦρος ['youth'] is used by Homer of heroes aged up to thirty or more (cf. *Il.* **N** 91–95, **O** 281–284), and it is difficult to suppose that P.'s poem is the work of a younger man than thirty. It was published early enough to influence the writings not only of Zeno and Melissus but of Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Protagoras and Empedocles (*see* Introd. Sect. 6), which suggests a date c. 480 B.C. It need not have been composed for some years after the experience narrated in the prologue. P.'s description of

[167] himself as κοῦρος at the time of his encounter with the goddess is thus not incompatible with Plato's statement that he was about sixty-five years old in 450 B.C. (*see* Introd. Sect. 10). The address is honorific, and as in Homer (v. H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes,* 26–43) signalises P.'s valour and birth (cf. t. 96) as well as his age. The speaker goes on to exalt him over Homer's heroes, since his horses and charioteers, unlike theirs, are both immortal and he himself is not like Pisander (**N** 602) illfated to die (26–27).

ἀθανάτῃσι ['immortal'] qualifies ἵπποις ['mares'] as well as ἡνιόχοισιν ['charioteers'] (cf. λαϊνὸς ['of stone'], l.12 and *Il.* **Π** 154, ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι ['immortal horses'], of the horses of Achilles). On ἱκάνων ἡμέτερον δῶ ['arriving at our dwelling'] *see* Introd. Sect. 3 (i) and nn. on ll.9–10 and 11; the participle is qualified by συνήορος ['consort'], as ἱκάνεις ['you arrive'] in **Σ** 385 and 424 by αἰδοίη τε φίλη τε ['respected and dear'] (cf. **N** 449, η 24).

26–27 The language implies that P. is specially privileged to pass through the gate while still alive (Introd. ib.). There is no allusion to the fate of Phaëthon (cf. ll.9–10 n.).

ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐκτὸς πάτου ['from the step of men']: this may be read either with Karsten and Diels as a single phrase, with ἀνθρώπων ['men'] dependent on πάτου ['step'] and ἐκτὸς strengthening ἀπὸ ['from'] (cf. τὸν δ' ἐκίχανον ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ κλισίης ['they found him outside his shelter'], *Il.* **K**
[168] 150–151), or as two distinct phrases with the sense 'far from men, away from their tread' (cf. οἶον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ['alone, abandoned by men'], *Od.* φ 364; Timon, frr. 50, 60 D.).

28 θέμις τε δίκη τε ['right and justice']: P. uses these nouns as near synonyms (cf. e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 414); they allude, though without personification, to the divinity named δίκη ['justice'] who unlocked the gate and imply that P.'s first impulse to philosophy derived from the same power.

πάντα πυθέσθαι ['be informed of everything']: P. is in the first instance to 'hear about' both reality and human beliefs. Only later is he to make the journey which the goddess describes as belonging to persuasion (*see* Introd. Sect. 3 (ii) and (iii)).

29 ἀληθείης εὐπειθέος ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ ['the unmoved heart of persuasive reality']: P. uses the word ἀληθείη ['reality'] thrice in the extant fragments (cf. 3, 4; 8, 51); in each case the context shows that it denotes not truth as an attribute of thought or language but objective reality, as often in Plato (e.g.

resp. vi, 511e, ὥσπερ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐστιν ἀληθείας μετέχει, οὕτω ταῦτα (sc. τὰ πάθη) [168]
σαφηνείας ἡγησάμενος μετέχειν) ['supposing that these (sc. affections of the soul) partake of clarity to the degree that they partake of reality']. The adjective ἀληθής is similarly used by P. in fr. 8, 17 and 39 and by Melissus in fr. 8, 2 and 5; in P.'s phrase πίστις ἀληθής ['genuine conviction'] (1, 30; 8, 28) it may denote truth of thought but is better understood there also as meaning 'real'.

'The heart of reality' is an expression to which there is no parallel in the extant fragments, for ἦτορ ['heart'] is never used in Greek except of a human or divine person, of whom it refers to the heart or inner self as the seat of emotion, virtue or life, and it must be so used here. P.'s phrase does not distinguish reality from its heart but characterises it as living; the sense is 'the unchanging and persuasive living reality' (cf. fr. 4 n. and tt. 136, 142, 167). Cf. use of κάρα ['head'] and κεφαλή ['head'].[28]

There is uncertainty in the text with regard to the two epithets, (i) ἀτρεμὲς ['unmoved'] is clearly preferable to ἀτρεκὲς ['exact'] as both better attested and the rarer word (only the adverb ἀτρέμα(ς) occurs in Homer). The sense of ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ ['unmoved heart'] may be illustrated from Andromache's contrasting phrase ἐν δ᾽ ἐμοὶ αὐτῇ στήθεσι πάλλεται ἦτορ ἀνὰ στόμα ['in my chest my heart is pounding, leaping up in my throat'] (*Il.* X 452). The adjective foreshadows the description of Being in fr. 8 as ἀτρεμές ['unmoved'] and ἀκίνητον ['changeless'] (ll.4, 26, 38).

(ii) Of the three variants εὐπειθέος ['persuasive'], εὐφεγγέος ['brilliant'], εὐκυκλέος ['well-rounded'] the second is the least well attested, since Proclus' quotations from P. seem generally to be from memory (Introd. Sect. 1). The choice between εὐπειθέος and εὐκυκλέος is more difficult. Diels preferred the latter on the grounds that it is *lectio difficilior* and that Simplicius' text derived from a ms. of the whole poem and is therefore the most reliable. Nevertheless Simplicius' copy, though good, was not faultless, and it is certain that εὐπειθέος was in the text already in Hellenistic times. The issue between the two variants must therefore be settled stylistically. The [169]
most serious objection to εὐκυκλέος is that it goes beyond the climax of the Ἀλήθεια in asserting that reality is not simply 'like a sphere' (fr. 8, 43) but is circular. The unique form εὐκυκλής (for εὔκυκλος) is not itself a difficulty, though it may be noted that the parallels cited by Diels (*PL* 57) for adjectives in—ής from second declension nouns are all from much later Greek except for εὔεργος—εὐεργής, where the two forms have different senses. The

28. The final sentence of this note was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[169] alternative εὐπειθέος on the other hand ('persuasive') is entirely appropriate to the context. It affords a necessary antithesis to τῇς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθής ['which comprise no genuine conviction'] (l.30 n.) and it accords with fr. 3, 4; further by suggesting that reality moves the mind, though itself unmoved, it complements ἀτρεμὲς ['unmoved'] in a way which foreshadows Plato's account of the form of Beauty (*symp.* 211b) and Aristotle's of the unmoved mover, and which may be contrasted with Pindar's anthropomorphic conception of the heart of Zeus as moved by an external persuasion: Thetis Ζηνὸς ἦτορ λιταῖς ἔπεισε ['persuaded Zeus's heart with prayers'], *Ol.* ii, 79. The theme is developed in fr. 8, 34–36; cf. further Ar. *metaph.* A3, 984[a]18, [b]l0, *P.A.* A1, 642[a]18. The form εὐπειθής is authentically fifth century (*see* Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 274).

30 τῇς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθής ['which comprise no genuine conviction']: cf. fr. 8, 12, 28, 50–52. The sense is not that no true confidence can be placed in human beliefs, but that they do not comprise any authentic conviction, i.e. it is similar to that of Xenophanes' denial (fr. 34 Diels) that belief can constitute knowledge. πίστις is the certainty resulting from the persuasion which reality exercises on the mind by causing it to reason deductively. For ἀληθής ['genuine'] *see* n. on l.29. The contrast of human understanding with certainty is as old as Homer's invocation of the Muses (*Il.* B 485–486), from which it was borrowed by Xenophanes (fr. 34 Diels) and Alcmeon of Croton (fr. 1). In this tradition non-sensible human awareness (named δόκος by Xenophanes and characterised as inferential by Alcmeon) is contrasted with the first-hand acquaintance possessed by the gods. P. reformulates the contrast as one between the apprehensions of objects with different natures, one real, the other with a conventional or supposed being, and claims for men, if they recognise the insufficiency of common experience, the possibility of certainty as well as supposition or belief. The discrimination of types of cognition in terms of the types of object cognised was maintained by both Plato (*resp.* v, 477[d] etc.) and Aristotle (*an. post.* A33 etc.).

31 καὶ ταῦτα ['these also']: i.e. βροτῶν δόξας ['beliefs of mortals'], which are at once analysed as including both the things believed (τὰ δοκεῦντα, sc. εἶναι ['to be']) and the belief accorded to them (ὡς … χρῆν δοκίμως εἶναι ['how it was necessary … should have their being in general acceptance']). The former are contrasted with the 'heart of persuasive reality', the latter with the sure knowledge (πίστις) which follows from its persuasion.

32 χρῆν δοκίμως εἶναι ['should have their being in general acceptance']: the sense of the adjective δόκιμος, which occurs in poetry and prose from Heraclitus onwards, is 'acceptable' or 'accepted' and hence 'notable, reliable'. The adverb is cited twice outside Parmenides: (i) Aesch. *Pers.* 547, κἀγὼ δὲ μόρον τῶν οἰχομένων … αἴρω δοκίμως πολυπενθῆ ['I too sincerely bear the grievous fate of the departed'], where it is better taken closely with the verb (Blomfield) with the sense 'acceptably', i.e. 'sincerely', than with the adjective (Schütz); (ii) Xen. *Cyr.* i, 6, 7, ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἂν … καλὸς κἀγαθὸς δοκίμως γένοιτο ['to take care to become reliably noble and good'], where δοκίμως again qualifies the verb in the same sense. Similarly the goddess proposes to teach P. 'how it was necessary that the things which are believed to be should be acceptably', i.e. to explain how the empirical world must have its being in human acceptance and belief simply, and how this being is both acceptable and accepted universally. Cf. κατὰ δόξαν ['according to belief'] (fr. 20, 1).[29] [170]

The 'necessity' referred to in χρῆν ['should'] is that personified by the goddess herself, who is therefore best qualified to speak of it, and derives from that which determines reality (l.22 n.; 9, 6 n.). The past tense anticipates those in fr. 8, 53 sq.; the necessity is transferred to the past, as the analysis of the empirical world as an ἐοικὼς διάκοσμος ['likely order of things'] is there given a historical beginning.

διὰ παντὸς πάντα περῶντα ['ranging through all things from end to end']: the repetition of forms of πᾶς ['all'] is characteristic of P. (cf. fr. 6, 3, πάντῃ πάντως; 16, 4, καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ παντί) but occurs elsewhere only in prose. Diels (*PL* 61) traces all these reduplications to the influence of Heraclitus (cf. fr. 41).

P.'s promise of an account of the empirical world which exhibits its acceptance as 'reaching through all things from end to end' may be compared linguistically with Pindar's contemporary description of Xenocrates of Acragas as reaching both Phasis and Nile through the fame of his hospitality: ἐπέρα ποτὶ μὲν Φᾶσιν θερείαις, ἐν δὲ χειμῶνι πλέων Νείλου πρὸς ἀκτάν ['sailing in summer he reached the Phasis, in winter the banks of the Nile'], *Isthm.* ii, 41. P. re-emphasises the universal validity of his analysis in the phrase ἐοικότα πάντα φατίζω ['I declare to you to be likely in its entirety'] (fr. 8, 60 n.).

If the interpretations of the imagery proposed above and in the Introduction (Sect. 3 (ii)–(iii)) are correct, P. represents himself in the prologue as a Pythagorean philosopher at the crisis of his career. The experience

29. This reference was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[170] which he describes may possibly have preceded its description by some years, but he emphasises in the present tense φέρουσιν ['carry'] with which it opens that it relates directly to his actual condition, i.e. that his original rejection of the satisfactions and evidence of the senses continues. The ebb and flow of his philosophic desire (cf. Pl. *symp.* 203[e]) are suggested in the frequentative optatives ἱκάνοι ['reached'] and σπερχοίατο ['made haste'] (ll.1, 8), which refer respectively to two stages of his journey, first in the darkness, where his spirit conducts him under the guidance of his intellect, and then in the growing illumination, when his intellect is no longer
[171] veiled and conducts him itself. The 'immortal charioteers and horses' of ll.24–25 may be regarded as representing his immortal soul. Stripped of its imagery and its cosmological allusions P.'s narrative may be imperfectly paraphrased as follows: 'The spirit which still moves me conducted me at each moment to the limit of my desire, once it had turned me away from humanity to the life of philosophic argument. On this course, on which a man of understanding may advance steadily, my spirit drew me strongly forward under the guidance of my mind. Then my advance grew swift and fervid, whenever my mind, having emerged from the dark world of sense and disencumbered its vision, made haste to conduct me itself. The barrier between the world of sense and the divine world, which only a just approach may penetrate, yielded at once to my mind's reasoning, and I was enabled to pass it in the flesh. When I had thus left the human world behind me, I found myself at home in a new region, in which I could both investigate unchanging reality and comprehend the nature of human experience.'

FRAGMENT 2 (5 DK)

Proclus, who is our only authority for this fragment, cites it (t. 172) between phrases from fr. 8, 25 and fr. 8, 44 as evidence that P. assumed that there are many intelligibles with an order of priority and posteriority, but all united in and deriving from τὸ ἓν ὄν ['the One Being']. Thus the only explicit evidence for the context of the fragment relates it to the nature of τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] and the simile of the sphere in fr. 8.

The fragment asserts that, as regards the subject-matter to which it refers, the starting point for discussion is immaterial, since it will always form the conclusion. It is clear that the image of a circle is in P.'s mind; and it is possible, as Diels suggests, that the unusual use (not mentioned by LSJ) of ξυνὸν for ὅμοῖον ['alike'] or ταὐτό ['the same'] in the sense of 'indifferent'

is an allusion to Heraclitus fr. 103, ξυνὸν γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ κύκλου [171]
περιφερείας ['the beginning and the end are common on the circumference of a circle']. The Hippocratic parallels cited by Diels illustrate clearly the implication of P.'s expression, especially *de locis in hom.* 1 (vi, 276 L), ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία εἶναι τοῦ σώματος ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως ἀρχὴ καὶ πάντα τελευτή. κύκλου γὰρ γραφέντος ἡ ἀρχὴ οὐχ εὑρέθη ['in my opinion there is no starting point of the body, but all things are equally a beginning and an end, for once a circle has been drawn, the starting point cannot be found']. Equally clearly the argument which constitutes the goddess' account of the nature of Being is not circular in this sense. It is expressly contrasted with the παλίντροπος κέλευθος ['journey that turns backwards again'] of the δίκρανοι ['two-headed'] in fr. 5 in that it proceeds from the starting-point ὡς ἔστιν ['that a thing is'] and progresses to a conclusion (τετελεσμένον ἐστὶ πάντοθεν κτλ. ['is in a state of perfection from every viewpoint'], 8, 42) through a series of steps, none of which could easily constitute its initial premise; nor does it end with a reassertion of this premise. Proclus' [172]
account of the context of the fragment and his association of it with the simile of the sphere in fr. 8, 43 is therefore unacceptable. It is no less certain that the account of the 'beliefs of mortals' was not circular, since its form was historical and its conclusion (which is probably fr. 20) did not reiterate its beginning. Nor is it possible that the exposition of the 'heart of reality' and the 'beliefs of mortals' taken together was circular. It seems then that the goddess must refer to her account of the possible 'ways of research', which precedes that of the σήματα ['signs'] on the 'journey of persuasion', and which the verb ἄρξωμαι ['I begin'] and the future tense ἴξομαι ['I shall come'] show that the fragment must in that case have served to introduce. This is confirmed by Plato's apparent allusion to the fragment and association of it with P.'s discussion of the three possible ways in fr. 7 (t. 9).

This conclusion accords with the surviving part of this section of the poem. Fragments 3–7 contain an enumeration of three ways of investigation, which is regarded as complete, together with arguments for the exclusion of two of these and for the acceptance of the other. That this is P.'s procedure here is made clear by the mutually related expressions αἵπερ ὁδοὶ μοῦναι διζήσιός εἰσι νοῆσαι ['those ways of enquiry which are alone conceivable'], fr. 3, 2 and μόνος δ' ἔτι μῦθος ὁδοῖο λείπεται ['only one story of the way is still left']. fr. 8, 1–2 (where μῦθος ['story'] emphasises the relation, since it alludes to μῦθον ['story'] in fr. 3, 1). In this procedure the starting-point is immaterial, since the order of enumeration makes no difference in principle to the argument. If the three ways enumerated by P. are symbolised as p, q

[172] and r, he in fact alludes to them in frr. 3, 5 and 7 in the following order: p, q, p, q, r, p, q, r, p. The discussion does thus end by reiterating its starting-point (ὡς ἔστιν ['that a thing is'], 8, 2 = ὅπως ἐστίν ['that a thing is'], 3, 3) and this could occur whatever starting-point was chosen.

Fragment 2 characterises as circular the reasoning by which the way to knowledge of reality is to be discovered, and distinguishes it from the deductive argument from premise to conclusion of movement along the way (fr. 3, 4 n.).

FRAGMENT 3 (2 DK)

Fragments 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (= 2, 3, 6, 4, 7 DK) form a recognisably continuous argument, which, though some lines are evidently missing, can be considered as a whole. A close paraphrase of what survives from the poem between the end of the prologue and the beginning of fr. 8 reveals an almost unbroken thread: 'It is all one to me whence I begin, for I shall come back to that point again. I shall tell you—and preserve my story carefully—about the only ways of enquiry which reason can conceive: the
[173] one, that a thing is and is not for not being, is the journey of persuasion, for persuasion attends reality; the other, that it is not and must needs not be, is a wholly incommunicable path, inasmuch as you can neither recognise nor tell of what is not, since the same thing is for conceiving as is for being. You must assert and conceive that this thing is Being, for it is for being. But Nothing is not. This is the first way of enquiry from which I keep you. The second is that on which uncomprehending mortals stray, two-headed, since bewilderment in their own hearts directs their reason astray; bemused they are borne on, deaf and blind alike, people without judgment, by whom this thing has been supposed to be and not to be the same and not the same, and for all of whom their journey turns back upon itself. Contemplate even absent things steadily with your reason as present; for reason will not sever what is from holding fast to what is, either as dispersing in every direction in every way in regular order or as condensing … For this principle will never be overthrown, so as to allow things to be that are not, but do *you* keep your reason from this way of enquiry; neither let habit do violence to you on the empirical way of exercising an unseeing eye and noisy ear and tongue, but judge by discourse the controversial test by me prescribed. The only story of the way still left is that a thing *is*.'

1 Karsten's alteration of the ms. text ἄγε τῶν to ἄγ' ἐγὼν, which Diels accepts, is unnecessary and changes the sense for the worse. The genitive with verbs of speaking is normal epic usage (e.g. εἰπὲ δέ μοι πατρός τε καὶ υἱέος, ['tell me of my father and my son'] λ 174, cf. Pl. *Parm.* 142[d] etc.); the meaning is 'I will tell you about those ways which alone …' (not, as with Diels' text, 'I will mention the ways which alone …'). [173]

2 ὁδοὶ μοῦναι διζήσιος ['ways of enquiry … alone']: the noun δίζησις ('search' or 'investigation') occurs only in P. (in Orph. fr. 333 K, it is a dubious conjecture) and only in the phrase ὁδὸς διζήσιος (cf. fr. 5, 3), and was perhaps coined by him to distinguish his procedure from the Ionian enquiry into nature (ἱστορίη). The Attic ζήτησις belongs to the second half of the century and later. The epic and Ionic verb δίζημαι occurs once in the extant fragments (8, 6, τίνα γὰρ γένναν διζήσεαι αὐτοῦ; ['for what parentage of it will you look for?']), where the subject of investigation (αὐτοῦ ['of it']) is Being. It is first so identified in fr. 5, 1; P's noncomittal term for it, used both in the prologue (fr. 1, 29) and at the conclusion of his account of it (fr. 8, 51), is ἀληθείη, 'reality'. P.'s 'ways of seeking' are therefore 'ways of seeking for reality'. Since he admits only one such way as authentic, he identifies the reality sought for with the Being discovered by pursuing this way.

The philosopher's ὁδὸς διζήσιος ['way of enquiry'] is distinct from his κέλευθος (frr. 3, 4; 5, 9) or 'journey' along the way. Their apparent identification in ll.3–4 does not obliterate the difference of sense between the two words. [174]

P.'s conception of the philosopher as travelling along a prescribed way survives in the notion of philosophical and scientific 'method', which he in effect created. Plato's term μέθοδος ['*methodos*'], which was perhaps coined by himself, occurs first in *Phaedo* 79[e]. Plato still regards philosophy as a journey, e.g. *resp.* vii, 532[b], οὐ διαλεκτικὴν ταύτην τὴν πορείαν καλεῖς ['do you not call this journey dialectic?']; 532[d], λέγε οὖν τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι δυνάμεως … καὶ τίνες αὖ ὁδοί· αὗται γὰρ ἂν ἤδη, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἱ πρὸς αὐτὸ ἄγουσαι εἶεν, οἷ ἀφικομένῳ ὥσπερ ὁδοῦ ἀνάπαυλα ἂν εἴη καὶ τέλος τῆς πορείας ['Say what kind of power does dialectic have … and what paths does it pursue. For these, it seems, will be the ones that lead to what will be a resting place and an end of the journey for anyone who arrives there']; 533[c], ἡ διαλεκτικὴ μέθοδος μόνη ταύτῃ πορεύεται, τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναιροῦσα, ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵνα βεβαιώσηται ['the dialectical procedure is the only

[174] one that proceeds in this way, doing away with hypotheses and aiming for the principle itself, in order to be confirmed']; *soph.* 237[b] (alluding to P.).

αἵπερ … εἰσι νοῆσαι: 'which are for conceiving', i.e. which may be conceived. One of the two ways so described is in fact to be left 'unconceived' (ἀνόητον, fr. 8, 17; the word guarantees that it is the ways which are conceivable, against the interpretation 'ways of search so as to get understanding'). The verb νοεῖν ['conceive'] in P. denotes always intellectual apprehension, whether reasoned or intuitive; cf. l.8 n. and introductory note to fr. 6.

The use of tenses of εἶναι ['be'] followed by a transitive infinitive, the object to which is understood from the subject of the finite verb, is idiomatic in the fifth century and later, e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 419, θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν ['there was no longer sea to see'], Eupolis fr. 139, 2K, ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππός ἐστιν ἀκούειν ['Gnesippus is there to hear'], Ephippus fr. 15, 5K, κἂν κάραβός τις ᾖ λαβεῖν ['and if a crab is there to buy']. It recurs in frr. 4; 8, 34.

3 The first way of enquiry is defined by the expression ὅπως ἐστίν τε καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστι μὴ εἶναι, 'that a thing is and that it is not for not being'. No subject is expressed and the sense of the finite and infinitival forms of the verb 'to be' is left indeterminate. Both omissions are intentional and significant.

It must be noted first that the finite verb in the phrase οὐκ ἔστι μὴ εἶναι ['it is not for not being'] is not to be taken as impersonal with the sense 'it is not possible for it not to be', but as having the same unexpressed subject as the preceding affirmative ἐστίν ['a thing is']. This is clear from the positive reformulation of the phrase in fr. 5, 1 as ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι ['for it is for being'], where the rendering 'it is possible for it to be' would destroy the argument; cf. Anaxagoras' imitation τὸ γὰρ ἐὸν οὐκ ἔστι τὸ μὴ οὐκ εἶναι ['for what is cannot not be'] (fr. 3), in which τὸ ἐὸν ['what is'] must be taken as subject of οὐκ ἔστι ['cannot'], and Plato's adaptations of P.'s phrase (fr. 4 n.). P.'s use in l.3 of οὐκ ἔστι ['it is not'] followed by an explanatory infinitive resembles the construction in l.2 (εἰσι νοῆσαι ['are conceivable']), with the difference that the subject of the finite verb is here identical with that of the infinitive; the two variants are combined in fr. 4.

[175] The expression 'is not for not being' signifies that its subject may not not-be. The proposition that a thing 'is, and is not for not being' therefore means that its subject is something (ἐστίν), and that being this precludes it from not being (οὐκ ἔστι μὴ εἶναι), not however from all negative determination, as οὐκ ἔστι sufficiently shows, but from not being what it is and *a fortiori* from not being anything at all. For example, 'man is, and is not for not being', if true (which P. would deny), would signify that a man must

be 'said and conceived' to be essentially such and such, and that his being this precludes him from not being it, and *a fortiori* from not being anything, though there are many things which he is not, as well as many other things which he is. The restricted not-being thus postulated for the first way recurs in relation to particular predicates in fr. 8, 5, 22, 32, 33, 44–45, 47–48[30]; the prior point implied here for any subject, that to be something entails not being what it is not, i.e. that there is a not-being which is inseparable from being, is repeated by Plato's Parmenides, who is made to refer to his poem by introducing his own idiom ἔστιν εἶναι ['is for being'] (ἵνα τελέως αὖ εἶναι ᾖ ['in order that it, in turn, may completely be for being'], *Parm.* 162[a] cf. fr. 4 n.). [175]

P.'s use of the phrase οὐκ ἔστι μὴ εἶναι shows that it is mistaken to understand his conception of being as 'existential'. His introduction of 'is' and 'is not' in isolation from either subject or further predicate does not mark an 'absolute' use of the verb, differing from its use (always with an adverbial qualification or additional predicate) in the non-metaphysical parts of the poem, but an intention to consider its intrinsic sense, of whatever subject and with whatever qualification it may be used (cf. Introd. Sect. 5). He carries out his programme by converting the expression '—is—' to the form 'Being is—' (where 'Being' is simply a noun-form corresponding to the verb 'is') and then finding terms to fill the remaining gap.

A wide variety of particular implied subjects has been proposed for the verse by modern interpreters, *e.g.* being, reality, truth, the One, the way, what can be thought or spoken of, the object of enquiry. It appears however to have been overlooked that the omission of the indefinite pronoun as subject is widespread in epic and later Greek, and that P.'s expression is naturally understood in this way. Examples are: Hom. **X** 199, ὡς δ' ἐν ὀνείρῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν; οὔτ' ἄρ' ὁ τὸν δύναται ὑποφεύγειν οὔθ' ὁ διώκειν ['as in a dream where (sc. someone) cannot catch someone fleeing ahead—the one cannot escape and the other cannot catch him']. **N** 287; ε 400, ἀλλ' ὅτε τόσσον ἀπῆν ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας ['but when he was as far away as (sc. someone) who shouts can make himself heard']; *H. Herm.* 202, ὦ φίλος, ἀργαλέον μὲν ὅσ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοιτο πάντα λέγειν ['my friend, it is hard (for someone) to say everything he sees with his eyes']; Hes. *op.* 12, οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην ἐρίδων γένος ἀλλ ἐπὶ γαῖαν εἰσὶ δύω· τὴν μέν κεν ἐπαινήσειε νοήσας ['so there is not one kind of strife, but there are two all over the earth; one of them (sc. someone) would praise when he has come to understand it']; ib. 291; *theog.* 740; Xenophanes fr. 1, 2; Aesch. *Ag.* 69–71, 391f.; *Eum.* 233–234, δεινὴ γὰρ

30. The reference to ll.47–48 was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[175] ἐν βροτοῖσι κἀν θεοῖς πέλει ἡ προστροπαίου μῆνις, εἰ προδῷ σφ᾽ ἑκών ['for dread among mortals and gods as well is his wrath if I willingly betray a
[176] suppliant']; Soph. *Ai.* 1081; *O.T.* 611–612; Plato, *apol.* 29[b]; *Crito* 49[c]; *Meno* 79[b]. Fraenkel remarks that 'often … the unexpressed agent is not really 'undefined' but 'the person concerned'' (*Ag.* 71 n.). In P.'s verse the unexpressed subject is not a person; but given the exigencies of philosophical reasoning in verse and the absence of a technical vocabulary his expression may be regarded as normal Greek. There is a twofold example of the idiom with a neuter subject in Zeno's argument about magnitude (*see* Appendix I): μεγέθους γὰρ μηδενὸς ὄντος, προσγενομένου δέ, οὐδὲν οἷόν τε εἰς μέγεθος ἐπιδοῦναι, i.e. 'if a thing x is of no magnitude and accrues to another thing y, y can have no increase in magnitude' (Simpl. *phys.* 139, 12–13).

This reading of P.'s Greek accords with his ensuing argument, which regards the question whether a subject 'is or is not' as the test of its claim to be real (cf. fr. 7, 3–6 n.); the rejection of the second alternative, and the formulation of the subject of 'is' as 'Being', without further specification of its character, then lead directly to the identification of Being as unitary, unique and changeless.

4 The way of enquiry named in l.3 is now characterised as 'the journey of persuasion' on the ground that persuasion 'attends reality'. The meaning is that anyone following this way will find convincing arguments leading to the discovery of reality (which has already been described as 'persuasive', fr. 1, 29). To follow the way is to deduce consequences from the formula by which the way has just been defined (cf. introductory n. to fr. 8).

5 The second of the two conceivable ways of enquiry is defined by the expression ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ['that a thing is not'], which is at once qualified as ὡς χρεών ἐστι μὴ εἶναι ['that it must needs not be']. As in l.3, the subject understood is an indefinite pronoun signifying 'the thing in question'. The notion expressed by χρεών is that of obligation or internally determined necessity (as e.g. in Aesch. *P.V.* 970, οὕτως ὑβρίζειν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας χρεών ['that is how one must be insolent towards the insolent']: *see* further Mourelatos, *The Route of Parmenides,* Appendix III, 2008, p. 277); the sense of the assertion that a subject not only 'is not' but 'must needs not be' is thus that it necessitates its own not-being. That this not-being is identical with that which the first way excludes and distinct from that which it admits is indicated by the verbal antithesis between the expressions ὡς χρεών ἐστι μὴ εἶναι ['that it must needs not be'] and ὡς οὐκ ἔστι μὴ εἶναι ['that it is not for not

being'] (l.3). The second way would therefore consist, if it could be pursued, [176]
in drawing conclusions from the hypothesis that something is of necessity not what it essentially is, and so is not anything. It will be pointed out in fr. 5, 2 that what has no being is not something but Nothing.

Plato devotes a page of his *Parmenides* (163^{b}-164^{b}) to exploring the second [177]
way as P. understands it; having considered the implications of the hypothesis εἰ ἓν μή ἐστιν ['if one is not'] by attending to the subject ἕν ['one'] (160^{b}–163^{b}), he now discusses the implications of 'is not' considered intrinsically in the sense that οὐδαμῶς οὐδαμῇ ἐστιν οὐδέ πῃ μετέχει οὐσίας τό γε μὴ ὄν ['what is not is not in any way at all and does not in any way partake in being'] (163^{c}), and concludes that, if unity 'is not' in this sense, nothing can relate to it, so that there can be no knowledge, belief or perception of it, and it can have neither definition nor name. Cf. *Soph.* 237^{b}-239^{c}.[31]

6 φράζω ['I tell']: this verb, which in epic means 'to point out', is used by P. with a direct object (l.8) or an accusative and infinitive in the regular later sense (in which it is often opposed to λέγω ['say'] and φημί ['say']) of 'explain'.

παναπευθέα ['wholly without report']: for the Homeric antecedents of this *see* Introd. Sect. 3 (i). The sense of the word on the goddess' lips is that about this 'track' (it is not a 'genuine way', fr. 8, 17–18) she has nothing to impart (cf. πυθέσθαι ['be informed'], fr. 1, 28). The epithet is paraphrased in fr. 8, 16–17 as ἀνόητον ['unconceived'], ἀνώνυμον ['nameless']. Cf. *Soph.* 238^{c}.[32] There is no incompatibility between P.'s preliminary assertion that 'is not' is one of the only ways which can be conceived and his subsequent description of it as 'unconceived and nameless', since he distinguishes the *prima facie* concept of 'is not' from the attempt to use it as a premise from which to reach conclusions about its subject. The formula οὐκ ἔστιν turns out not to be the name of a 'real way' of enquiry, because, as P. at once observes, a subject which is not (anything), i.e. has no being, cannot be known.

7 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν γνοίης τό γε μὴ ἐόν ['for you can neither know what is not']: the noun-expression τὸ μὴ ἐόν ['what is not'] refers to, without further identifying, the subject of 'is not, and must needs not be'. The sentence insists on the impracticability of knowing what has no being, since (as fr. 4 adds) only what is (something) can be conceived or known. This leads to the introduc-

31. This reference was not in the first edition. (RMcK)
32. This reference was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[177] tion of the corresponding noun-expression ἐόν ['what is'] to designate, also without further identifying, what 'is, and is not for not being'.

8 οὔτε φράσαις ['nor tell']: the correlation of asserting (λέγειν, φάσθαι, φράζειν) with knowing and conceiving (γιγνώσκειν, νοεῖν) is implied already in ll.1–2 (ἐρέω … νοῆσαι ['I will tell … are conceivable']) and recurs in frr. 5, 1; 8, 8 (twice), 17, 50; it is implied also in the phrase κρῖναι δὲ λόγῳ ['decide by discourse'] (fr. 7, 5), which is similar in sense to χρὴ … λέγειν τε νοεῖν τε ['it is necessary to assert and conceive'] (fr. 5, 1), and it becomes the subject of the argument in fr. 8, 34–41. Plato may possibly have P. in mind, when he makes Socrates describe the purpose of his love of logical division and collection as ἵνα οἷός τε ὦ λέγειν τε καὶ φρονεῖν ['in order that I may be able to speak and think'], *Phaedr.* 266[b].

P.'s coupling of asserting and conceiving implies that knowledge can be
[178] attained by discovering what assertions are necessarily true. He uses no word however for 'true' as applied to assertions (ἀληθής and ἐτήτυμος mean 'real' and ἀληθείη 'reality', fr. 1, 29 n.) but speaks always of what can or must be asserted and known or conceived.

The formal opposition established in fr. 3 between the expressions 'is, and is not for not being' and 'is not, and must needs not be', together with the assertion that understanding cannot admit the possibility of any other way of enquiry, is the first article in the goddess' doctrine. P. recurs to this principle in his account of the journey of persuasion, after refuting the reality of generation and destruction, in the form ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ['is or is not'] and adds that of the alternatives thus formulated it has been resolved to leave one unconceived and nameless and to recognise the other as an authentic way (fr. 8, 16–18). He here distinguishes explicitly between the disjunction 'is or is not', as the test which is to be applied in determining what may be regarded as real, and the rejection of one arm of the disjunction in favour of the other. In fr. 3 the two possibilities are not expressed disjunctively but it is clear from P.'s formulation of the ways as contradictories that he so regards them.

Fragment 3 thus includes the assertion of two positive principles of understanding: (i) in asserting that only two ways of looking for reality (ἀληθείη) are acceptable to reason, P. maintains that the assertion of the disjunction between being and not being is itself an exercise of reason and, since it defines the philosopher's procedure, its primary exercise. In thus establishing the disjunction as the first principle of understanding

and in asserting that there are no other ways of enquiry open to reason [178]
P. adumbrates for the first time the axioms that the same subject cannot both be s and not be s and must either be s or not be s, i.e. the law of contradiction and the law of excluded middle. The disjunction, as P. enunciates it, is purely formal in the sense that it is independent of the identity of the subject. That fr. 3 formulates the axiom of contradiction was recognised by Aristotle, when he objected to P. (t. 21 ad fin.) that the conclusion that there is nothing which 'is not' does not follow from the premises that 'to be' has only a single sense and that contradictions cannot both be true (καὶ μὴ οἷόν τε ἅμα τὴν ἀντίφασιν). P.'s formula in fr. 8, 16 is used by Aristotle himself in his observation that his own account of becoming does not violate the principle εἶναι ἅπαν ἢ μὴ εἶναι ['everything either is or is not'] (*phys.* i, 8, 191^{b}26), which Ross treats as a formulation of the law of excluded middle but Themistius and Simplicius as one of the law of contradiction.

It is clear that P. envisages the argument of fr. 3 as establishing a general logical and ontological rule, since it is integral to his later deductive pro- [179]
cedure that the predicates which are asserted of τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] cannot also be denied of it. His consciousness of this is shown by his reinterpretation in his physics of the contradictory predicates which he regards as characterising reality in the theories of others, so as to eliminate their contradictoriness (cf. fr. 8, 57–58 with fr. 5, 7–9 and notes).

In describing the 'ways of investigation' as objects of conceiving, P. indicates that there is an exercise of reason (characterised in fr. 2 as circular) prior to the deductive account of Being in fr. 8. The question at issue here is identical with that discussed by Aristotle in *metaph.* B2, 996^{b}26–997^{a}15 and Γ3, whether or not the non-demonstrative establishment of the axioms or first principles of reason is the business of metaphysics considered as the science of τὸ ὂν ᾗ ὄν ['being *qua* being'].

(ii) The second positive principle maintained in fr. 3 is that, while the denial that a subject has any being dismisses it as unknowable, to assert that it is something unconditionally affords a method (and the only method) of discovering reality. These theses are developed in fr. 5, 1–2, in which the subject of 'is not' is identified as Nothing, while what has an unconditional being is designated by the noun-expression ἐόν, without commitment as to its nature, whether singular or plural, sensible or nonsensible. This term then becomes the subject of fr. 8, which summarises what 'it is necessary to assert and conceive' regarding it, viz. that it is unchanging, one and unique (ll.6–33) and non-physical (ll.42–49). The

[179] identification of Being with any empirical subject is excluded in ll.34–41. Throughout P.'s account of the authentic way in fr. 8 he insists on the necessity (ἀνάγκη 30, χρεών 45) or justice (δίκη 14, θέμις 32) or fate (μοῖρα 37) which constrain reality, identified in fr. 5, 1 as Being, to be what fr. 8 argues it to be. These terms are the development of the necessity inherent in the definition of the way itself; as this way is defined as asserting that a thing not simply 'is' but 'is not for not being', so the predicates which are demonstrated of τὸ ἐόν are said to be true of it necessarily. P.'s doctrine here is the ultimate source of Aristotle's view that scientific demonstration is of necessary truths, the necessity of which derives eventually from that of the primary entities, i.e. from their simplicity and timelessness (*metaph.* Δ 5, 1015^{b}6–15).

FRAGMENT 4 (3 DK)

Clement, Plotinus and Proclus, our sole sources for this fragment, all under-
[180] stood it as asserting the identity of conceiving or knowing with being. It is clear however from fr. 3, 2 and the illustrations cited in the note there that the Greek means 'for the same thing is for conceiving as is for being'. This interpretation, first proposed by Zeller (cf. *Die Philosophie der Griechen* I^{6}, 687[1]), has frequently been rejected through misunderstanding of the idiom; *see* nn. on fr. 3, 2 and 3. The phrase ἔστι … εἶναι ['is … for being'], recurs in fr. 5, 1 and τωὐτὸν … ἐστι νοεῖν ['the same thing … is for conceiving'] in fr. 8, 34, in both places with the same sense as here.

What 'is for conceiving' is evidently what 'may be conceived', as in fr. 3, 2, but the expression 'is for being' requires elucidation. In fr. 3, 3 the phrase 'is not for not being' indicates that the preceding 'is' which it qualifies denotes an unconditional being, which may be negatively determined, but cannot be contradicted. The same sense is expressed affirmatively here and in fr. 5, 1 by the phrase 'is for being', in which the explanatory infinitive ascribes an unconditional being to the subject, but does not exclude negation of the 'is' (e.g. οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ἐστι ['nor is it divisible'], fr. 8, 22) or its completion by other predicates (e.g. ἀγένητον ['ungenerated'], fr. 8, 3). The expression is used in the same sense in Eleatic contexts by Plato: *Parm.* 162^{a}, 'Being (τὸ ὄν) must be constrained to be by not being not-being, in order that it may be for being perfectly' (ἵνα τελέως αὖ εἶναι ᾖ, where it is mistaken to delete the infinitive), i.e. in order that it may be capable of perfect being; *soph.* 256^{d}. ἔστιν ἄρα ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ μὴ ὂν ἐπί τε κινήσεως εἶναι κτλ. (where τὸ μὴ

ὂν should be taken as subject to ἔστιν and not, with the editors, simply to [180]
the infinitive), 'not-being therefore of necessity is predicable of change'; ib. 259[a], τὸ μὲν ἕτερον … ἔστι μὲν … ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ ὄντος ὄν, ἔστι σαφέστατα ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι μὴ ὄν, 'the Other is, … and being other than Being it clearly is of necessity such as to be Not-being'.

Fragment 4 thus asserts that only what is such as to have essential being has an identity which can be apprehended by reason. This assertion complements that in fr. 3, 7–8 that there can be no knowledge of what is not anything. The contextual and metrical aptness makes it reasonable to suppose that fr. 4 is the completion of the last line of fr. 3. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that both Proclus and Simplicius break off their citation of fr. 3 after οὔτε φράσαις ['nor tell of it'], for this would be a natural consequence of the general neoplatonic misunderstanding of fr. 4, which obscures its relevance to the argument of fr. 3. If this is correct, fr. 4 forms part of the argument for rejecting the second way, and the reasoning of frr. 3 and 4 together may be paraphrased as follows:

1. reason requires that a real subject be conceived either as being something essentially or as necessarily not being anything.
2. what can be conceived is identical with what is something essentially.
3. therefore it is impossible to recognise or describe what is not anything.
4. therefore, 'x is not and cannot be anything' leads nowhere, and [181]
5. 'x has an intrinsic being' opens the way to convincing arguments leading to knowledge of reality.

Thus far P. has given no indication of what he understands by 'being'. He deals with this question in fr. 5, 1–2 by converting the verb to a noun-expression (ἐόν) and then (fr. 8, 1–49) arguing for what this name must denote.

Though fr. 4 asserts simply the identity of what can be conceived with what has essential being, the neoplatonic belief that P. identified Being with Mind was well-founded. Their identity is suggested by the expression ἀληθείης εὐπειθέος ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ ['unmoved heart of persuasive reality'] (fr. 1, 29 n.) and confirmed by Anaxagoras' descriptions of νοῦς ['mind'] as μόνος αὐτὸς ἐπ᾽ ἐωυτοῦ ['alone and by itself'] and πᾶς ὅμοιος ['all alike'] (fr. 12), which derive from P.'s characterisation of Being as μουνογενές … καθ᾽ ἑαυτό ['unique' … 'by itself'] and πᾶν ὁμοῖον ['all alike'] (cf. Introd. Sect. 6). Xenophanes' account of God as a mind transcending human minds in its power (frr. 23–25), since it is the immediate pattern for part of P.'s account of Being (fr. 8, 29–33 n.), may also be regarded as suggesting that P. envisaged Being as Intelligence.

[181] FRAGMENT 5 (6 DK)

These lines are cited by Simplicius (t. 210) as the ground of Aristotle's implied attribution to P. (*phys.* i, 3, 187[a]4–5, t. 21) of the use of the law of contradiction as a premise. It is true that the criticism in fr. 5 is directed against the violation of the law, but P.'s formulation of it is to be found in fr. 3.

Fragment 5 converts the predicate ἔστιν ['is'] into the name of a subject (ἐόν ['being']) and identifies the subject of οὐκ ἔστιν ['is not'] as Nothing (μηδέν). After repeating the rejection in fr. 3 of the second way of enquiry it continues with a warning against a third way, which is followed by those 'ignorant' and 'uncritical' mortals who accept as real a subject not governed by the law of contradiction. Such philosophers are said to be precluded from reaching their destination and, because their understanding is in error, from using their senses correctly.

1 [182] The Greek of this line has been variously interpreted. It seems however not to have been noticed that Leucippus, who was a pupil of Zeno, and whose thought was profoundly influenced by that of Parmenides, may well have understood ἐόν predicatively, for Theophrastus explains the derivation of atomism from Eleatic monism as follows: τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἀτόμων οὐσίαν ναστὴν καὶ πλήρη ὑποτιθέμενος ὂν ἔλεγεν εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῷ κενῷ φέρεσθαι, ὅπερ μὴ ὂν ἐκάλει καὶ οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ ὄντος εἶναί φησι ['For hypothesizing the substance of the atoms to be solid and full, he said that they are what-is and that they undergo locomotion in the void, which he called what-is-not and declared it to be no less than what-is'] (t. 43). The expression ὂν … εἶναι recurs in other writers influenced by Parmenides; cf. Gorgias fr. 3, 70, τοίνυν εἰ ἀίδιόν ἐστι τὸ ὄν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄν ἐστι ['if what is is eternal, it is not at all'] (*FdV* ii, 280, 26–27); [Ar.] *de Gorg.* 979[b]9, εἰ γὰρ τό τε μὴ ὂν ὄν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ὂν ὄν ἐστιν, ἅπαντά ἐστι ['if what is not is something that is and what is is something that is, then all things are']; ib. 28, εἰ γὰρ τὸ ὂν μεταπέσοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔτ᾽ εἶναι αὐτὸ ὄν ['if what is were to change, it would no longer be a thing that is'] (αὐτὸ Apelt, τὸ codd.); Plato, *resp.* x, 597[a]; *Tim.* 38[c], τὸ μὲν δὴ παράδειγμα πάντα αἰῶνά ἐστιν ὄν, ὁ δὲ αὖ (sc. οὐρανὸς) διὰ τέλους τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον γεγονώς τε καὶ ὢν καὶ ἐσόμενος ['the model is something that is for all eternity, while (sc. the heaven) is something that has come to be and is and will be throughout all time.']; *legg.* x, 894[a]; *ep. v*ii, 342[b]; Ar. *metaph.* Λ7, 1072[b]10. These parallels, together with the difficulty in understanding the verse otherwise, make it virtually certain that P. intended ἐὸν predicatively (so Karsten, Diels in *PL* and others). τὸ must be understood as a pronoun referring to τὸ … αὐτὸ

in fr. 4 and as subject of the infinitive ἔμμεναι (not as article with λέγειν τε νοεῖν τε). The sense is 'it is necessary to assert and conceive that this is ἐόν.' [182]

The periphrastic verb-form with εἶναι ['be'] (or γίγνεσθαι ['become'] or πέλεσθαι ['be'], cf. fr. 8, 19–21 n.) was current with other verbs in epic and Attic; since P. treats the copula as an identity-sign (Introd. Sect. 5), the participle in the phrase ἐὸν ἔμμεναι becomes a name of the subject.

P. justifies the introduction of the term ἐόν by repeating the formula ἐστιν … εἶναι from fr. 4. The sense of the verse is thus that what has essential being and can therefore be conceived should be designated as 'Being'. No suggestion is offered now as to the further nature of Being, e.g. whether it is singular or plural (similarly Plato speaks of the problems facing τῷ τὸ ὂν εἴτε δύο τινὲ εἴτε ἓν μόνον εἶναι λέγοντι ['anyone who says that being is either two or only one'], *soph.* 245^{e}). The term ἐόν thus introduced forms the subject of the whole argument constituting the subsequent account of the landmarks on the journey of persuasion (fr. 8, 2–49). It is used freely after fr. 5 both with and without the article (frr. 6, 2; 8, 3, 19, 24, 25, 32, 35, 37, 47).

2 In the phrase μηδὲν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ['but Nothing is not'] P. introduces for the first time the only expression ('Nothing') which can be made the subject of 'is not and must needs not be.' The term μηδέν ['nothing'], which recurs in frr. 8, 10 and 11, 4 and in Melissus frr. 1 and 7 (οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἴη τό γε μηδέν ['what is nothing cannot be']) retains its strict sense of 'not one thing', so that the whole phrase asserts that what has no being is not a thing at all. The equivalence of μὴ ἐόν ['what is not'] and μηδέν is assumed in fr. 8 (μὴ ἐόντος ['Not-being'], ll.7 and 12= τοῦ μηδενός ['Nothing'], l.10) and by Melissus; cf. Pl. *resp.* v, 478^{b}, ἀλλὰ μὴν μὴ ὄν γε οὐχ ἕν τι ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ὀρθότατ' ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο ['But surely if it is not, it will most correctly be called not "one thing" but "nothing"'], *Tht.* 188^{e}–189^{a} (where the antithesis of μηδέν is ἕν τι ['some one thing'], that of μὴ ὄν ['what is not'], ὄν τι ['something that is']), *soph.* 237$^{c–e}$.

τά σ' ἐγὼ φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα ['these things I command you to heed']: the phrase is borrowed from Homer and Hesiod. P. justly calls special attention to the assertions made in ll.1–2, for the conversion of the predicates 'is' and 'is not' to the names 'Being' and 'Nothing' is the hinge on which his whole subsequent argument turns. [183]

3 ὁδοῦ ταύτης ['this way']:: i.e., οὐκ ἔστιν ['is not']. In view of the lacuna in the text of Simplicius (t. 210 ad fin.) it is uncertain whether a verse is missing between lines 3 and 4 and, if so, whether it was cited by Simplicius or not.

[183] P.'s meaning is clear however as the text stands and the hypothesis that more than a disyllable is wanting at the end of l.3 unnecessary.

4–5 ἀπὸ τῆς ['from that']: sc. ὁδοῦ διζήσιος ['way of inquiry']. The 'mortals' in question are therefore philosophers. The way on which they wander is mentioned here for the first time (assuming fragments 7 and 8 to be consecutive) in the extant remains. It is not to be identified with βροτῶν δόξας ['beliefs of mortals'] (fr. 1, 30) and the exposition of δόξας βροτείας (fr. 8, 51) in the concluding part of the poem, for these are not presented as a 'way' (seen nn. on fr. 8, 54, 55–56). Nor is it one of the ways which εἰσι νοῆσαι ['are conceivable'] (fr. 3. 2; cf. 8, 15–16), since it contravenes the cardinal principle of thought, ἔστιν ἠ οὐκ ἔστιν ['is or is not']. P.'s criticism here is directed against all philosophers who believe in an empirical reality (cf. πολύπειρον ὁδόν ['empirical way'], fr. 7, 3), i.e. against all his predecessors and contemporaries, and not only against Heraclitus (Introd. Sect. 4).

εἰδότες οὐδέν ['with no understanding']: their ignorance is contrasted with the knowledge which P. claims for himself in fr. 1, 3 (n.) and later in fr. 9, ll.1, 5[33]; it is determined by the force of habit (fr. 7, 3) and consists in a failure to recognise the possibility of a non-empirical knowledge. The literary pattern is Homer's invocation of the muses (*Il.* B 485–486; fr. 1, 30 n.); cf. also Semon. fr. 1, 4 cited on ll.5–6 below.

πλάζονται ['stray']: The archetype of our mss. of Simplicius read πλάττονται. Diels took this (*PL* 72–73) for a Byzantine correction of πλάσσονται, which he argued to be an Italian variant form of the epic πλάζονται. P.'s dependence on Homer (Introd. Sect. 3 (i)) makes it in the highest degree unlikely that he used a non-epic and otherwise unattested form of a common epic verb and it may be regarded as certain that πλάττονται is a simple corruption of the normal epic form (cf. n. on πλαγκτόν ['astray'], l.6).

δίκρανοι ['two-headed']: this is certainly an allusion, though it has escaped notice, to the fabulous small snake called ἀμφίσβαινα ['amphisbaena'], which was two-headed and dull-eyed (cf. τυφλοί, l.7) and, as its name indicates, moved in either direction indifferently; *see* Nicander, *ther.* 372 sq., with Gow and Scholfield's note, especially

τὸν δὲ μετ' ἀμφίσβαιναν ὀλίζωνα βραδύθουσαν
[184] δήεις ἀμφικάρηνον, ἀεὶ γλήνῃσιν ἀμυδρήν.
['After this you will learn about the amphisbaena, smaller, slow-moving, two-headed, with its eyes always dull.']

33. The references to fr. 9 were not in the first edition. (RMcK)

The amphisbaena is mentioned in the fifth century by Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1233) and Aristophanes (fr. 18 Dem.). P. makes it the paradigm of empiricist philosophers, because their movement also is παλίντροπος ['backwards turning'] (l.9) and their vision obscure (7). [184]

Diels rightly compares the epithets applied by Timon to Xenophanes (ἀμφοτερόβλεπτος ['looking in both directions'], *see* Introd. Sect. 9 ad init.) and Zeno (ἀμφοτερόγλωσσος) ['speaking on both sides'], both of which allude to the Eleatic criticism of the sensible world (cf. also Plato's term ἐπαμφοτερίζειν ['be ambiguous'] cited on ll.8–9 below). The comparison tells however against his understanding of δίκρανοι as alluding simply to the contradictory assertions in Heraclitus' theory of opposites.

5–6 ἀμηχανίη γὰρ ἐν αὐτῶν στήθεσιν ἰθύνει πλαγκτὸν νόον ['for perplexity in their own breasts directs their mind astray']: the pronoun is emphatic, as its position shows: their 'helplessness', which is the counterpart of the sagacity of P.'s mares (fr. 1, 4 n.), is their own fault. In its only occurrence in Homer ἀμηχανίη ['perplexity'] possesses the θυμός ['spirit'] (*Od.* ι 295), the seat of which is the breast (e.g. ψ 105, θυμός μοι ἐνὶ στήθεσσι τέθηπεν ['the spirit in my breast is amazed']); P.'s language may therefore be taken to refer, however indirectly, to the θυμός, and to the same Pythagorean analysis of the soul into θυμός and νόος ['mind'] as the chariot-image of the prologue (*see* Introd. Sect. 3 (iii)).

The mss. are divided between πλακτὸν and πλαγκτὸν, as they are in fr. 8, 28 between ἐπλάχθησαν and ἐπλάγχθησαν. Diels notes that Hesychius knows the unnasalised form, which occurs occasionally as a variant in the ms. tradition of Homer (A 59 etc.). It is unlikely however that it appeared in P. as a 'peculiar dialectal form' (Diels, *PL* 73) or that P. used any other form than Homer's.

The adjective is proleptic, 'guides their mind astray' (cf. Aesch. fr. 200 **N**^{2}, ἀγρεὺς δ' Ἀπόλλων ὀρθὸν ἰθύνοι βέλος ['Apollo the hunter aims his arrow straight']). The oxymoron characterises the incompetence of the θυμός when it seeks to govern. The allusion to the understanding (νόον) of the δίκρανοι ['two-headed'] indicates that they do not lack but misuse it, i.e. fail to let themselves be guided like P. by the Heliades (κοῦραι δ' ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευον ['guided by maidens along the way'], fr. 1, 5). It is this failure which is referred to in the phrase εἰδότες οὐδέν ['with no understanding']; contrast (and compare) Semonides, fr. 1, 3–7 West,

νοῦς δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισιν, ἀλλ' ἐπήμεροι
ἃ δὴ βοτὰ ζόουσιν, οὐδὲν εἰδότες

[184] ὅκως ἕκαστον ἐκτελευτήσει θεός.
ἐλπὶς δὲ πάντας κἀπιπειθείη τρέφει
ἄπρηκτον ὁρμαίνοντας.
['There is no intelligence among men, but they live
for the day like cattle, understanding not at all
how god will bring each thing to pass.
But hope and confidence nourish all
who are eager for the impossible']

φορεῦνται ['are borne on']: the Ionic form is probably intended by the scribe of the ms. E of Simplicius.

[185] The verb suggests that the instability of the world they accept as real (i.e. the sensible world) characterises the men themselves. Similarly in Plato the Heracliteans κατὰ τὰ συγγράμματα φέρονται ['behave according to their writings'] (*Tht.* 179[e]) and P. is 'one' (t. 7). Plato regards this as more than a conceit (cf. *epin.* 986[d], μεταλαβὼν φρονήσεως εἷς ὢν μιᾶς ['being one and participating in thought which is one']) and so clearly does P.

7 κωφοὶ ὁμῶς τυφλοί τε ['deaf and blind alike']: cf. Ev. Matt. 23, 17, μωροὶ καὶ τυφλοί ['foolish and blind'].[34]

8–9 τό ['this'] must be understood as subject of νενόμισται ['has been accepted'], with the same reference as in l.1, i.e. to what can be conceived or known. τωὐτὸν κοὐ τωὐτόν ['the same and not the same'] is the complement of the infinitives. The whole phrase τὸ νενόμισται πέλειν τε καὶ οὐκ εἶναι τωὐτὸν κοὐ τωὐτόν ['this has been accepted as both being and not being the same and not the same'] is thus antithetical to χρὴ τὸ λέγειν τε νοεῖν τε ἔμμεναι ἐόν ['it is necessary to assert and conceive that this is Being'] (l.1), νομίζειν ['accept'] being contrasted with λέγειν τε νοεῖν τε ['assert and conceive'] (cf. fr. 8, 39–40, ὅσσα βροτοὶ κατέθεντο … εἶναι τε καὶ οὐκί ['all those things which mortals … suppose … to be and not to be']). P. asserts that the philosophers he is criticising suppose that what is real is and is not the same and not the same. His language is echoed by Plato, *resp.* v, 479[c], καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα (sc. τὰ πολλὰ) ἐπαμφοτερίζειν καὶ οὔτ᾽ εἶναι οὔτε μὴ εἶναι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δυνατὸν παγίως νοῆσαι οὔτε ἀμφότερα οὔτε οὐδέτερον ['for they (sc. the many things) are ambiguous and it is impossible to understand any of them fixedly either as being or as not being, or as both being and not being, or as neither']. As P. criticises those who accept the belief that reality is the

34. This note was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

same and not-the-same, and is not the same and not-the-same, so Plato criticises those who believe only in the many x's, the ambiguous character of which forbids their being known either as being x or as not being x, or as being or not being both x and not-x or neither x nor not-x. The implication of both passages is that anything which is sensible and changeable cannot be known because it is not unambiguously anything, i.e. has no substantial identity or essential being. Both passages accordingly contrast νοεῖν ['conceive'] with 'acceptance' (νενόμισται Parmenides, νομίζει Plato 479[a], τὰ τῶν πολλῶν νόμιμα ['the conventions of the many'] 479[d]); in both, those who accept what is sensible and changeable as real are said to be 'lost' (πλάζονται ['stray'] Parmenides, πλανώμενοι ['wander'] Plato, 484[b]6) and 'blind' (τυφλοί Parmenides, τυφλῶν Plato, ib. [c]6). Plato however is concerned in these pages with the intellectual state of the non-philosophical lover of learning (475[c–e]), while in P. the singular pronoun τό ['this'] appears to allude not primarily (like fr. 8, 38–41) to the many things supposed to be real by ordinary people but more especially to one empirical object regarded as real by philosophers. It seems therefore that fr. 5 is directed particularly against the Ionian physical monists. P. rejects monism in physics more explicitly in fr. 8, 54, where, in order to avoid the difficulty pointed out in fr. 5, to which he implicitly alludes, he posits two primary substances, which can generate the manifold sensible world by combination without themselves changing. His criticism of monism in physics was at once accepted by his contemporaries, for all the physical systems of the fifth century B.C., save that of the reactionary Diogenes of Apollonia (who betrays a remarkable insensitivity to P.'s criticism in his claim πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑτεροιοῦσθαι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι ['all things that are, are differentiated forms of the same thing and are the same thing'], fr. 2), are pluralist. Aristotle notes the historical development correctly, when he points out (*gen. corr.* i, l) that monists in physics have to treat ἁπλῆν γένεσιν ['unqualified coming to be'] as a change in the primary substance but pluralists can treat it as the product of combination and separation of elements which are unchanging. [185] [186]

P. labels his opponents ἄκριτα φῦλα ['people without judgement']; the normal epic sense of ἄκριτος is 'indeterminate' or 'endless' (*Il.* B 796 etc., Opp. *H.* i, 80, μυρία μὲν δὴ φῦλα καὶ ἄκριτα βένθεσι πόντου ['myriads and endless species in the depths of the sea']) but the context makes clear that it is here used actively, as in Hdt. viii, 124. The sense is clarified in fr. 7, 5 (κρῖναι δὲ λόγῳ ['decide by discourse']) and fr. 8, 15 (ἡ δὲ κρίσις κτλ. ['the decision' etc.]), which reiterate the point made in fr. 3, 2 that the only ways which are conceivable are ἔστιν ['is'] and οὐκ ἔστιν ['is not']. The third way violates

[186] the most elementary principle of knowledge ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν by assuming that one and the same thing can both be and not be what it is. This failure to 'judge' (κρίνειν) is linked here, as it is in fr. 7, with a failure in the exercise of the senses. P. implies here, as there, not that the senses are valueless but that they can furnish useful (though not true) information only as adjuncts to the mind. An analogous view had already been maintained by Heraclitus (fr. 34, ἀξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσιν ἐοίκασι κτλ. ['uncomprehending when they have heard, they are like the deaf']; fr. 107, κακοὶ μάρτυρες ἀνθρώποισιν ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦτα βαρβάρους ψυχὰς ἐχόντων ['eyes and ears are bad witnesses to people if they have barbarian souls']); it is reiterated by Epicharmus (fr. 12 Diels, νοῦς ὁρᾖ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει, τἆλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά ['it is mind that sees and mind that hears; the rest are deaf and blind']), and later by Empedocles (fr. 3, 9–13, with Sextus' comment, ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἄθρει πάσῃ παλάμῃ πῇ δῆλον ἕκαστον … μήτε τι τῶν ἄλλων, ὁπόσῃ πόρος ἐστὶ νοῆσαι, γυίων πίστιν ἔρυκε, νόει δ' ᾗ δῆλον ἕκαστον ['but come, look with every means of apprehension, in whatever way each thing is clear … and do not at all hold back trust in any of the other limbs, wherever there is a channel for understanding, but understand each thing in the way in which it is clear'], where παλάμῃ ['means of apprehension'] and γυίων ['limbs'] denote organs of sense and δῆλον ['clear'] the evidence which they afford the intelligence). That it is possible to find a theory of the sensible world which shall not be liable to the criticism levelled against other theories in fr. 5, and so to put the senses to intelligent use, is indicated by P. in fr. 8. 57–58, where he states the fundamental principles of his own physics in terms which refer directly back to fr. 5. He admits that light can be described as 'the same and not the same' but makes it clear that this is not a contradiction, since 'the same' here means 'the same as itself', while 'not the same' means 'not the same as the other'. Similarly night is both other and not other. This is to admit the relativity of the sensible world but to give it a rational interpretation in terms which do not involve positing a reality which has no identity. P.'s characterisation of those who attempt to discover reality through their senses as 'bewildered' (τεθηπότες) was copied by Empedocles in his injunction τὴν (sc. φιλότητα) σὺ νόῳ δέρκευ μηδ' ὄμμασιν ἧσο τεθηπώς ['behold her (sc. Love) with your mind and do not sit with your eyes staring in amazement'] (fr. 17, 21).

πάντων ['all'] is masculine; the παλίντροπος κέλευθος ['journey that turns
[187] backwards'] of the philosophers criticised is contrasted with P.'s journey to the region of light. The phrase is adapted from Zeus' injunction to Iris in Homer πάλιν τρέπε μηδ' ἔα ἄντην ἔρχεσθ(αι) ['turn them back and do not let them meet me face to face'], **Θ** 399 (*see* n. on fr. 1, 3) and supplements

the metaphor from the amphisbaena. There is only an indirect allusion to cyclical theories of the world (cf. n. on φορεῦνται, l.6). The same image is used as a symbol of the futility of common life by Callimachus, *epigr.* 30. [187]

It is likely that fr. 5 was followed closely by fr. 6. If so, the words οὔτε σκιδνάμενον … οὔτε συνιστάμενον ['either dispersing or gathering'] (6, 3–4), which allude to Anaximenes' theory of the mechanism of change, which was adopted also by Heraclitus, provide an exegesis of τωὐτὸν … κοὐ τωὐτόν ['the same and not the same'].

FRAGMENT 6 (4 DK)

These lines are cited by Clement, our only authority for the fragment as a whole, along with Empedocles, fr. 17, 21 and phrases from Plato, in illustration of the notion of intellectual vision, which he treats as an adumbration of Pauline hope (t. 127). Empedocles contrasts the intellectual contemplation of φιλότης (τὴν σὺ νόῳ δέρκευ ['Love (behold her with your mind)'] with the confusion which results from attempting to see her with the eyes (μηδ' ὄμμασιν ἧσο τεθηπώς ['and do not sit with your eyes staring in amazement']). The similarity in language with that of P. both here (λεύσσε … νόῳ ['gaze … with your mind']) and in fr. 5, 7 (τυφλοί τε, τεθηπότες ['blind alike in bewilderment']) makes it probable that P. also contrasts mental with perceptual vision and that fr. 6 occurred almost immediately after the criticism of empirical philosophies in fr. 5.

P.'s grounding of the possibility of knowledge of 'absent things' on the indivisibility of Being was adopted and modified by Plato in his derivation of the possibility of ζήτησις ['enquiry'] of what is unknown (P.'s δίζησις) from the relatedness of all reality (*Meno* 81$^{c\text{-}d}$). This is an answer to the 'eristic argument' ὡς οὐκ ἄρα ἔστιν ζητεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ οὔτε ὃ οἶδε οὔτε ὃ μὴ οἶδε ['it is impossible for a man to enquire either about what he knows or about what he does not know'] (ib.), which is founded on the argument in Xenophanes fr. 34 (*see* H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen,* 2nd edition, p. 344). It is reasonable to suppose that fr. 6 is part of P.'s answer to Xenophanes himself. Xenophanes had borrowed from Homer (B 485–486) the equation of knowing with present perception and concluded that, with regard to the gods and other matters beyond the range of the senses, human beings can have no knowledge but only belief. P. answers that the mind not only may have an immediate awareness of 'absent things' but that its vision of Being is 'steady', as the apprehension of the dense and rare manifestations

[187] of a physical substance cannot be. P. is not here concerned primarily with the nature of Being, the indivisibility of which is not argued until fr. 8, 22–25, but with that of νόος ['mind'] as a faculty of intellectual intuition. This intuitive sense remains present in P.'s correlation of νοεῖν ['conceiving'] [188] with asserting (fr. 3, 7 n.), since assertions made with the copula are in his eyes statements of identity (Introd. Sect. 7).

1 Construe βεβαίως νόῳ λεῦσσε ὅμως ἀπεόντα παρεόντα, 'gaze steadily with your mind on even absent things as present.' The interpretation is guaranteed by Empedocles' imitation cited above (fr. 17, 21), in which τεθηπώς ['staring in amazement'] is antithetical to P.'s βεβαίως ['steadily']. The word-order is calculated to emphasise νόῳ ['mind'], the force of which is weakened by taking it with παρεόντα ['present'] as well as with λεῦσσε ['gaze']. Cf. Plato's expression παγίως νοῆσαι ['understand … fixedly'] cited in fr. 5, 8–9 n.[35]

Empedocles echoes P.'s words again in ascribing to Pythagoras the ability to contemplate things beyond the range of his own lifetime: ὁππότε γὰρ πάσῃσιν ὀρέξαιτο πραπίδεσσιν, ῥεῖ᾽ ὅ γε τῶν ὄντων πάντων λεύσσεσκεν ἕκαστον καί τε δέκ᾽ ἀνθρώπων καί τ᾽ εἴκοσιν αἰώνεσσιν ['for when he reached out with all his mind, easily would he survey every one of the things that are, yea, within ten and even twenty generations of humans'] (fr. 129).

ὅμως ['even']; our mss. of Homer accent this word ὁμῶς in λ 565, even though it is adversative, but ὅμως in M 393. In P. here the word qualifies ἀπεόντα adversatively, 'in spite of their being absent', and it is best to follow the ms. of Clement in giving it the normal fifth century accent. It precedes the participle, as here, in *Od.* l.c. ἔνθα χ᾽ ὁμῶς προσέφη κεχολωμένος ['nevertheless even then he might have addressed me in his anger'], Soph. *O.C.* 666, ὅμως δὲ κἀμοῦ μὴ παρόντος ['nevertheless even if I am not present'], Eur. *Io* 734 etc..

ἀπεόντα ['absent']: i.e. what is beyond the range of sense-experience.

If P. contrasts the steadiness of mental vision with the confusion that results from trying to apprehend reality with the senses, the antithesis of present and absent may be an echo from Heraclitus, who associates perceptual ineffectiveness with the mental absence of those who do not understand the Logos: ἀξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσιν ἐοίκασι · φάτις αὐτοῖσιν μαρτυρεῖ παρεόντας ἀπεῖναι ['uncomprehending when they have heard, they are like the deaf; the saying describes them: though present they are absent'] (fr. 34).

βεβαίως ['steadily']: this is the earliest extant occurrence of any form of this word.

35. This sentence was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

2 The ground given for asserting that the exercise of reason puts the philosopher in the presence of absent things is that, if it is directed (as it must be, fr. 4) upon Being, it will not divide this by regarding it as dispersing or gathering, like the divine primary substances of Anaximenes and Heraclitus, and can therefore contemplate it steadily. The argument is about the activity of mind, and is destroyed if ἀποτμήξει ['sever'] is taken as second person singular middle instead of as active with νόος ['mind'] understood as subject. The verb is construed with an infinitive as expressing prevention: 'the mind will not sever Being from holding fast to Being'. [188]

P.'s argument was adapted to his own ends by Anaxagoras, as his allusion to the unity of the universe and the vivid phrase οὐδὲ ἀποκέκοπται πελέκει ['nor cut off with an axe'] make clear: 'the things in the one world-order are not separate from one another nor cut off with an axe …' (fr. 8). [189]

τὸ ἐόν ['Being']: for the hiatus after the article cf. fr. 8, 32. It seems better to regard Hes. fr. 61, νήπιος ὃς τὰ ἔτοιμα ['a fool who (sc. leaves) what is at hand'] and Aratus 223, αὐτὰρ ὁ ἵππος ['but the horse'] as authentic parallels than to follow Diels in supposing them corrupt and postulate for P. an unexampled crasis of the article with ἐόν.

τοῦ ἐόντος ἔχεσθαι ['cleaving to Being']: the assertion that the mind must conceive of Being as cleaving to Being implies neither that there is nor that there is not a plurality of beings, but only that Being cannot expand and contract, since this would entail its separation from itself (ll.3–4 n.). P. does not argue for or assume the uniqueness of Being until fr. 8.

3–4 οὔτε σκιδνάμενον … οὔτε συνιστάμενον ['either dispersing or gathering']: the Eleatic argument against Anaximenes' theory of rarefaction and condensation of the primary substance is given by Melissus, fr. 7, 7–8: Being cannot be dense and rare, since what is rare cannot be as full as what is dense but must be emptier; but the empty is nothing and this has no being; so Being is full and therefore motionless. It seems probable from the first verse of fr. 7 of P. (*see* introductory note) that Melissus' argument reformulates that of this section of P.'s poem. Diels observed that ll.3–4 may allude to Heraclitus' phrase σκίδνησι καὶ πάλιν συνάγει ['it scatters and again comes together'] (fr. 91). The hypothesis of an allusion to Heraclitus is strengthened by the phrase πάντῃ πάντως ['in every direction in every way'] (cf. fr. 1, 32 n.). The argument however is directed against any version of the theory that the primary substance condenses and rarefies.

[189] κατὰ κόσμον: 'in regular order', as in Homer. The concept of the temporal world as 'order' had been originated by Anaximander, but the word κόσμος ['order'] was not used simply for 'world' in the fifth century.

FRAGMENT 7

It is likely that fr. 7 followed closely upon fr. 6, for the plural μὴ ἐόντα ['things … that are not'] (l.1) seems to echo the plurals ἀπεόντα ['absent'] and παρεόντα ['present'] in fr. 6, 1 and the assertion that things that are not cannot be, to relate to the rejection in fr. 6 of the conceivability of anything which might sever what is from itself. That the context of fr. 7 is a criticism of earlier or contemporary physical theories is confirmed by Simplicius' citation (t. 217) of l.2 to illustrate Aristotle's account (*phys.* iv, 6) of fifth century arguments for and against the existence of empty space. The only philosophers whom Aristotle names as asserting its existence besides Leucippus and Democritus are the Pythagoreans, who, he says, maintained
[190] that it entered the heaven along with the 'infinite breath', which the latter inhaled, and that it articulated natural objects, 'their view being that the void serves to separate and is what articulates contiguous things (ὡς ὄντος τοῦ κενοῦ χωρισμοῦ τινος τῶν ἐφεξῆς καὶ τῆς διορίσεως ['as if the void is what separates and distinguished successive things']) and this applies first of all to the numbers, the nature of which is articulated by the void'. The part played in this theory by the 'infinite breath' suggests that it derives from the cosmology of Anaximenes and so belongs to the earliest Pythagoreans. If so, P.'s insistence that there are no not-beings, in so far as it is polemical, is likely to have been aimed not only at the Ionian theory of condensation and rarefaction alluded to in fr. 6 but also at the (or some) Pythagoreans.

It is clear that P. did not develop his argument or introduce the term κενόν ['void'], or Aristotle and Simplicius must have said so; nevertheless his use of the term 'full' in both his ontology and his physics (frr. 8, 24; 11, 3) implies a corresponding rejection of τὸ κενόν ['the void'], even though he avoided the term. It seems therefore that Melissus' argument (fr. 7, 7) that there is no void, since void is nothing and therefore without being, expresses a view already held by P., and further that Leucippus' identification of τὸ κενόν with τὸ μὴ ὄν ['what-is-not'] and his assertion that this no less than τὸ ὄν ['what-is'] has being (t. 43) is the reassertion of a view which P. had already rejected.

In the remainder of fr. 7, P. repeats the warning given in fr. 5 against believing in the reality of sensible objects. This way of search is now

discriminated from the two intellectually conceivable ways as pursued through the force of habit. [190]

1–2 Since the sentence is introduced by γὰρ ['for'] and justifies or explains an assertion now missing, the reference of τοῦτο ['this'] is uncertain. In Plato's citations it is natural, though not necessary, to refer it to the following accusative and infinitive. Then δαμῇ must mean 'be proved', an unparalleled sense, which Diels followed Stein in defending from Plato's use of ἀναγκάζειν ['compel'] (*Tht.* 196[b] etc.) and βιάζεσθαι ['use force'] (*soph.* 241[d]) for 'to prove' something difficult or paradoxical. P. nowhere else however uses τοῦτο simply to point forward (cf. frr. 5, 3; 8, 2, 15; 12, 3) and an ἀδαμάντινος λόγος ['argument of adamant'] is one that cannot be refuted, not one that cannot be proved (Plat. *Gorg.* 509[a]; cf. *resp.* x, 618[e], *epin.* 982[c], and the third verse of an oracle contemporary with P.'s poem, σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας ['I will say to you this verse a second time, making it like adamant'], Hdt. vii, 141). It is better therefore to give δαμῇ its regular sense of 'be defeated' and to refer τοῦτο to the πολύδηριν ἔλεγχον ['controversial test'] alluded to in l.5, i.e. the law of contradiction; then εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα ['things to be that are not'] is a consecutive accusative and infinitive (cf. νωμᾶν ['exercising'], l.4).

Plato and Aristotle assume (tt. 9, 12, 29) and Simplicius asserts (t. 208) that the way of enquiry rejected in ll.1–2 is the second of the two intelligible ways of fr. 3, viz. ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ['that a thing is not']. Sextus omits l.1 and is thus led to suppose that l.2 alludes to the same way as l.3, i.e. the third way of fr. 5. On this point the evidence of Plato, Aristotle and Simplicius, who had the whole poem, is conclusive. The phrase εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα ['things to be that are not'] refers therefore not to the ambiguous being of sensible things (fr. 5, 8) but to the supposition that there are μὴ ἐόντα ['things that are not'], which could divide Being from itself. The emphatic pronoun σὺ ['you'] shows that some philosophers followed this 'way', i.e. asserted the reality of something with no being (sc. empty space). [191]

P.'s use of the aor. subjunctive with οὐ μὴ here and in fr. 8, 61 is the earliest occurrence of this idiom and a striking example of his combination of contemporary with epic language.

τῆσδ' ἀφ' ὁδοῦ διζήσιος ['from this way of enquiry']: sc. τῆς τὸ μὴ ὂν ζητούσης ['the way that investigates what-is-not'] (Simpl. l.c.). This way could be followed only if there were real μὴ ἐόντα, as opposed to P.'s insistence (fr. 5, 2) that what has no being is nothing. τῆσδ' ἀφ' ὁδοῦ διζήσιος εἶργε νόημα ['keep your thought from this way of enquiry'] has the same

[191] sense as τὴν μὲν ἐᾶν ἀνόητον, ἀνώνυμον ['to leave the one way unconceived and nameless'] (fr. 8, 17).

3–6 The language in ll.4–5 alludes clearly to the description in fr. 5, 7 of the mortals on the third way, as deaf, blind and unjudging; ὁδὸν κατὰ τήνδε ['on the … way'] therefore refers to the same way, and P. is now exhorted not to let 'habit' force him to regard as real the objects of experience. 'Habit' is contrasted with the intellectual analysis alluded to in νόημα ['thought'] (l.2), which dictates that only the other two ways are possible logically (εἰσι νοῆσαι ['are conceivable'], fr. 3, 2); its 'force' is contrasted with the 'persuasiveness' (fr. 3, 4) which characterises the journey along the authentic way.

The verb βιᾶσθαι ['do violence'] is common with non-personal subjects (τὸ δοκεῖν καὶ τὰν ἀλάθειαν βιᾶται ['appearance does violence even to the truth'], Simon, fr. 76; ἐχθρὰ … πάρφασις … τὸ μὲν λαμπρὸν βιᾶται ['deceitful speaking with hateful intent … does violence to what is glorious'], Pind. *Nem.* 8, 32; εἰ μή τινα θερσιεπὴς φθόνος βιᾶται ['if envy bold of speech does not violently master a person'], Bacchyl. 12, 199; βιᾶται δ' ἁ τάλαινα πειθώ ['wretched persuasion forces her way in'], Aesch. *Ag.* 385; *Il.* K 145, 172). The noun ἔθος ['habit'] (of which this is by half a century the earliest extant occurrence) gains its force from its contrast with νόημα ['thought'] and requires no qualification, while ὁδὸν κατὰ τήνδε demands one to point the distinction from τῆσδ' ἀφ' ὁδοῦ ['from this way'] in the preceding line. It is better therefore to construe πολύπειρον ['empirical'] with ὁδὸν ['way'] than with ἔθος. Then the infinitive νωμᾶν ['of exercising'] is consecutive and the sense is 'let not habit do violence to you upon this empirical way, so that you exercise an unseeing eye and a noisy ear and tongue'. The sense of πολύπειρον is well illustrated by Plutarch's remark (*Solon* 2) καίτοι φασὶν ἔνιοι πολυπειρίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον καὶ ἱστορίας ('so as to get experience and knowledge of the world') ἢ χρηματισμοῦ πλανηθῆναι τὸν Σόλωνα ['although some say that he traveled to get experience and knowledge of the world rather than to make money']. The demonstrative τήνδε ['the'] identifies the 'empirical way' with the ineffective use of the senses referred to in the next line; their effective use is related by implication with
[192] the judgement of reason (κρῖναι δὲ λόγῳ ['decide by discourse'], l.5), as in fr. 5 their ineffective use was related to the absence of judgement.

In l.4 the vocabulary is wholly Homeric, though not the use which is made of it.

καὶ γλῶσσαν ['and tongue']: the epithet ἠχήεσσαν ['noisy'] qualifies this [192]
phrase as well as ἀκουήν ['ear']. P.'s point is that the tongue echoes the confusion of the eyes and ears (cf. Hippocr. *morb. sacr.* 17, κινευμένου δὲ (sc. τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου) μήτε τὴν ὄψιν ἀτρεμίζειν μήτε τὴν ἀκοήν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν, τήν τε γλῶσσαν τοιαῦτα διαλέγεσθαι οἷα ἂν βλέπῃ τε καὶ ἀκούῃ ἑκάστοτε ['when it (sc. the brain) moves, neither the sight nor the hearing keeps still but a person sees and hears now one thing and now another, and his tongue says whatever he sees and hears at any given moment']) and that language as well as the senses can be used correctly only if it is made subsidiary to the exercise of reason.

κρῖναι δὲ λόγῳ κτλ. ['decide by discourse …']: the imperative use of the infinitive is as old as Homer (E 124 etc.).

The regular sense in the fifth century of the second declension noun ἔλεγχος, of which this appears to be the earliest occurrence, is 'test' (cf. Pind. *Nem.* 8, 20, νεαρὰ δ᾽ ἐξευρόντα δόμεν βασάνῳ ἐς ἔλεγχον, ἅπας κίνδυνος ['it is a great risk for a person who has discovered new things to submit them to the touchstone for testing'], Soph. *Ph.* 98, etc.). Since P. is to look for 'reality' (fr. 3, 2 n.), the matter which he has to put to the test is whether any given thing is real; when therefore the goddess exhorts him to 'judge by reason the controversial test prescribed' by her, she means that he is to use as a test the principle of reason which she has already enunciated in fr. 3, sc. the law of contradiction. He is consequently to assume that any candidate for recognition as real either 'is and is not for not being' or 'is not and must needs not be', and to 'judge by reason' between these alternatives. The only other way of looking for reality is by the senses, which, if so employed, are 'unseeing', 'noisy' etc. (ll.4–5); those who follow this way have already been characterised as 'unjudging' on the ground that they suppose that a real thing may 'both be and not be the same and not the same' (fr. 5, 7–9).

The injunction to use the law of contradiction as a test is repeated by the goddess in fr. 8, 15–18, where she says that the judgement (κρίσις) of the question whether or not Being has come to be and whether it is perishing depends on that of the issue ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ['is or is not'], and that on these alternatives judgement has already been passed (sc. in frr. 3–7). A similar application of a test is prescribed by Melissus, fr. 7, 9, κρίσιν δὲ ταύτην χρὴ ποιήσασθαι τοῦ πλέω καὶ τοῦ μὴ πλέω · εἰ μὲν οὖν χωρεῖ τι ἢ εἰσδέχεται, οὐ πλέων · εἰ δὲ μήτε χωρεῖ μήτε εἰσδέχεται, πλέων ['we must make this the criterion of full and not full: if something yields or is penetrated it is not full. But if it neither yields nor is penetrated, it is full']. This Eleatic procedure

[192] anticipates the technique of considering a question ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ['from a hypothesis'], which Plato professes to borrow from geometry in *Meno* 86[e] sq.

The epithet πολύδηριν ['controversial'] occurs only here, and was doubtless coined by P. himself (cf. fr. 1, 14 n.) with reference to the same controversy
[193] as is alluded to in frr. 5–6, i.e. his stand against Ionian and Pythagorean physics. The continuation of the controversy later caused Zeno to compose his arguments in P.'s support (Plato, t. 4). The dispute persisted in the fourth century, since Aristotle, after arguing that the law of contradiction is the most certain of all principles, remarks εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἵ, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, αὐτοί τε ἐνδέχεσθαί φασι τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι, καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν οὕτως. χρῶνται δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν περὶ φύσεως ['There are some who, as we have said, themselves declare that the same thing can be and not be, and that people suppose that this is the case. Many of those who discuss nature employ this account.'] (*metaph.* Γ 4 ad init.).

6–7 No reasonable doubt is possible that θυμὸς ['spirit'] in Sextus' quotation of l.6 is an error for μῦθος ['story'] and that the lines are identical with the first words of fr. 8 as cited by Simplicius.

Having now rejected procedures which assume the reality either of what has no being or of what has no identity, P. continues by adopting the remaining formulation, that what is real 'is, and is not for not being'.

FRAGMENT 8

The sixty-one verses of fr. 8 comprise the whole of the goddess' account of the 'journey of persuasion' (fr. 3, 4) or 'real way' (8, 18), together with lines explaining the principle and purpose of her account of the 'beliefs of mortals'. Lines 6–49 develop a sustained argument, in which conclusions about reality, now named (τὸ) ἐόν or 'Being', are deduced from the hypothesis that it 'is, and is not for not being', with which the real way of enquiry was identified in fr. 3. The argument is preceded by a summary (ll.1–6), which begins with an implicit allusion to the earlier account of the two intelligible ways. After the rejection of one of these (οὐκ ἔστιν ['a thing is not']) in fr. 3 and of a third or empirical way in fragments 5 and 7, one way only remains. On this, she proceeds, there are many monuments or landmarks (σήματα), which (or some of which) she at once enumerates; they appear as predicates of 'Being', the applicability of which is then established deductively.

[193] The main argument of fr. 8 is not presented as itself constituting the genuine way of philosophy, but as an account of the monuments on the way, on which in P.'s narrative he has still to travel, i.e. as a philosophical guide or textbook. The earlier criticism of the mortals on the πολύπειρος ὁδός ['empirical way'] as involved in a παλίντροπος κέλευθος ['journey that turns backwards'] implies that the real way leads directly to a destination, which is evidently to be identified with the object of the philosopher's search (δίζησις ['enquiry']) and the cause of his understanding (l.34). To follow the real way is to enquire what other assertions the assertion ἔστιν ['a thing is'] (now reformulated as ἐόν ἐστιν ['Being is']) entails, i.e. what further predicates are to be associated with 'Being' by the copulative 'is'.

[194] P.'s deductive study, in accordance with the axiom of contradiction established for the first time in fr. 3, of the terms predicable of ἐόν is the origination of the concept of demonstrative science and the precursor of Aristotle's analysis of any such science into three elements. The elements enumerated by Aristotle are (i) the things of which the being is presupposed, i.e. the genus to be studied, (ii) the common axioms or principles of demonstration, and (iii) the necessary attributes of members of the genus of which the being is to be demonstrated (*an. post.* i, 10, 76^{b}11–16). P.'s analysis differs from Aristotle's in regarding Being itself as the only legitimate subject of enquiry and in considering the predicates asserted of this subject as the names, not of attributes of Being, but of Being itself (Introd. Sect. 7).

The argument of ll.6–49 may be briefly summarised as follows. Being is subject to neither birth nor death, and the choice is between the principles 'is' and 'is not', of which the latter has already been rejected and carries with it all becoming. Since Being either is altogether or is not at all, it has no differences of degree but is all similar and full, and so one and indivisible. Not lacking anything, it is not incomplete or imperfect, and its perfection is a limit or end which keeps it eternally changeless, self-identical and solitary. Its identity is that of the direct object of thinking with the cause of the thought conceived, since it is only by making Being the subject of predicates that its perfection can be found for thinking.[36] Since further there is no time apart from Being, all the things which human beings suppose to be real will have only a nominal being. The limit therefore is ultimate and Being is universally equal with itself and uniformly determined; consequently

36. This sentence replaces the following sentence of the first edition: As such it is not only the sole object of thought but its cause, since assertions made with the copula can express thought only if their subject is Being. (RMcK)

[194] it has no extension in space but is a unity of intension, perfect universally like a sphere and equally poised every way from its centre.

1–2 The phrase μόνος δ᾽ ἔτι μῦθος ὁδοῖο λείπεται ['only one story of the way is still left'] alludes to the goddess' μῦθος ['story'] in fr. 3 formulating the only conceivable ways of enquiry. The epic form of the adjective is μοῦνος (cf. fr. 3, 2) but Homer has μονωθείς in Λ 470.

σήματ᾽ ἔασι ['are … signs']: the remaining way is marked by signs or monuments, which are enumerated in ll.3–6 as predicates of Being (ἐόν). The phrase σήματ᾽ ἔασι contrasts with σήματ᾽ ἔθεντο ['assigned … marks'] (l.55); the contrast indicates that, while the characteristics of the two Forms into which P. analyses the physical world are, like the Forms themselves, empirical and conventional in status, those of Being are objectively real. The sense in which they are said to 'be' on the way is elucidated in ll.3–6.

3 [195] ὡς ἀγένητον ἐὸν καὶ ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστιν ['that Being is ungenerated and imperishable']: the term ἐόν ['Being'], introduced in fr. 5, 1, appears here for the first time as subject of the copula, still with no prior assumption as to whether it is the name of one being or more. P. strictly avoids the tautology of making it the subject of 'is' with no further qualification; if however it can be made the subject of other assertions, which are both consonant with ἔστιν and necessarily true, a rational understanding of Being becomes possible and Xenophanes' denial of the possibility of human knowledge is refuted. The terms which can complete the copula in such assertions are the σήματα ['signs'] on the authentic way.

This appears to be the earliest genuine occurrence of ἀγένητον ['ungenerated'], which may be P.'s coinage. The only earlier occurrence of ἀνώλεθρον ['imperishable'] (unless it is authentic in fr. 3 of Anaximander) is in the Homeric phrase οὐδ᾽ ἀνολέθρους ['nor unharmed'], **N** 761.

4 There is no evidence that in any ancient text of P. l.4 began ἔστι γὰρ οὐλομελές ['for it is whole of limb'], for in Plutarch's citation (t. 113), where alone this phrase occurs, the words ἔστι γὰρ ['for it is'] are not ascribed to P. but are Plutarch's own (Introd. Sect. 1). οὐλομελές, given in two places by Proclus as well as by Plutarch for μουνογενές ['unique'], could best be defended by adopting μοῦνον ['only'] (read for οὖλον ['entire'] by Ps.-Plutarch etc. but always with μουνογενές) and writing οὐλομελὲς μοῦνον. It is clear however that the text firmly attested by Clement, Simplicius and others (οὖλον μουνογενές) and probably indicated in one place by the manuscripts of Proclus is to be preferred.

οὖλον: 'entire'; the definition put in P.'s mouth by Plato gives the sense [195]
accurately: οὐχὶ οὗ ἂν μέρος μηδὲν ἀπῇ ὅλον ἂν εἴη ['Will a whole not be that from which no part is missing?'], *Parm.* 137[c]. It is not implied however, as Plato suggests (t. 11), that Being is a whole of parts, but that it is οὐκ ἐπιδεές ['not defective'] (l.33), as in Xenophanes' use of the word (fr. 24) and in Aristotle's tentative equation of it with τέλειον ['complete'] (t. 24).

μουνογενές: 'of the solitary kind', i.e. 'unique', as in Plat. *Tim.* 31[b], 92[c], Procl. *el. theol.* 22; for the termination cf. θηλυγενής, 'of the female sex' (Aesch. *suppl.* 28), ὁμοιογενής, 'like in kind', etc. The equivalent term in l.29 is καθ' ἑαυτό ['by itself'].

ἀτρεμὲς ['unmoved'] characterises Being as, though unvarying, not inert (fr. 1, 29 n.). Its equivalents in ll.26 sq. are ἀκίνητον ['changeless'] (26, 38), τωὐτὸν … ἐν τωὐτῷ τε μένον ['remaining the same and in the same state'] (29) and ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένει ['remains where it is perpetually'] (30), which denote an identity exempt from all temporal change.

ἠδ' † ἀτέλεστον ['and perfect']: whenever l.4 is quoted by itself, even by Simplicius, it ends ἠδ' ἀγένητον. Clement cites ll.3 and 4 together with ἀγένητον ['and ungenerated'] in both (*see* Introd. Sect. 1). Simplicius in the three places where he quotes more than the single line gives (with what appear to be minor variants) ἠδ' ἀτέλεστον, which he understood to mean 'temporally unlimited' (t. 204).

This gives an unparalleled and improbable sense to the word, which [196]
elsewhere means 'imperfect', 'uninitiated' or 'untaxed', and is in any case incompatible with P.'s assertion in the next line that Being has no past or future. There is no doubt that the Homeric clausula (Δ 26) has displaced the true text. Plotinus' phrase τὴν ἀτρεμῆ ἐκείνην καὶ ὁμοῦ πᾶσαν καὶ ἄπειρον ἤδη ζωήν ['that life which is unmoved, all together, and already unlimited'] (t. 142) suggests that it had done so already in his time. It is clear from the subsequent argument that ἀτέλεστον gives precisely the opposite to the required meaning (cf. οὐκ ἀτελεύτητον ['not incomplete'], l.32, τετελεσμένον ['in a state of perfection'], l.42). The best emendation is ἠδὲ τέλειον ['and perfect'] (G. E. L. Owen), which is perhaps what P. wrote (cf. Ar. *cael.* i, 9, 279[a]11, εἷς καὶ μόνος καὶ τέλειος οὗτος οὐρανός ἐστιν ['this heaven is one, unique and complete']; Plat. *Tim.* 92[c]).

5–6 In writing οὐδέ ποτ' ἦν οὐδ' ἔσται κτλ. ['it never was nor will be …'] P. sharpens his assertion of the perfection of τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] by pointing out that it is not the temporal perfection of mature growth but that of total coexistence in the present. His thesis that Being has neither past nor future was

[196] rejected by Melissus (frr. 1–2) but endorsed and elaborated by Plato (*Tim.* 37^{d}-38^{b}), who however avoids P.'s use of νῦν ['now'] referring to a timeless present (and elsewhere treats τὸ νῦν ['the now'] as temporal, *Parm.* 152$^{b\text{-}e}$) but insists that the present tense ἔστιν correctly expresses τὴν ἀίδιον οὐσίαν ['eternal being']. P.'s 'now' denotes neither an instant nor a unit of time but simultaneity, as Plotinus characterises eternity as οἷον ἐν σημείῳ ὁμοῦ πάντων ὄντων καὶ οὔποτε εἰς ῥύσιν προϊόντων ἀλλὰ μένοντος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν αὑτῷ καὶ οὐ μὴ μεταβάλλοντος, ὄντος δ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀεί, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ παρῆλθεν οὐδ' αὖ γενήσεται, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐστί, τοῦτο καὶ ὄντος ['as if all things were together at a point and never proceeded to flow out from it, but remaining in the same in itself and not changing at all, being always in the present because none of it has passed away, nor will any of it come to be, but it is just that which it is'] (iii, 7, 3). P.'s phrase νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν ['it is now all together'] was adopted and altered by Anaxagoras, so as to refer to the primal as well as the present temporal togetherness of things (ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν ['all things were together'], fr. 1; ἀλλ' ὅπωσπερ ἀρχήν, εἶναι καὶ νῦν πάντα ὁμοῦ ['but as in the beginning now too all things are together'], fr. 6). Both Anaxagoras and Melissus insist on the reality of past and future time, which P. confines to human experience (fr. 20).

Zeno's argument that the arrow in flight is always ἐν τῷ νῦν ['in the now'] and therefore κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ['in an equal place'] and ἀκίνητον ['motionless'] is an application of P.'s characterisation of Being (Appendix III). For P.'s view of the togetherness of Being *see* ll.44–49 n.

With his denial to Being of past and future P. associates its oneness and unity, which complete his list of σήματα ['signs']. This is the only place in his argument about Being where P. uses the word 'one'; its place is taken subsequently by οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ['not divisible'] (l.22), with which συνεχές ['indivisible'] both here and in l.25 is virtually synonymous.

The mss. give συνεχές here, ξυνεχές in l.25 (*see* n.); Homer has συνεχές with υ scanned as long (Μ 26, ι 74).

It has been supposed that the list of σήματα ['signs'] was complete in l.4
[197] and that l.5 begins the argument that Being is ungenerated and imperishable. This involves identifying οὖλον, μουνογενές ['entire, unique'] (l.4) as the theme of ll.22–25 and as synonymous with ἕν, συνεχές ['one, indivisible'] (l.6). But wholeness and uniqueness are different notions from oneness and indivisibility and are argued for first in ll.26–49. The list of σήματα continues till συνεχές (l.6); as is to be expected in verse, it does not correspond precisely in order, though it does so generally in content, to the succeeding argument. The correspondences are as follows: ἀγένητον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον

['ungenerated and imperishable'], ll.6–21; οὖλον, μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ' † ἀτέλεστον ['entire, unique, unmoved and perfect'] ll.26–49; ἕν, συνεχές ['one, indivisible'], ll.22–25. [197]

6–21 *Being is ungenerated and imperishable.*

P. first gives two reasons for denying that Being can have either birth or growth: (a) it is inconceivable that it originated in what is not (anything), since it is inconceivable that anything is not (anything); (b) supposing that it was born of Nothing, what could have brought about its birth at one time rather than at another? From (a) and (b) he concludes that it must either be completely or not be at all. Furthermore, it is inconceivable that something should be generated alongside it from Not-being. Being therefore could be moved neither to come into being nor to perish, but the issue is between the two ways *is* and *is not,* which has already been decided in favour of *is.* Now since the subject of becoming, whether past, present or future, is not, it can neither be nor become what is, sc. Being. Thus coming-to-be and perishing are both eliminated.

6–7 These opening questions resemble and perhaps echo the conventional Homeric greeting, τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες ['Who are you and from where? Where is your city, your parents?']; (ο 264 etc.). The two following arguments also, which deal successively with the source (ll.7–9) and the moving cause (ll.9–10) of Being, are analogous to the standard epic response, e.g. ἐξ Ἰθάκης γένος εἰμί, πατὴρ δέ μοί ἐστιν Ὀδυσσεύς ['I am from Ithaca by birth and my father is Odysseus'] (ib. 267): Not-being affords Being no birthplace and Nothing no parentage. The expressions γένναν ('parentage') and αὐξηθέν ('grown') must be given their full value; P.'s notion of origin and development derives directly from the birth and growth of living creatures (cf. ll.38–41 n.; fr. 20, 1–2 n.).

αὐτοῦ ['of it']: sc. ἐόντος ['of Being'], cf. μιν ['it'] (ll.9, 23), αὐτὸ ['it'] (l.13).

αὐξηθέν ['grown']: the substitution of a short for a long syllable *in arsi* is imitated from Homer and recurs in fr. 12, 1. The participle depends on διζήσεαι ['will you look for']; the rapid change of syntax from the noun γένναν ['parentage'] to the participle αὐξηθέν, from which an infinitive αὐξηθῆναι must then be supplied with φάσθαι ['say'] and νοεῖν ['conceive'] in l.8, is strongly suggestive of the colloquial cross-examination of oral discussion.

7–9 οὔτε is answered by δὲ in l.9, as in Homer (Η 433, Ω 368) and elsewhere (Denniston, *GP* 511); for the intervening parenthesis cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1151–1153. [198]

[198] The idiom regularly expresses an antithesis, here between the conceptions of what is not or Nothing as source and as generator.

ἐκ μὴ ἐόντος ['from Not-being']: cf. fr. 3, 7 n. The argument assumes that ἐόν ['Being'] comprises everything there is and could therefore have originated only in what is not, and the supposition that anything is not has already been rejected. The expression with ἐκ ['from'], denoting the source of what comes to be, recurs regularly in later philosophy, e.g. in Anaxag. frr. 10; 16; Emped. 12; 17; 21; 23; Melissus 1; 8; its sense was first analysed rigorously by Aristotle (*phys.* i, 7–8).

ἐάσω ['let']: P.'s reasoning is governed throughout by a conception of law or logical necessity, the discovery of which is one of his principal achievements (cf. concluding n. on fr. 3). This notion is conveyed in the present argument by the following phrases, all of which are construed with an infinitive expressed or implied and are generally synonymous: οὔτ' … ἐάσω φάσθαι σ' οὐδὲ νοεῖν ['I shall not let you say or conceive']; χρεών ἐστιν ['must']; ἐφήσει πίστιος ἰσχύς ['the strength of conviction will … impel']; οὔτ' … ἀνῆκε δίκη ['justice did not … move']; κέκριται … ὥσπερ ἀνάγκη ['it has been decided, as was necessary']; elsewhere the notion is expressed by χρεών ἐστι ['must needs'] (3, 5); χρὴ … λέγειν τε νοεῖν τε ['it is necessary to assert and conceive'] (5, 1); οὐ … θέμις ['it is not lawful'] (8, 32); μοῖρ' ἐπέδησεν ['was bound fast by fate'] (8, 37); χρεών ἐστι ['must'] (8, 45). The notion is also expressed by the following phrases which are not followed by an infinitive: εἰσι νοῆσαι ['are conceivable'] (3, 2); οὔτ' … ἂν γνοίης … οὔτε φράσαις ['you can neither know … nor tell'] (3, 7–8); οὐ γὰρ ἀνυστόν ['for it is impossible'] (ib.); νοεῖν ἐστιν ['is for conceiving'] (4); οὐ … μή ποτε … δαμῇ ['shall never be vanquished'] (7, 1); οὐ … φατὸν οὐδὲ νοητόν ['it cannot be said or conceived'] (8, 8); ἀπῶσε … πίστις ἀληθής ['thrust back by authentic conviction'] (8, 28); ἀνάγκη … ἔχει ['necessity holds'] (8, 30–31); ἐστι νοεῖν ['is for conceiving'] (8, 34); οὐ … εὑρήσεις ['not … will you find'] (8, 35–36).

The expression οὔτ' … ἐάσω ['I shall not let'] reveals the goddess as guarantor of this necessity for human beings. This is appropriate if she represents necessity in the phenomenal world (cf. nn. on frr. 1, 22; 9, 6–7).

The form ἐάσω is that which occurs in our mss. of Homer and is much better attested for P. by the mss. of Simplicius than the variant ἐάσσω.

οὐκ ἔστι ['anything is not'] denotes the παναπευθὴς ἀταρπός ['path wholly without report'], as in the earlier fragments and again in l.16. No determinate subject is understood.

9–10 The phrase τί χρέος … ['what necessity']; is synonymous in fifth century poetry with the more colloquial τί χρῆμα … ['what?'/'why?']; and signifies simply 'what circumstance ….?' or 'what matter ….?' (e.g. τί χρέος, τί νέον; ['what is it? what news?'], Aesch. *Ag.* 85; τί χρέος ἔβα δῶμα; ['why did he go to the room?'], Eur. fr. 1011, etc.). P. points out that what comes to be must be moved to do so at a determinate time, and nothing could have caused the generation of Being from Nothing. [198]

τοῦ μηδενὸς ['from Nothing'] paraphrases μὴ ἐόντος ['from Not-being'] (l.7, cf. frr. 3, 7 n., 5, 2 n.). The argument, like that preceding, depends on the assumption that ἐόν ['Being'] comprises everything there is; it could therefore be generated only by what is without being, sc. Nothing. [199]

ἀρξάμενον φῦν ['to begin and spring up']: the expression refers to parentage (cf. Soph. *O.T.* 1019, καὶ πῶς ὁ φύσας ἐξ ἴσου τῷ μηδενί; ['and how is the one who produced me on an equal footing with one who is nothing to me?']). The aor. infin. in ν is preserved only here in P. by the manuscripts but it is a virtually certain correction in fr. 12, 5 (μιγῆν); cf. μεταδοῦν, Theogn. 104.

11 'Thus it must either be entirely or entirely not be'. ἢ οὐκί ['or not'] stands for ἢ οὐ χρεών ἐστι πάμπαν πελέναι ['or it must entirely not be']. For οὐ χρεών ἐστι meaning 'it is necessary that … not …' cf. ll.44–45, and for the sense of χρεών ['must'], fr. 3, 5 n. 'Being entirely' is opposed to being created and developing; the expression was interpreted temporally by Melissus ('since it did not come to be but is, it always was and always will be and has no beginning or end' etc., fr. 2) but is meant by P. to denote a non-temporal being ('it never was nor will be, for it is all together now', l.5).

12–13 To the arguments that Being cannot have come into being or developed P. adds that (for the same reasons) nothing else can come to be from Not-being.

The verb ἐφήσει followed by the accusative and infinitive must be given its regular epic sense of 'impel'; whence the relevance of ἰσχύς ['strength']. P. expresses himself as if certainty (πίστις ['conviction'], cf. fr. 1, 30 n.) had an active and not merely a critical power, as earlier in fr. 6, 2–4 and again in l.28, ἀπῶσε δὲ πίστις ἀληθής ['thrust back by authentic conviction']. The locution 'certainty will never be strong enough to impel …' expresses the same thought as 'what occasion could have prompted …?' (l.9) and is itself paraphrased by 'justice has not moved …' (l.14); all exclude from Being the operation of efficient causation.

The expression ἐκ μὴ ἐόντος ['from Not-being'] treats Not-being, as in l.7, as a source. P. continues to assume without question the view taken later

[199] for granted by Melissus (fr. 1), Empedocles (frr. 11–12) and Anaxagoras (fr. 17), and ascribed to him according to Aristotle by Plato, that anything which comes into being must do so from Not-being (ἁπλῶς γίγνεσθαί τι ἐκ μὴ ὄντος, ['a thing comes to be unqualifiedly from what-is-not'] t. 23), i.e. from Nothing; to suppose that it could come to be from what is would be liable to the objection that both would then 'be and not be the same and not the same', already made to Ionian monism in fr. 5. It is an essential feature of P.'s ontology that he finds the possibility of the change of one substance (i.e. of what 'is and is not for not being') into another strictly 'inconceivable', and therefore irrelevant on the 'journey of persuasion'. Equally it forms no part of 'human beliefs', i.e. of his own physical theory, as this is set out in opposition to that of the Ionian monists in the last part of the poem.

[200] In l.13 παρ᾽ αὐτό ['alongside it'] means παρὰ τὸ ἐόν ['alongside Being'] (cf. αὐτοῦ ['it'] l.6, μιν ['it'] l.9); to refer αὐτό ['it'] to μὴ ἐόν ['Not-being'] would lend Not-being an identity foreign to P.'s view.

The sense of ll.12–13 is therefore, 'nor from Not-being will certainty ever have the strength to impel something to come to be alongside of Being.' The argument was developed correctly in the Peripatetic formula τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὂν οὐκ ὄν ['what is other than what-is is not'] (tt. 26, 36, 42), which Alexander, Syrianus and Asclepius rightly referred to the physical world (tt. 208, 162, 191), thus characterised as devoid of Being.

13–15 P. concludes that 'justice did not unchain Being and move it either to come into being or to perish.' The verb ἀνιέναι ['loosen'] (l.14) when followed by the infinitive is close in sense to ἐφιέναι ['let'] (12) but less positive (cf. Hom. ξ 464–465, where also both occur together); it continues the allusion to a moving cause in ὧρσεν ['urged'] (l.9) and ἐφήσει ['let'] (l.12) and signifies that perishing, as well as coming to be, is inconceivable without it. Since there can be nothing 'beside Being' (ll.12–13) and therefore no moving cause, Being is imperishable as well as ungenerated. The conclusion (ll.13–16) is phrased as an extended judicial metaphor (δίκη ['justice'], πέδῃσιν ['fetters'], κρίσις ['decision']) expressive of logical necessity (cf. ll.7–9 n.).

The argument of ll.6–15 is continuous and perspicuous, and the text must on no account be tampered with. Simplicius twice (tt. 208, 214) paraphrases the argument as if it anticipated the dilemma propounded by Gorgias (εἰ γὰρ γένονεν, ἤτοι ἐξ ὄντος ἢ ἐκ μὴ ὄντος γένονεν κτλ. ['for if it has come to be it did so either from a thing that is or from a thing that is not'] (fr. 3)) and ran 'what is is ungenerated, since it can come neither from what is (for no other being existed before it) nor from what is not (for what is not is

nothing).' Not finding this dilemma in the text cited by Simplicius, Brandis [200]
introduced it by emending the manuscript variant ἔκ γε μὴ ὄντος in l.12 to ἔκ γε τοῦ ὄντος; he was followed by Karsten with ἐκ τοῦ ἐόντος. Stein with ἔκ γε πέλοντος, Diels in his Simplicius with ἔκ πῃ ἐόντος and more recently U. Hölscher with ἐκ δὴ ἐόντος. None of these changes is justified, as Diels later recognised (*PL* 76–77), since it is abundantly clear that Simplicius' free paraphrase is valueless as evidence for the text. Simplicius cites P.'s argument that Being could not have come from nothing, because nothing could have obliged it to do so at any particular time (ll.9–10), as an argument that what comes to be must do so from what is (t. 214). This transparent misrepresentation is a part of his interpretation of the whole argument in terms of the dilemma, which in fact is mentioned by Aristotle in the passage commented on by Simplicius (*phys.* i, 4, 187^{a}26–^{b}7, cf. 8, 191^{a}23–33) as the basis of Anaxagoras' theory of reality. Since the dilemma was known to Gorgias, it is likely that it derives from Anaxagoras himself. Cf. Simpl. *Phys.* 162, 26–29.[37]

Although Diels later discounted the evidential value of Simplicius' [201]
paraphrase, he still sought (*PL* 77) to introduce the dilemma into the text of P. by postulating a lacuna after αὐξηθέν ['grown'], which he proposed to fill with some such words as <οὔτ' ἔκ τευ ἐόντος ἔγεντ' ἄν, ἄλλο γὰρ ἂν πρίν ἔην ['it would not have come to be from anything that is, for it would have previously been something else']>. This desperate remedy was rightly rejected by Wilamowitz and Reinhardt, the latter of whom wished to return to Karsten's text (*Parmenides* p. 41). Reinhardt has been widely followed, in defiance of Diels' cogent arguments (*PL* 76) and the inescapable fact that no trace of the notion that any 'being' might originate from what already is can be seen in Melissus or Empedocles. Diels' argument that P. must have refuted this thesis, since it was that of the Ionian physicists (ib. 77), overlooks the fact that P. has already rejected this tenet of Ionian monism in fr. 5.

15–16 ἡ δὲ κρίσις περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷδ' ἐστιν, κτλ.: 'the judgement on this question depends on that of the issue *is* or *is not*.' The sense is conveniently elucidated by Demosthenes' use and paraphrase of the same expression (18, 57): τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι … ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω · ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὑρεθήσεται εἴτ' ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε … εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ ('I consider that the verdict on the proposal … depends on that on my public actions'). The goddess recurs to her earlier injunction to judge by

37. This reference was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[201] λόγος [‘discourse’] the ‘controversial test’ of a thing’s reality, sc. the axiom that a thing must either be or not be what it is (fr. 7, 3–6 n.), which is now given the simple formulation ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν [‘is or is not’].

περὶ τούτων [‘regarding these things’]: ‘as regards the question whether anything can come to be or perish’.

ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν [‘is or is not’]: the verbs denote the two ways of enquiry, as is made clear in l.18; the phrase thus has a different sense from the disjunction asserted in l.11, where ἐόν [‘Being’] is understood as subject to πάμπαν πελέναι [‘be entirely’]. Aristotle preserves the strictly formal character of P.’s expression, when, after explaining how his own account of γένεσις [‘coming to be’] solves the problems of ‘the ancients’, he adds ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἅπαν ἢ μὴ εἶναι οὐκ ἀναιροῦμεν [‘we do not eliminate the principle that everything either is or is not’] (*phys.* i, 8, 191^{b}26).

16–18 P. recapitulates the argument of fr. 3 about the conceivable ways of enquiry. The expression παναπευθέα [‘wholly without report’] (3, 6) now becomes ἀνόητον, ἀνώνυμον [‘unconceived, nameless’], and, as the second way (οὐκ ἔστιν [‘is not’]) was previously described as a blind track, so now it is described as ‘not a real way’ (for the sense of ἀληθής [‘genuine’] *see* n. on fr. 1, 29).

τὴν δ᾽ ὥστε πέλειν καὶ ἐτήτυμον εἶναι [‘and for the other to be a way and authentic’]: the infinitives depend directly on κέκριται [‘it has been decided’] (for the redundant ὥστε cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1327, Thuc. i, 119, viii, 45,
[202] 3 etc.): ‘a decision has been made to leave the one way unconceived and unnamed, since it is not a real way, and that the other way is a way and is authentic.’ ἐτήτυμον means ‘real’ or ‘genuine’, as in Homer’s phrase κείνῳ δ᾽ οὐκέτι νόστος ἐτήτυμος [‘there will no longer be a genuine homecoming for him’], γ 241; this way is ‘genuine’ in the sense that it leads to a destination.

19–21 Lines 19–20 have been generally misunderstood and sometimes emended, owing partly to mistaken information about the readings of the manuscripts, but partly also to a failure to notice the sense of the Homeric formula πῶς ἂν ἔπειτα [‘how could’].

The reading of the manuscripts DEF of Simplicius is unanimously (though Diels reports it only for F, and this only in his edition of Simplicius) πέλοιτο ἐόν. This must certainly be accepted (for the hiatus cf. e.g. *Il.* I 127) and ἐόν regarded as complement, with allusion to the principle ἔστιν, the validity of which has just been re-asserted.

Both expression and argument require the sense of ἔπειτα ['and'] and [202]
ἐόν ['have being'] to be continued with the second question πῶς δ' ἄν κε γένοιτο ['how come into being']; The participial expression with πέλοιτο and γένοιτο is in accordance with epic and Attic-usage, e.g. Ψ 69 λελασμένος ἔπλευ, X 219 πεφυγμένον … γενέσθαι, Soph. *Ai.* 588, Pl. *soph.* 217^{c}, 237^{a} (t. 9), 245^{d} καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ εἶναι μηδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ ὄν ['and in addition to not being it could never become a thing that is'] (the last phrase is so close to l.19 of P. that it seems likely to be imitated from it). It follows however from P.'s treatment of predication as identification that here, as elsewhere, he regards ἐόν ['Being'] as a name of that of which it is predicable (cf. fr. 5, 1 n.).

The combination ἄν κε occurs in Homer once with the optative (N 127) and elsewhere with the indicative (ι 334) and subjunctive (Λ 187, 202, ε 361). The form ἔγεντο occurs in Hes. *theog.* 705, Pind. *Pyth.* iii, 87, vi, 28, and elsewhere (cf. Diels, *PL,* p. 80).

The phrase πῶς ἂν ἔπειτα is found thrice in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* each time with an allusion to a consideration stated *after* the question. Thus in I 437 sq. πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σεῖο, φίλον τέκος, αὖθι λιποίμην οἷος ['how could I be separated from you, dear child, left behind here']; the word ἔπειτα alludes to the immediately following sentence σοὶ δέ μ' ἔπεμψε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς κτλ. ['the aged horseman Peleus had me escort you'], as is shown by the repetition ὡς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σεῖο, φίλον τέκος, οὐκ ἐθέλοιμι λείπεσθ' ['I could not be willing to left behind by you, dear child'] (444–445). In K 243 sq. πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην, οὗ πέρι μὲν πρόφρων κραδίη κτλ. ['how could I forget glorious Odysseus whose heart is so eager'], ἔπειτα refers to the consideration stated in the relative clause, as is made clear in ll.246–247. Similarly in α 65 sq. πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην, ὃς πέρι μὲν νόον ἐστὶ βροτῶν κτλ. ['how could I forget glorious Odysseus, who is so intelligent for a mortal'], ἔπειτα again refers to the following relative clause (LSJ s.v. ἔπειτα take this adverb in K 243 as alluding to the preceding protasis. This is impossible in α 65 and is disproved for I 437 by the repetition in 444–445. It is unlikely therefore to be the case in K 243). [203]

These parallels indicate that in P. the adverb ἔπειτα refers to the assertions in the following verse. The sense of the two verses will therefore be: 'How could it (sc. what becomes) be Being and how could it become it, seeing that if it became, it is not (since what is cannot have become, ll.6–15), and if it is going to be at some time (i.e. if it is becoming or will become), it is not?' The verses relegate the subject of becoming, whether in the past, the present or the future, to the rejected way οὐκ ἔστιν ['is not']: since what becomes is not (anything), it can neither become nor be Being, i.e. it is incompatible

[203] with the predicate ἔστιν ['is'], the unique validity of which has just been reasserted. As before, P. considers only what Aristotle calls ἁπλῆ γένεσις ['unqualified generation'], i.e. the coming to be of a substance, as opposed to γένεσίς τις ['a kind of generation'] or change of state in a substance; the latter is excluded in ll.26–33.

In ll.19–21 P. moves from his earlier consideration of the nature of Being as ungenerated and imperishable (ll.6–15) to that of temporal change as incompatible with being. The transition is marked by the introduction for the first time in the concluding verse of the nouns γένεσις ['becoming'] and ὄλεθρος ['perishing'], the latter qualified as ἄπυστος ['unheard of'] with an allusion to the consignment of becoming and perishing to the rejected second way, which was characterised as παναπευθέα ['wholly without report'] in fr. 3, 6. For μὲν followed by καὶ cf. Hom. A 267 etc. (Denniston, *GP* p. 374).

22–25 *Being is an indivisible unity.*

In the list of predicates of Being in ll.3–6 the assertion that it has neither past nor future, but only in its entirety a simultaneous now, was followed by the assertion that it is one and united (ἕν, συνεχές). Correspondingly the argument in ll.19–20 that past and future are incompatible with being is followed by a proof in ll.22–25 that it is one and indivisible; the terms now used are οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ['nor … divisible'] and (as before) ξυνεχές ['united'], which excludes both actual division and (as presupposing internal distinction) divisibility. The argument is as follows: 'Being is not divisible; for it is all similar and has no higher grade or inferiority of being to hinder its union, but it is all replete with Being which is contiguous with Being; therefore it is all united'. From the premise that all Being is uniform P. concludes that it is a single individual.

The premise that Being is all ὁμοῖον ['alike'] summarises the succeeding assertions that there are no degrees of being (which follows from that in l.11 that it must either be altogether or not be at all) and that all is full of Being; all these assertions depend on ἐπεὶ ['since'] (l.22). The sense of οὐδέ τι τῇ μᾶλλον … οὐδέ τι χειρότερον ['not any more in degree in some respect … or any inferior'] is identical with that in ll.47–48, οὔτ᾽ ἐόν ἐστιν
[204] ὅπως εἴη κεν ἐόντος τῇ μᾶλλον τῇ δ᾽ ἧσσον ['nor is Being capable of being more than Being in one regard and less in another']. In writing here 'inferior' (χειρότερον) rather than simply 'less' (ἧσσον) P. anticipates by implication his later characterisation of Being as τετελεσμένον ['in a state of perfection']. The adjective ὁμοῖον excludes difference of every kind, in particular (as in Melissus frr. 7 and 8) temporal variation.

μιν ['it'] is τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] (cf. l.9). For the sense of συνέχεσθαι ('unite') [204]
cf. Pl. *soph.* 242e, τὸ ὂν πολλά τε καὶ ἕν ἐστιν, ἔχθρᾳ δὲ καὶ φιλίᾳ συνέχεται ['what is is both many and one, and it is united by hatred and friendship'].

The expression 'it is all full of Being' does not imply a distinction between container and contained (cf. fr. 11, 3; Melissus, fr. 7, 10, ἀνάγκη τοίνυν πλέων εἶναι, εἰ κενὸν μὴ ἔστιν ['hence it is necessary that it is full if it is not empty']). It is paraphrased as 'Being draws near to[38] Being', which like fr. 6, 2 implies neither plurality nor spatial extension but the absence of anything other than Being (sc. not-being). From this P. concludes that 'Being is all united'. The phrase ξυνεχὲς … ἐστιν ['it is … united'] conveys the same sense as συνέχεσθαι (l.23) and reformulates positively the initial statement οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ἐστιν ['nor is it divisible']. Apart from the single occurrence of ἕν (l.6), ξυνεχές is P.'s only word for 'one' and must not be given its Aristotelian sense of 'continuous'.

As in l.38, τῷ ['therefore'] marks the conclusion (repeated here from l.22).

Simplicius thrice gives ξυνεχές in l.25, though he has συνεχές in l.6 and συνέχεσθαι in l.23. Homer has σῡνεχές twice (Μ 26, ι 74), never ξυνεχές, but ἐν ξυνοχῇσιν ὁδοῦ, Ψ 330.

P. emphasises in this argument by the threefold repetition of πᾶν that it relates to the whole of Being, i.e. to everything which can be said to be anything. He expresses himself in language which may be understood spatially or temporally and, in so far as his thesis is negative (οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ἐστιν ['nor is it divisible']), it may be considered as criticising those who took any version of the Ionian ἀρχή ['principle'], with spatio-temporal extension, for the ultimate reality. The argument was given a positive quantitative interpretation by Melissus (fr. 7), who regarded τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] as a single, indivisible *plenum,* non-bodily but infinitely extended in space and time, and by Leucippus, who identified it (t. 43) as infinitely numerous indivisible *plena* moving eternally in not-being or the void (*see* Introd. Sect. 6). Both these views depend on the rejection of essential elements in that of P.: Melissus denied that Being is determinate, Leucippus that it is motionless and unique. Though P.'s subsequent analysis denies extension to Being (ll.44–49 n.), his account of it hitherto has excluded only becoming and perishing. The argument of ll.22–25 must therefore be taken as denying the divisibility of Being in the most general sense, spatially and temporally as well as otherwise. A primary aspect of its indivisibility should however relate to P.'s procedure in deducing terms predicable of

38. The first edition had 'is adjacent to'; Coxon A has 'joins with'. (RMcK)

[204] Being, which are expressly described as 'many' (πολλὰ μάλ', l.3), from the
[205] simple expression ἔστι; in arguing for the unity of Being P. may therefore be reasonably understood as maintaining that it is one and indivisible in spite of the plurality of terms predicated of it.

The question of the unity of the subject of predicates was in fact much discussed in the fifth century after P. Aristotle relates this discussion directly to P.'s argument for the unity of Being, and ascribes the difficulty which certain philosophers found in predication to the same failure to recognise that 'being' has more than one sense as he ascribes to P., i.e. to a failure to see that attributes have a being different in kind from that of their subject (*phys.* i, 2, 185^{b}25 sq., *see* Introd. Sect. 8). Plato himself, in enumerating one-many problems which have found their solution, begins with that in the field of predication (*Phil.* 14$^{c\text{-}d}$). Although in the *Physics* Aristotle censures P.'s conception of unity on the ground that, in whichever of the senses of 'one' recognised by himself it is understood, his view is unacceptable (t. 21), in the *Metaphysics* he admits that P. was concerned with unity of form (τοῦ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἑνός ['what is one in definition'], t. 26), i.e. in effect that P.'s argument that Being is indivisible is not intended quantitatively so much as logically.

P.'s derivation of the unity of Being from his denial that it admits of degree foreshadows Aristotle's assertion that substance does not admit of it: δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ οὐσία οὐκ ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἧττον · λέγω δὲ … ὅτι ἑκάστη οὐσία τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶν οὐ λέγεται μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον ['it seems that substance does not admit more and less; I mean … that each substance is not said to be more or less the thing it is'] (*cat.* 5, 3^{b}33–36). It is likely that this doctrine came to Aristotle along with that of the unity of the subject of predicates through Plato, who makes use of the distinction between terms which admit of degree and those which do not in disproving the definition of ψυχή ['soul'] as ἁρμονία ['attunement'] (*Phaedo* 93^{a} sq.).

26–33 *Being must be perfected and its perfection determines it as eternally unchanging, identical and solitary.*[39]

Having shown that Being is subject to neither generation nor decay but is an indivisible unity without past or future, P. proceeds (ll.26–33) to argue for the other σήματα ['signs'] listed in l.4, οὖλον, μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ' † ἀτέλεστον ['entire, unique, unmoved and perfect'].

39. This section heading replaces the first edition's *'Being is entire, determinate, eternally changeless and eternally solitary'.* (RMcK)

In ll.26–33 he makes use of phrases from well-known passages in Homer and Hesiod and especially from Xenophanes' account of God. As usual, he states his conclusion first and then gives his argument for it: Being is bound fast and changeless, without beginning or cessation (since becoming and perishing have been banished); it remains self-same, in the self-same state, and lies by itself and remains there thus forever, since it is chained by Necessity with a limit, which keeps it apart; this follows from the fact that it may not be incomplete, since it is not defective, whereas not-being would lack everything. Expressed deductively, the argument is first from the wholeness of Being (as opposed to the total deficiency which would characterise not-being) to its finality or perfection, and then from its determination by the limit which perfection constitutes to its eternal identity, stillness and solitude. [205] [206]

Of the predicates listed in l.4 οὖλον ['entire'] is now expressed as οὐκ ἐπιδεές ['not defective'] (which becomes οὖλον again in l.38), μουνογενές ['unique'] as καθ' ἑαυτό ['by itself'] and ἀτρεμές ['unmoved'] as ἀκίνητον ['changeless'].

26 The adjective ἀκίνητος ['changeless'] is older than P. (Hes. *op.* 750) and is used in the fifth century by Pindar, Sophocles, Aristophanes and the historians. That it alludes in P., as often elsewhere, to other than merely local stillness is shown by the phrase ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ ['unmoved heart'] (fr. 1, 29), which foreshadows the argument of fr. 8; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1027, ἀκίνητος πέλει ('is steadfast'); 1060, τἀκίνητα ('secrets'). P. reformulates Xenophanes' characterisation of God (fr. 26, 1), αἰεὶ δ' ἐν ταὐτῷ μίμνει, κινούμενος οὐδέν ('remains in the same state', cf. ll.29–33 n.).

μεγάλων ἐν πείρασι δεσμῶν ['in the coils of huge bonds']: this is usually translated as if it were synonymous with πείρατος ἐν δεσμοῖσιν ['in the bondage of a limit'] (31). But while 'fetters consisting of a limit' makes philosophical sense, 'limits consisting of fetters' does not, since it treats the image as prior and the concept which it illustrates as secondary. The meaning is 'in the coils of huge fetters' (cf. *H. Apoll.* 129, οὐδ' ἔτι δεσμά σ' ἔρυκε, λύοντο δὲ πείρατα πάντα ['nor did bonds confine you, but all the coils were loosened']). The 'fetters' have already been alluded to in l.14 as preventing Being from either coming to be or perishing. The concept of limit is not introduced until l.31. Line 26 contains a poetic allusion to the binding of Prometheus; for while the noun δεσμός ['bond'] occurs frequently in epic in both singular and plural with an exceptionally wide variety of epithets (in Homer with ἀμήχανος, καρτερός, κρατερός, σιδήρεος,

[206] τεχνήεις, ἀπείρων, ἀργαλέος, ἄρρηκτος, θυμαλγής, ἄλυτος, ὀλοός, νηλής, χρύσεος, χαλεπός, in Hesiod also with δυσηλεγής, ἀμείλικτος, ἄφραστος, ἀεικής, μέγας), the only occurrence with μέγας ['huge'] is in the allusion to Prometheus in *theog.* 616. Since μέγας is not a particularly natural epithet for δεσμός, it may be taken as certain that P. has Prometheus in mind. The reference is perhaps more relevant than at first appears, since, if P.'s ἐόν is rightly identified as God (fr. 4 n.), l.26 alludes in fact to a divinity in chains.

27–28 ἄναρχον, ἄπαυστον ['without beginning or cessation']: these epithets indicate that the stillness of Being is not that which may belong to what begins and ends, but also echo Anaximander's account of the Infinite (οὐ ταύτης ἀρχὴ … ἀθάνατον γὰρ καὶ ἀνώλεθρον ['this does not have a principle … for it is deathless and indestructible'], *FdV* 12A15) and imply that what is
[207] eternal is not, as Anaximander had said (*FdV* 12A11 etc.), in motion. The reference in the following words to the argument of ll.6–21 justifies the epithets ἄναρχον, ἄπαυστον only, not ἀκίνητον, which is deduced from the premises in ll.30–33, i.e. Being is 'unvarying' not because becoming and perishing have been banished from it but because its perfection exempts it from variation.

The phrase τῆλε μάλα ['very far away'] occurs once only in Homer and Hesiod, where it alludes to the remoteness from earth of Tartarus (*Il.* **Θ** 14); P.'s use of it in the same metrical position may reasonably be taken to suggest that generation and decay are not less remote from Being. This point can be sharpened. In the prologue P. located the gateway through which he passed by a phrase from Homer's allusion in the same passage to the gates of Tartarus (fr. 1, 11 n.). His use of τῆλε μάλα may thus imply that generation and decay belong to the world which he left when he passed through 'the gate of the journeys of night and day', and that this world is not merely one of 'night' but of the darkness of Tartarus.

ἐπλάγχθησαν ['have strayed']: the verb expresses the instability of becoming and perishing, as πλάζονται ['stray'] and πλαγκτὸν ['astray'] in fr. 5 that of the philosophers who accept it as real.

πίστις ἀληθής ['authentic conviction'] is repeated from fr. 1, 30 (*see* n. and cf. fr. 8, 12–13 n.).

29–33 In l.29 the first τε links this sentence with that preceding (cf. fr. 9, 4), and the second, ἐν τωὐτῷ with τωὐτόν, while that after καθ' ἑαυτό links this phrase and its verb with χοὕτως ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένει.

τωὐτόν τ᾽ ἐν τωὐτῷ τε μένον: 'remaining the same in the same state' (not 'place', cf. Epicharmus fr. 2, 9 Diels, Soph. fr. 106 P, Eur. *Io* 969, *Tro.* 350. *Hel.* 1026, Aristoph. *vesp.* 969 etc.). The phrase reformulates positively the sense of ἀκίνητον …. ἄναρχον, ἄπαυστον ['changeless … without beginning or cessation'] (27–28). P.'s imitation of Xenophanes fr. 26 here and in l.26 is the most substantial ground in the extant fragments of both writers for treating the latter as in any sense his precursor. His transformation of Xenophanes' view however is more significant than his imitation of it (cf. Introd. Sect. 4). His substitution of τωὐτόν ['the same'] for Xenophanes' αἰεὶ ['always'] is itself significant; P. uses αἰεί only of temporal duration (fr. 15), never of the now which characterises Being. Reinhardt's argument (*Parmenides* p. 112 sq.) that Xenophanes' lines are modelled on those of P. is sufficiently refuted by Plato's assertion of Xenophanes' anteriority (t. 11). [207]

καθ᾽ ἑαυτό ['by itself']: the earliest occurrence of the phrase used regularly by Plato to characterise Forms. The argument of ll.22–25 that Being is indivisible is now supplemented by the assertion of its isolation (which is further strengthened in ll.34–41 by the ascription to the sensible world of a merely nominal reality). Being is thus not only unitary (ξυνεχές) but unique (μουνογενές).

ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένει ['remains where it is perpetually']: this phrase is from Homer's descriptions of the divine fetters with which Poseidon tethers his horses (Ν 37) and Hephaestus traps Ares and Aphrodite (ϑ 275). The adverb αὖθι (= αὐτόθι), if understood literally, ascribes a location to Being. The argument hitherto has indicated that Being is not spatial only by arguing for its indivisibility. The question of its spatial extension is pursued in ll.42–49; in the present passage P. insists on its exemption from temporal variation. [208]

κρατερὴ γὰρ ἀνάγκη ['for strong necessity']: the metrical assonance together with the allusion to the notion of limit echoes Hesiod's description of Atlas (*theog.* 517–518). The limit which sequesters Being is contrasted with the internal distinctions which, if present, would keep it from being one (ll.22–23).

ἀτελεύτητον ['incomplete']: this word is used by P. with its strict Homeric connotation 'unfinished'; it indicates that the πεῖρας ['limit'] or τελευτή ['end'] determining Being, which both exempts it from temporal variation and keeps it apart, is its consummation or perfection. It is not imperfect because 'it lacks nothing'; this, the premise of the whole argument of ll.26–33, is supported by the observation that 'what is not (anything) would lack everything', which is taken to suggest that what is 'wholly replete with being' (l.24) lacks nothing and so is perfect.

[208] The argument is alluded to and modified by Plato, *Parm.* 162[a]: Not-being must have the δεσμός ['bond'] of being not-being, if it is not to be, just as Being must have that of not being not-being, in order that it may be capable of perfect being.

τὸ ἐὸν ['Being']: for the hiatus cf. fr. 6, 2 n.

In l.33 the weight of manuscript evidence is slightly in favour of the epic form ἐπιδευές, but it is clear that ἐπιδεές (scanned as trisyllabic by synizesis) is correct, for the deletion of μὴ in the succeeding phrase is palaeographically and exegetically indefensible (cf. *CQ* xviii, 1968, 72–73). The non-epic form of the adjective is parallel with that of the verb (ἐδεῖτο ['lack']), for which Homer uses δεύω except in *Il.* Σ 100 (δ᾽ἠσεν).

P.'s argument that Being is determinate contradicts the view of Anaximander, that the first principle is the Infinite (cf. Introd. Sect. 4). Since P. does not mean that there are two things, one limited, the other that which limits it. ll.30–33 must imply, as Simplicius saw, that Being is identical with the Limit itself (t. 209), as it is with the One, the Whole etc. (Introd. Sect. 8).

34–41 *The direct object of thinking is identical with the cause of the thought.*

P. now asserts that what can be thought, which he has earlier (fr. 4) identified as Being, is identical with the perfection which he has now argued to be the cause of the unchanging identity of Being. He offers two arguments for this contention. In the first he maintains that the perfection of Being can be discovered as the object of thinking only by making Being the subject of predicates; in the second he maintains that the subjects of propositions asserting change are not the names of real things.[40]

40. The preceding section heading and paragraph replace the following from the first edition. *The things which human beings suppose real and variable are only names.* P. now diverges from his discussion of the nature of Being in order to consider that of human experience, which he offers two arguments for regarding as
[209] unreal, one from the nature of conceiving, the other from the not-being of time. The first argument maintains that assertions can express conceiving or thinking only if they refer to Being, and that consequently only the cause of the concept can be the object of conceiving. The second argument asserts that, since Being is complete and unvarying, time neither has nor will have any being extraneous to it. From these premises he concludes that all the things which human beings accept as real and suppose to come to be and perish, to be and not to be and to change their place and appearance, are nothing but the subjects of the misleading propositions in which these beliefs are formulated. (RMcK)

34 The translation of this line cannot be dissociated from that of fr. 4, where the identical phrase τὸ αὐτό ἐστι νοεῖν τε καὶ … ['the same thing is for conceiving as is …'] also occurs. Here as there τωὐτὸν must be taken as subject, with the sense 'the same thing is for conceiving (i.e. can be conceived) as …'. οὕνεκεν ['the cause of'], which in l.32 meant 'because', has here its original relative sense with an implied antecedent, καὶ (ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν) οὗ ἕνεκέν ἐστι νόημα ['as (that thing is) on account of which is the thought conceived'] (cf. *Od.* γ 60–61, πρήξαντα … οὕνεκα δεῦρ' ἱκόμεσθα ['after accomplishing the task for which we have come here']). νόημα is the concept entertained, as distinct from its entertainment (νοεῖν ['conceiving'], νόος ['mind']); cf. frr. 7, 2; 8, 50; 17, 4. [209]

The sense of the line is thus 'the same thing is for conceiving as is that on account of which the thought is conceived.' In fr. 4 P. identified the object of thinking as the subject of the verb 'to be'. He now identifies it as the perfection which has been asserted to be the cause of the determinacy of Being. His contention[41] foreshadows and is likely to be a source of Plato's account of the Form of the Good, which is also both the object and the end or cause of philosophical knowledge: τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέαν … αἰτίαν δ' ἐπιστήμης οὖσαν καὶ ἀληθείας, ὡς γιγνωσκομένης μὲν διανοοῦ … ['the Form of the good … although it is the cause of knowledge and reality, conceive of it as something that can be known'] *resp.* vi, 508[e], cf. *symp.* 211[c].

35–36 [42] The verb φατίζειν generally signifies 'to call x 'y'', where 'y' may be either a description or a proper name, e.g. τὰ γράμματα … ἐφάτισαν … Φοινικήια κεκλῆσθαι, 'called the letters by the name 'Phoenician'', Hdt. v, 58; σὴν παῖδ' ἄλοχον φατίσας ['called your child a bride'], Eur. *I.A.* 134; ἐμὴ φατισθεῖσα ['who is called mine'], ib. 936; πτολίεθρον ὃ Λέπρειον πεφάτισται ['citadel which is called Lepreion'], Callim. *hymn,* i, 39; εὐδαίμονα … οὐκ ἔχω ὅπως τυ φατίζω ['I am not in a position to call you happy'], Dius *ap.* Stob. iv, 21, 17; Soph. *Ai.* 715; Apoll. Rhod. i, 1019, iv, 658; Nicand. fr. 74, 30; Theag. *ap.*

41. The words 'identifies … contention' replace the first edition's 'adds that this (i.e. 'Being') is also the cause of the thought conceived. His language' (RMcK)
42. The first edition had a paragraph here which is omitted in the second edition. The text of the paragraph is: The expression οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐόντος ['for not without Being'] refers to the causal rôle of Being, as Homer's phrase οὔ τοι ἄνευ θεοῦ ἥδε γε βουλή ['for this plan is not without god'] indicates divine agency (β 372; cf. ο 531, Aesch. *Pers.* 164 etc.). Since P.'s Being is ἀκίνητον ['unmoved'], it is the kind of cause still named by Aristotle τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα ['that for the sake of which'], i.e. not agent but end. (RMcK)

[209] Stob. iii, 1, 117 (the article in LSJ does not make the similarity of all these sufficiently clear).

In[43] the present passage, where the subject is τὸ ἐόν ['Being'], the completions implied are the terms earlier named σήματα ['signs'] (l.2).

In the following verse the goddess' allusion to 'finding' is most reasonably seen as complementing her earlier reference to 'seeking' (διζήσιος, 3, 2; 5, 3; 7, 2; διζήσεαι ['look for'], 8, 6); if so, what P. 'will not find apart from Being' will be the reality which he is to seek, not the thinking by which conceivable methods of seeking are defined (fr. 3), and which the goddess herself personifies. The grammatical object to εὑρήσεις ['you will find'] is not therefore τὸ νοεῖν, understood as 'thinking' or 'conceiving' (a use of the articular infinitive in the accusative case which would be foreign to P.'s archaic diction), but τὸ ['it'] should be read as a demonstrative pronoun referring to the case denoted by the preceding phrase οὕνεκέν ἐστι νόημα ['the cause so as to conceive']. Then νοεῖν ['conceive'] must be understood as an epexegetic infinitive resuming that in τωὐτὸν δ' ἐστὶ νοεῖν ['the same thing is for conceiving'] and the sentence should be construed 'for not without Being, in that this has been made the subject of predicates, will you find that (with a view to which the thought is conceived), so as to think it.' The word order is parallel to that in fr. 5, lines 1 and 8, where also the word τὸ ['this'] is to be construed as a pronoun and as grammatically separate from the adjacent infinitive. The use of the explanatory infinitive is idiomatic with εὑρίσκειν ['find'], as in Pind. *Pyth*. 12, 22, ἀλλά νιν εὑροῖσ' ἀνδράσι θνατοῖς ἔχειν, 'having found it for mortal men to have'.

43. This paragraph and the next were not in the first edition. They replace the following three paragraphs.

The clause ἐν ᾧ πεφατισμένον ἐστίν ['The sense … is thus ….'], which otherwise resembles that in l.54, ἐν ᾧ πεπλανημένοι εἰσίν ['wherein men have gone astray'],
[210] must be understood impersonally. The sense of ll.35–36 is thus: 'a proposition 'S is P' can express conceiving only if the 'is' denotes being', i.e., in P.'s logic, if S = ἐόν ['Being'] (Introd. Sect. 5). It follows (l.34) that Being, established as object of conceiving in frr. 4–5, is also prior to it as its cause.

Though P. thus discriminates assertions which express conceiving from those which do not, his monism precludes him from ascribing any reality to conceiving, unless this may be regarded as in the strictest sense identifying the individual's mind with the one Being (cf. Introd. Sect. 5 ad fin.). The concomitant physical changes are analysed in fr. 17.

P.'s distinction between propositions expressing knowledge and belief is developed by Plato, *Tim*. 29$^{b–d}$ and Aristotle, *an. post.* A33, *metaph.* Θ 10. (RMcK)

36–41 P. now turns to propositions not expressive of conceiving. Since Being is of necessity complete and changeless, time is not and will not be another thing alongside it. The epithets οὖλον ἀκίνητόν τε ['entire and changeless'] refer to the characters of Being listed in l.4 (οὖλον … καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ['entire … and unmoved']) and the argument establishing them in ll.26–33; their relevance to the argument here is that time is not something extraneous to Being, because Being is complete (οὖλον), and it will not be so, because Being is unvarying. The phrase μοῖρ᾽ ἐπέδησεν κτλ. ['bound fast by fate'] derives from Homer's description of the dead Hector in *Il.* **X** 5 (cf. Introd. Sect. 3 (i)). The expression ἄλλο πάρεξ ['another thing alongside'] is adapted from the phrase in the same metrical position in δ 348, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε ἄλλα παρὲξ εἴποιμι ('irrelevant things beside the point'); cf. also ξ 168–169, ἄλλα παρὲξ μεμνώμεθα, μηδέ με τούτων μίμνησκ᾽ ['Let us recall other things besides. Don't remind me of these.']; Pl. *epin.* 976[d], ἐπιστήμην … ἑτέραν πάρεξ τῶν εἰρημένων εὑρεῖν ['to discover a different science in addition to the ones we have discussed']. The mss. of Simplicius give the later Ionic and Attic accent πάρεξ, though the conventional epic accent was παρέξ. [210]

The 'oddly divergent variants οὐδὲν γὰρ and οὐδ᾽ εἰ χρόνος' (Diels) are in reality not variants at all, for the former, which is adopted (with Preller's supplement <ἢ>) by Diels and most others, is nothing but an adaptation of P.'s words made by Simplicius (t. 209) to bolster his misinterpretation of fr. 5, 1–2. This is clearly shown by the repetition of πάρεξ, the first occurrence of which is part of Simplicius' adaptation, the second, formal quotation. The anticipatory paraphrase is exactly paralleled a few sentences earlier, where Simplicius writes καὶ γὰρ συνεχὲς αὐτὸ ἀνυμνεῖ, 'τῷ ξυνεχὲς πᾶν ἐστιν …' ['for he celebrates it as united: "Therefore it is all united …"']. It seems certain that what Simplicius had in his manuscript of P. is what he copied in his careful transcription of the whole text of fr. 8, 1–52 (t. 213). The reference to 'time' is confirmed by its occurrence in the same place in the verse as twenty-nine out of the thirty-two Homeric occurrences of the word. If it is recognised that the tradition is unambiguous, the simple correction οὐδὲ χρόνος ['and time is not'] is enough to restore the sense (cf. Aristotle's phrase οὐδὲ χρόνος ἐστὶν ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ['nor is there time outside of the heaven'], *cael.* i, 9, 279[a]12). For ἢ ['or'] after οὐδὲ ['neither'/'nor'] cf. Soph. *Trach.* 501–502, οὐδὲ τὸν ἔννυχον Ἅιδαν ἢ Ποσειδάωνα ['nor Hades god of darkness or Poseidon']. For the neuter ἄλλο ['another thing'] cf. Pl. *Charm.* 163[b], ποίησιν πράξεως … ἄλλο ἐνόμιζεν ['he thought making was another thing than doing']. [211]

Anaximander had already contrasted the cosmic operation of time with the eternity of τὸ ἄπειρον ['the boundless'] (*FdV* 12B1–3). The theories of

[211] time ascribed by Aristotle to the Pythagoreans (*FdV* 58B30 and 33) may also be earlier than or contemporary with P., whose rejection of its reality is echoed in the later fifth century by the view of Antiphon that it was not a substance but 'a human concept' (*FdV* 87B9, reading νόημα ἡμέτερον with the better ms. F, not νόημα ἢ μέτρον with P, as Wachsmuth (Stobaeus i, 8, 40) and Diels).

Having argued in ll.34–38 that[44] time has no being, P. draws the conclusion that all the things which human beings believe to be real and suppose to come into existence, change and perish will be found to have a purely nominal reality.

38–41[45] The reading ὄνομ᾽ ἔσται ['will be a name'] is preserved by the ms. F at p. 87 of Simplicius and guaranteed as true by the free quotation by Plato (cf. Introd. Sect. 1, p. 3) and the imitation in [Hippocr.] *de arte* 6 (cited on p. 73; cf. also Eur. *Phoen.* 553, τί δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ πλέον; ὄνομ᾽ ἔχει μόνον ['What is 'more'? It has only a name.']. Pl. *lg.* i, 626ª2–3). ὄνομα ['name'] is used here in the singular collectively of the things in question to signify their common status. The future tense corresponds to that of εὑρήσεις ['you will find'] (l.36).

κατέθεντο ['suppose']: this verb is used thrice by P. in the extant fragments (cf. 8, 53; 20, 3), each time in a different grammatical construction but always with allusion to the subjective and conventional character of human experience; here, as the negative οὐκί ['not'] indicates, and Melissus' paraphrase cited below confirms, it directly governs the accusative and infinitives ὅσσα … γίγνεσθαί τε καὶ ὄλλυσθαι κτλ. ['all those things … to be coming to be and perishing' etc.]. The implied assertions are contrasted with those which express conceiving (ll.35–36, cf. fr. 3, 8 n.). The aorist is timeless but anticipates the reference to an original contract in frr. 8, 53 and 20, 3.

ἀληθῆ: 'real things' (cf. fr. 1, 29 n.).

τόπον ['place']: this is the earliest occurrence of this word.

διά τε χρόα φανὸν ἀμείβειν: 'change their bright complexion to dark and from dark to bright'. The phrase expresses both transitions, since φανὸν ['bright'] may be read either attributively or proleptically. The tmesis with χρόα echoes Homer's description of Diomedes' wounding of Ares, διὰ δὲ χρόα καλὸν ἔδαψεν ['he rent his lovely flesh'], E 858 (Introd. Sect. 3 (i)) and is imitated by Empedocles in alluding to the various aspects of the living

44. Prior to this word, the first edition had 'that its object is prior to conceiving and.' (RMcK)

45. The first edition contained a note here that is omitted in the second edition. It reads: τῷ marks the conclusion of the whole argument, as in l.25. (RMcK)

creatures produced from the four elements, γίγνεται ἀλλοιωπά, τόσον διὰ κρῆσις ἀμείβει ['they come to have different appearances, so much does mixture change them'], fr. 21, 14. [211]

Except in the metaphorical phrase ἐν χρῷ the noun χρώς is not used of inanimate things (though the Pythagorean term for 'surface' was χροιά, Ar. *de sens.* 3, 439[a]30). P.'s phrase suggests a primary interest, which becomes explicit in Empedocles, ib. 9–13, in the status of living things, although the principle enunciated is valid of physical things in general (cf. ll.6–7 n., fr. 20, 1–2 n.). The term φανὸν alludes to P.'s view that light is one of the two constituents of them all (fr. 11), so that change in a thing's brightness may reflect a change in its general state. The contracted form of the epic φαεινός is cited first from P. here. [212]

P.'s language is echoed by Melissus, whose expressions ὅσα φασὶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἀληθῆ … δοκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν τό τε θερμὸν ψυχρὸν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν θερμὸν κτλ. ['all the things that people say are real … we think that what is hot becomes cold and what is cold hot,' etc.] (fr. 8) allude directly to P.'s ὅσσα βροτοὶ κατέθεντο, πεποιθότες εἶναι ἀληθῆ, γίγνεσθαί τε καὶ ὄλλυσθαι, κτλ. ['all those things … which mortals, confident that they are real, suppose to be coming to be and perishing' etc.]

The sense of P.'s lines is that human beings suppose that temporal things are real things which come to be and perish, are and are not (e.g. warm or hard in relation to different things) and change their place and aspect, but they will be found to be nothing other than the subjects of the deceptive propositions which attribute these characteristics to them and therefore not objects of conceiving or thinking.[46]

42–49 *Being is perfect on every side, and in every direction equally poised from its centre.*

In the final paragraph of his account of the journey of persuasion P. attempts to formulate the inexpressible determinacy and perfection of Being as converging to a centre from which it is everywhere equally poised. He[47] now asserts that, since the limit which confines Being is ultimate, Being is

46. The first edition did not have last words of this sentence (beginning 'and therefore'); also the present edition omits the final sentence of the paragraph as it appeared in the first edition: This conclusion is not to be understood negatively, but as providing a constructive theory of the sensible world, which is the basis of P.'s analysis of this world in the concluding part of the poem. (RMcK)

47. The end of the previous sentence and the first word of the present one replace 'turns back to the topic of Being. The argument continues and completes that of ll.26–33. P.' of the first edition. (RMcK)

[212] in a state of consummation or finality from every aspect, like the volume of a sphere, and is equally balanced everywhere from its centre. These propositions he justifies by the assertion that Being must not be greater or smaller in one respect than in another; this is deduced from the assertions that it is all inviolate and there is neither not-being nor degrees of being, which could put a stop to its uniting, since it is determined uniformly and equal with itself from every aspect.

The exposition of the argument is characteristically Parmenidean. After stating the initial premise it proceeds at once to the conclusion, which is followed by a chain of assertions, each introduced by γὰρ ['for'], connecting the conclusion with the premise. The last of these assertions (l.49) follows in the logic of the argument immediately on the initial premise ἐπεὶ πεῖρας πύματον ['since its limit is ultimate']. This is reflected in the recurrence in it
[213] of the notion of limit. At the same time by directly juxtaposing the premise and conclusion P. emphasises that the ultimate ground for asserting the consummation of Being is his assertion that its limit is absolute. The fourfold recurrence of forms of πᾶς ['every'/'all'] and the phrases ὁμῶς ['all alike'] and εἰς ὁμόν ['together'] mark P.'s completion of his earlier argument (cf. the threefold πᾶν and the term ὁμοῖον in ll.22–25) for the unity of Being in its entirety.

42–44 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πεῖρας πύματον: 'since the limit is ultimate'. That it is so results from the argument of ll.36–41 that phenomena have only a nominal being, so that there is nothing other than Being itself from which the limit argued for in ll.30–33 can separate it.

For the omission of ἐστι ['is'] in a clause introduced by ἐπεὶ ['since'] cf. Soph. *Ant.* 74–75, ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος, ὃν δεῖ μ᾽ ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε ['since the time (sc. is) longer when I must be pleasing to those below than (sc. it is when I must be pleasing) those here'], *O.T.* 376–377, *O.C.* 1151, 1429, *El.* 1053 etc.

The assertion that the limit is ultimate refutes arguments for the infinity of the first principle of the kind mentioned by Aristotle (*phys.* Γ 4, 203^{b}20 sq.) and perhaps used by Anaximander (*FdV* 12A15): τῷ τὸ πεπερασμένον ἀεὶ πρός τι περαίνειν, ὥστε ἀνάγκη μηδὲν εἶναι πέρας, εἰ ἀεὶ περαίνειν ἀνάγκη ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον ['what is limited always has a limit against something, so that it is necessary that nothing be a limit, if it is always necessary for one thing to have a limit against something else']. Against such arguments P. maintains uncompromisingly that the limit of τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] is absolute. This fundamental tenet of his thought was rejected by Melissus, who argued

that Being must be infinite, τὸ γὰρ πέρας περαίνειν ἂν πρὸς τὸ κενόν ['since a limit would limit it against the void'] (t. 31), and deduced the unity of Being from its infinity, on the ground that, 'if it were two, it could not be infinite but the two would have limits in relation to one another' (*FdV* 30B6). Zeno on the other hand made direct use of P.'s principle in his argument that none of the many (i.e. no physical object) can have a terminus (ἔσχατον), since, however small a part of it is taken, this will still be 'one part in relation to another part' (ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον) and not a genuine or final limit. This argument complements P.'s assertion that the one reality has a πέρας ['limit'] which is genuinely ἔσχατον or πύματον (*see* Appendix I). P.'s position was correctly understood by the author of *de Xen.* (t. 120). [213]

From the assertion that the limit of Being is ultimate P. deduces his final characterisation of it as τετελεσμένον … πάντοθεν ['in a state of perfection from every viewpoint'] and μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ ['equally poised in every direction from its centre']. The participle τετελεσμένον ['in a state of perfection'] is equivalent in sense to the adjective τέλειον ['perfect'] (cf. l.4 n.) and to the phrase οὐκ ἀτελεύτητον ['not incomplete'] (l.32). In ll.30–33 P. argued that Being is determinate because it is perfect; here he argues that because the limit which determines it is ultimate, the perfection of Being is universal (πάντοθεν). This universal perfection he at once illustrates by comparing it to that of a ball or sphere and amplifies this in the assertion that Being is 'everywhere equally poised from its centre'. The characterisation of Being in the words from τετελεσμένον to ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ ['equally poised in every direction'] is the conclusion of the argument; the remaining five and a half lines justify and do not add to it. Three points in it are of preliminary importance: (i) P. does not say that Being is spherical, but that the totality of its perfection is like that of a sphere. Since the sphere is πάντων τελεώτατον ὁμοιότατόν τε αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ σχημάτων ['the most complete and the most like itself of all shapes'] (Pl. *Tim.* 33^{b}; cf. Aristotle's description of the circle as μάλιστα μία τῶν γραμμῶν, ὅτι ὅλη καὶ τέλειός ἐστιν ['of all lines the line that is one in the highest degree, because it is whole and complete'], *metaph.* Δ 6, 1016^{b}16, and of the sphere as the primary and most perfect three-dimensional figure, *cael.* ii, 4, 286^{b}18 sq.), it is an appropriate analogue for the universal perfection of Being. The conversion of the simile to a description in the phrase μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ makes clear however that the sphere is more than a general analogue. [214]

(ii) Although P. does not compare Being to a sphere as a figure of solid geometry (which was not put on a scientific basis until Plato's time, *resp.* vii, 528^{b}), it is misleading to suggest that the sense of σφαίρη ['sphere'] here

[214] is untechnical. The properties of the physical sphere were of interest to Greek scientists from Anaximander onwards (invenit … sphaeram in ea (sc. astrologia) Milesius Anaximander, ['Anaximander of Miletus discovered (sc. the importance of) the sphere in it (sc. astronomy)'] Plin. *HN* vii, 203, cf. fr. 9, 5 n.) and played an important part in P.'s physics. That P. uses σφαίρῃ here to mean 'sphere' and not simply 'ball' is indicated by the epithet εὐκύκλου ['well-rounded'], which denotes that its roundness is perfect; that the sphere he has in mind is nevertheless physical is clear from the terms ὄγκῳ ('volume') and ἰσοπαλὲς ('equally poised'). The former is associated by Zeno with magnitude (μέγεθος) and density (πάχος) as a characteristic of physical substances (fr. 2, *see* Appendix I). The latter, which is cited first from P., means regularly in later writers (Herodotus, Thucydides, Ctesias, etc.) 'evenly balanced'; Plato uses it in his generalisation of Anaximander's theorem (which was adopted also by P.) that the earth remains unsupported in the centre of the spherical universe because it is uniformly related to the circumference (εἰ γάρ τι καὶ στερεὸν εἴη κατὰ μέσον τοῦ παντὸς ἰσοπαλές, εἰς οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐνεχθείη διὰ τὴν πάντῃ ὁμοιότητα αὐτῶν ['for if there is something solid and equally balanced at the center of the universe, it will not have a tendency to move toward any point on the extremity because it has the same relation to them in all directions.'], *Tim.* 62^{d}, cf. Ar. *cael.* ii, 13, 295^{b}l0 = *FdV* 12A26; elsewhere in the same context Plato uses ἰσόρροπον ['equipoise'], *Phaedo* 109^{a}). P.'s assertion that Being is not merely like a spherical body but is itself μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ expresses therefore not a geometrical but a dynamic relation between the whole of Being and its 'centre', and indicates that, though indivisible, it is neither a simple nor an inert unity.

(iii) It is reasonable (though not necessary) to suppose that, in comparing the total perfection of Being with the volume of a physical sphere, P. in effect characterises it as other than a physical body and as without volume. That he regards Being as non-physical is confirmed by Melissus'
[215] more explicit argument (*see* Appendix I): 'if it is to be, it must be one, and being one it must not have body; if it had density (πάχος), it would have parts and would no longer be one' (fr. 9). The assertion that Being is evenly poised from its centre will then allude to an equilibrium and a centre which are not those of a physical body.

Before considering further what P. means by describing Being as τετελεσμένον … πάντοθεν ['in a state of perfection from every viewpoint'] and μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ ['equally poised in every direction'], it is necessary to examine his arguments in justification of these assertions.

44–49 P.'s immediate justification for the assertions of ll.42–44 is that Being must not be either at all larger or at all smaller in one respect than in another. This is deduced from the thesis that nothing can halt the coming together of Being, since it includes neither not-being nor degrees of being, but is in its entirety inviolate; its inviolacy is in turn deduced from the assertion that it encounters limits uniformly and is equal with itself from every aspect, i.e. that it is through and through determinate. [215]

The proposition that Being is of necessity neither larger nor smaller in one respect than in another may signify either that it has magnitude without unevenness of magnitude, or that the notion of magnitude has no application to it. The former sense would be compatible with its actual sphericity, the latter with its resemblance to a sphere and its equilibrium in a metaphorical sense. It is clear that P.'s language implies the second alternative (cf. ll.42–44 n.). This is conclusively confirmed by Zeno's account of the incompatibility of magnitude with unity (*see* Appendix I) and may be further supported from Plato's association of the self-equality of the One itself with its being neither large nor small: καὶ μὴν καὶ αὐτό γε τὸ ἓν πρὸς ἑαυτὸ οὕτως ἂν ἔχοι· μήτε μέγεθος ἐν ἑαυτῷ μήτε σμικρότητα ἔχον οὔτ᾽ ἂν ὑπερέχοιτο οὔτ᾽ ἂν ὑπερέχοι ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἴσου ὂν ἴσον ἂν εἴη ἑαυτῷ ['and further, the one itself will be related in this way to itself; since it has neither largeness nor smallness in itself it cannot be exceeded by itself or exceed itself, but, being on terms of equality it must be equal to itself'], *Parm.* 150[e].

The necessity of excluding relative magnitude from the characteristics of Being is derived by P. from the assertion that, as it includes neither not-being nor degrees of being, there is nothing to put a stop to its coming together or convergence (τό κεν παύοι μιν ἱκνεῖσθαι εἰς ὁμόν). Since his account of Being precludes the attachment of any spatial or temporal sense to ἱκνεῖσθαι εἰς ὁμόν, the actuality of coming together implied in the present infinitive (as opposed to the regular epic ἱκέσθαι) must express a non-physical but in some sense active union. Cf. l.25 πελάζει ['draws near'], l.49 ἐν πείρασι κῦρει ['encounters determination'].[48] This self-unification is distinguished both from the physical condensation excluded (with its correlative rarefaction) in fr. 6 and from the indivisibility argued for in ll.22–25, where the language is partly similar to that here. The latter difference is expressed in the change from τό κεν εἴργοι μιν συνέχεσθαι ('which could keep it from being indivisible') to τό κεν παύοι μιν ἱκνεῖσθαι εἰς ὁμόν ('which could interrupt its convergence') and in that from οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ['nor is it divisible'] and ξυνεχὲς [216]

48. This sentence was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

[216] ['united'] to τετελεσμένου ['in a state of perfection'] and ἰσοπαλὲς ['equally poised']. The thesis that Being is 'all together now' was stated in the list of its σήματα ['signs'] in ll.3–6 in association with the terms 'one' and 'indivisible'; P. now develops his argument for these in ll.22–25 into an account of Being as a non-spatial perfection, the unity of which lies in its dynamic convergence to and determination from the same centre. Whether or not P.'s Being is rightly identified with Mind (fr. 4 n.), it appears that his final account of the 'unmoved heart of persuasive reality' (fr. 1, 29) as reflexive activity beyond time and space has close affinities with Aristotle's doctrine that God is ἐνέργεια … ἀκινησίας ['an activity of immobility'] (*EN* H ad fin.) and αὐτὸν ἄρα νοεῖ, εἴπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ νόησις νοήσεως νόησις ['therefore it thinks itself, since it is the is the best thing, and its thinking is a thinking about thinking'] (*metaph.* Λ 9, 1074^{b}33).

The phrase ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐστιν ἄσυλον ['since it is all inviolate'] echoes that in l.22, ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐστιν ὁμοῖον ['since it is all alike'], and summarises (rather than justifies) the assertions that Being admits neither not-being nor degrees of being. These propositions, which were the basis of the argument for the unity of Being in ll.22–25, are now derived from its universal self-equality, which is associated with its thoroughgoing determinacy.

The meaning of the adjective ἄσυλον ('safe from violence'), which occurs here first and not again until Euripides' *Medea* (431 B.C.), is well illustrated by Aeschylus' phrase ἀρρυσιάστους ξύν τ᾽ ἀσυλίᾳ βροτῶν ['not subject to seizure by anyone and safe from violence'] (*suppl.* 610).

The phrase οἷ γὰρ πάντοθεν ἶσον ['equal to itself from every view'] in the final verse of the argument contrasts with ἴσων ἀμφοτέρων ['both of them equal'] (fr. 11, 4): whereas the two physical μορφαί ['forms'] are equal with each other, Being is so only with itself. The mutual equality of light and night is derived from the presence in neither of Nothing or Void (fr. 11, 3–4 n.); the self-equality of Being does not derive from but is the ground of its including neither not-being nor degrees of being, and is taken to follow from the absoluteness of its limit.

It is clear that the concept 'equal with itself from every point of view' is not one of spherical shape (as if P. were simply following Xenophanes, of whom Timon said θεὸν ἐπλάσατ᾽ ἶσον ἁπάντῃ, ['fashioned a god equal in every way'] fr. 60, *FdV* 21A35), since the resemblance of Being to a sphere is deduced from it. Being is universally equal with itself in the sense that it is uniformly confined by a limit (ὁμῶς ἐν πείρασι κύρει ['encounters determination all alike']), which, because it is ultimate, does not divide it from something else but determines it to be what it is, and is in fact identical

with its perfection (ll.29–33 n.). The notion of self-equality is employed by Zeno in his argument that a set of things must be as numerous as they are and 'neither more than they are nor fewer' and therefore determinate (fr. 3 Diels, *see* Appendix II). It has been introduced by modern conjecture into the text of Empedocles (frr. 28, 29), where it refers to spherical shape. It occurs later in general quantitative contexts in Plato, *Parm.* 140[b] sq.; 149[d] sq.; *Tht.* 155[a], μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἂν μεῖζον μηδὲ ἔλαττον γενέσθαι μήτε ὄγκῳ μήτε ἀριθμῷ, ἕως ἴσον εἴη αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ ['nothing can ever become larger or smaller, either in size or in number, as long as it is equal to itself']; Ar. *soph. el.* 181[b]17. The closest parallel with P.'s use of it occurs in the version of Plato's unwritten doctrine in Sextus Empiricus, *adv. math.* x, 275, οὐκοῦν ἡ μὲν ἰσότης τῷ ἑνὶ ὑπάγεται, τὸ γὰρ ἓν πρώτως αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ ἐστιν ἴσον, ἡ δὲ ἀνισότης ἐν ὑπεροχῇ τε καὶ ἐλλείψει βλέπεται ['equality is brought under the One, for the One primarily is equal to itself, while inequality is seen in both excess and deficiency'] (i.e. the primary form of equality is self-equality, which is a property of unity). [216] [217]

In the phrase ἐν πείρασι κύρει the preposition is separated from the verb by tmesis. For ἐγκύρω ['encounter'] cf. Hes. *op.* 216, ἐγκύρσας ἀάτῃσιν ['having encountered disaster']; Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 282, ἐγκύρσαις ἑκατονταετεῖ βιοτᾷ ['having encountered a century of life'], etc.; it is noteworthy that the verb is nowhere used of an inanimate subject.

The argument of ll.42–49 may now be restated as a whole. From the assertion that the limit of Being is ultimate P. deduces that Being is limited or determined uniformly throughout, and is from every aspect equal with itself; consequently there is neither not-being nor degrees of being to interrupt its convergence but it is all inviolate; hence it has of necessity no degrees of magnitude but is from every aspect perfect, like the volume of a sphere, and everywhere in equilibrium about its centre.

Plato understands the simile and metaphor in this conclusion as expressing the notion of wholeness, and criticises them as implying that Being has a centre and extremes and therefore parts (t. 11). He makes no attempt however to elucidate the expression μεσσόθεν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ, which must denote a non-physical equilibrium (ll.42–44 n.), and which complements the notion of the universal and sphere-like perfection of Being with that of the self-subsistence of this perfection, its total and equal dependence from its own centre. This is not incompatible with Plato's criticism, which is not directed against the ascription of wholeness to Being as such, but against its ascription to Unity or the One, with which P.'s conception of predication caused him to identify Being (Introd. Sect. 7), and from which Plato was concerned to distinguish it.

[217] P.'s image of the sphere represents Being as a self-determining entelechy or perfection; as such it is the counterpart to Zeno's criticism of the reality of physical substances. Zeno asserted that each of the many (i.e. sensibles), if it is self-identical and one (as, if it is to be real, it must be), is a non-magnitude or point and therefore nothing (*see* Appendix I); the sphere illustrates (and only illustrates) the nature of a reality which, though a non-magnitude with no less unity than a point in space, is not nothing but a unique and active monad, of which many predicates may be truly asserted without prejudice to its unity.

[218]

50–52 In these lines, which form the transition to her account of the 'beliefs of mortals', the goddess extends her earlier description of these as uncertain to her own account of them (κόσμον ἐμῶν ἐπέων ἀπατηλὸν ['the deceptive composition of my verse']: cf. fr. 1, 30, τῆς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθής ['which comprise no genuine conviction']).

In thus describing as deceptive his report of human beliefs P. neither alludes to commonly held beliefs about the history and nature of the physical world nor implies that those which he reports are not accepted by himself. This is clear both from the systematic and original character of his physical theories and from his own account of the matter in frr. 1, 31–32 and 8, 54, 60–61; it is taken for granted by Plato (tt. 1–2) and Aristotle (tt. 22, 25, 28, 30, 32, 34) and expressly asserted by Plutarch (t. 113), Philoponus (t. 193) and Simplicius (t. 207), although Plutarch mistakenly assimilates P.'s view of the status of the sensible world to Plato's (Introd. Sect. 9).

ἀμφὶς ἀληθείης 'about reality' (cf. fr. 1, 29 n.).

κόσμον ἐμῶν ἐπέων ['composition of my verse']: ἐπέων ['verse'] is contrasted with λόγον (50). The phrase κόσμον ἐπέων had been used by Solon (fr. 1 West) and recurs in Democritus fr. 21, Ὅμηρος φύσεως λαχὼν θεαζούσης ἐπέων κόσμον ἐτεκτήνατο παντοίων ['Homer, who was allotted a portion of the divine nature, crafted the ordering of verses of all kinds'] and Philetas, fr. 10, 3 Powell, ἐπέων εἰδὼς κόσμον ['understanding the composition of verse']. The sense of κόσμος ('composition') is clear from the final phrase in the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus*, γλυκερὴν κοσμῆσαι ἀοιδήν ['compose sweet song'] (vii, 59). The word is chosen for its aptness in relation to the διάκοσμος or 'system' which the 'composition' is to expound.

For the association of ἔπη ['verses'] with δόξα ['belief'] cf. Eur. *Herakles* 111, ἔπεα μόνον καὶ δόκημα νυκτερωπὸν ἐννύχων ὀνείρων ['merely verses and a dark fancy of dreams in the night'].

ἀπατηλὸν ['deceptive']: though P. regards his account of the physical world as the best possible (l.61), it is still 'fallacious', since it is obliged to treat unreal things as real (cf. ὄν, 57 ['being'], ἔασι ['are'], fr. 20, 1). [218]

53–61 This passage constitutes the longest surviving fragment of the 'beliefs of mortals' and sets out the fundamental principles of P.'s treatment of the physical world. It begins with an express distinction of the right from the wrong starting-point, viz. the naming of two Forms instead of one. The two Forms are characterised as opposites with opposed features, which are postulates like the Forms themselves, sc. fire, which is 'aetherial', gentle, light, self-identical but 'not the same as the other', and on the other hand night, which is essentially unintelligent, dense and heavy. The goddess asserts that her dualist account of human experience, modelled as regards each Form on her account of the one Being, will give P. an advantage over others in empirical judgement.

53 μορφὰς ['Forms']: the word μορφή ['form'] in its earliest use signifies beauty of form, or external form or shape generally, usually as an attribute of a person or thing but sometimes, as here, denoting the person or thing itself (e.g. Θέμις καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία ['Themis and Gaia, a single form with many names'], Aesch. *P.V.* 209–210; δόλος ἦν ὁ φράσας, ἔρος ὁ κτείνας, δεινὰν δεινῶς προφυτεύσαντες μορφάν ['treachery showed the way, love did the killing, dreadfully engendering a dreadful form'], Soph. *El.* 197 sq.; ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφὴ μία ['that heaven and earth were a single form'], Eur. fr. 484, 2). P. uses the word in the plural to refer to a pair of homogeneous, unchanging substances with both sensible and non-sensible characteristics. He does not say, but his words imply, that the two Forms to which he alludes, fire or light (fr. 10) and night, are regarded by him as the only such substances, from the combination of which all temporal substances are produced. The table of ten pairs of opposites ascribed by Aristotle, *metaph.* A 5, 986^{a}22 sq., to some of the early Pythagoreans includes the pair φῶς σκότος ['light, darkness']. In view of other Pythagorean features in P.'s physics (Introd. Sect. 4) it is perhaps more likely that he derived the elemental antithesis of light and dark from the Pythagoreans than that they derived it from him. P.'s use of the antithesis however is entirely original and directly unpythagorean in characterising light as female and darkness as male (fr. 12, 3 n.). [219]

κατέθεντο … γνώμας ['they resolved']: for P.'s use of κατατίθεμαι ['resolve'] *see* n. on fr. 8, 38–41, and for the phrase here cf. Theognis 717–718, ἀλλὰ

[219] χρὴ πάντας γνώμην ταύτην καταθέσθαι, ὡς πλοῦτος πλείστην πᾶσιν ἔχει δύναμιν ['everyone should resolve this, that for all people wealth has the greatest power']. The plural γνώμας implies an antecedent controversy, as in Thuc. iii, 36 γνώμας ποιεῖσθαι is 'to hold a debate' and γνώμας προθεῖναι 'to propose a debate'.

The assertion that human beings 'resolved to name two Forms' may be given a historical sense, insofar as P. may be taken to be citing Pythagorean authority for his physical dualism (Introd. Sect. 4). The subject of κατέθεντο however is not merely Pythagoreans but (as in l.39) human beings in general, and the phrase asserts primarily that the two Forms fall under the general rule argued for all sensible substances in fr. 8, 34–41, i.e. that the elements of human experience themselves have no substantial but only a posited or supposed being; they are 'names' in the sense that human beings make them the subject of assertions, which are not true assertions about reality but expressions of what human beings believe to be true of what they believe to be real (*see* n. on fr. 8, 38–41). P.'s identification of the discrimination of light and night with an agreement to name them is extended in fr. 20, 3 to their products. His conception of names as bestowed by an act or acts of agreement survived his physical nominalism. Plato puts it in the mouth of Hermogenes (*Crat.* 384^{d} etc.), who was credited with Eleatic leanings (Diog. Laert. iii, 6), and makes Socrates argue that usage is in effect an agreement both with others and with oneself (ib. 434^{e}).

[220]

54 τῶν μίαν οὐ χρεών ἐστιν ['of which it is wrong … one']: i.e. μορφὴν μίαν οὐ χρεών ἐστιν ὀνομάζειν. 'to name only one Form is not right'. The sense is destroyed by translating as if P. had written either οὐδὲ μίαν ('it is not right to name even one Form') instead of μίαν οὐ, or τὴν ἑτέρην ('it is not right to name either one or other of these Forms') instead of μίαν. In *Il.* Ω 66, when Zeus promises οὐ μὲν γὰρ τιμή γε μί᾽ ἔσσεται ['for there will not be just one honor'], he means that not one but two different privileges will be accorded to Achilles and Hector respectively; similarly P. means here that not one but two Forms must be named. The phrase is a direct and general criticism of the Ionian philosophers who had derived the universe from a single 'Form', viz. Thales, Anaximenes and Heraclitus; it recalls and is possibly based on the argument of Anaximander, reported by Aristotle, *phys.* iii, 5, 204^{b}24 sq., against treating any one physical substance as supreme over the rest: εἰσὶ γάρ τινες (sc. Anaximander, cf. Simpl. ad loc.) οἳ τοῦτο (sc. τὸ παρὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα) ποιοῦσι τὸ ἄπειρον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ, ὡς μὴ τἆλλα φθείρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου αὐτῶν · ἔχουσι γὰρ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐναντίωσιν, οἷον ὁ μὲν ἀὴρ

ψυχρός, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ὑγρόν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ θερμόν · ὧν εἰ ἦν ἓν ἄπειρον, ἔφθαρτο [220]
ἂν ἤδη τἆλλα · νῦν δ' ἕτερον εἶναί φασιν, ἐξ οὗ ταῦτα ['some make this (sc. something different from the elements) the infinite, not air or water, in order that the others may not be destroyed by the one of them that is infinite. For they have contrariety to one another, as air is cold, water moist, fire hot, but if one of them were infinite, the others would have already been destroyed. But as it is, they declare that there is something else from which these are generated.']. P. differs from Anaximander in regarding the physical elements as derived from a more ultimate reality not genetically but formally (l.60 n.), but his use of χρεών, which denotes an internally determined necessity (fr. 3, 5 n.), recalls the latter's argument that they must occur in correlative pairs. His central criticism of physical monism however is not cosmological, like Anaximander's, but ontological. Line 54 as a whole signalises P.'s introduction of his radically new theory of change as due to the combination and separation of a pair of unchanging substances. The theory is intended to cover what were later called 'qualitative' changes, since these in P.'s view derive from the characteristics (σήματα) belonging inseparably to the primary 'Forms'; he could not treat such changes as merely 'qualitative' changes in an unchanging substance, owing to his assumption that 'to be' has only a single sense (Introd. Sect. 5–7).

P.'s criticism of physical monism became at once canonical; only Diogenes of Apollonia reverted to it afterwards.

ἐν ᾧ πεπλανημένοι εἰσίν ['wherein men have gone astray']: the perfect tense (cf. l.35, ἐν ᾧ πεφατισμένον ἐστίν ['when assertions have been made of it']) distinguishes the historical allusion to Ionian thinkers from the analysis of the status of the two Forms expressed by the aorist κατέθεντο. The verb alludes to the way on which 'mortals without knowledge wander' (πλάζονται), because their own incapacity 'directs their minds in error' (ἰθύνει πλαγκτὸν νόον), fr. 5, 4–6. P. now explicitly identifies the way of enquiry there referred to with the philosophy of the physical monists who derive the world from a substance which 'is and is not the same and not the same' (cf. fr. 5, 7–9 n.). The status of his own exposition of the 'beliefs of [221]
mortals' is set out in ll.60–61. First however he justifies his assertion that physics must not be monist but dualist.

55–56 ἀντία δ' ἐκρίναντο δέμας: not 'distinguished from each other as opposite' (Diels, LSJ) but 'chose as opposite', the commonest epic use of the middle κρίνεσθαι, to which τῇ μὲν … πῦρ … ἀτὰρ κἀκεῖνο κτλ. ['one the one hand … fire … that, on the other hand'] serve as direct objects. The choice in question

[221] is the discrimination of the Forms light and night as simple unchanging substances from all the other sensible substances which human beings distinguish from each other by means of names. The selection of light and night as basic opposites is the second principle of P.'s physics, the first being the resolution to name two Forms instead of one. δέμας ['in body'] is used always of living bodies or of bodies which are regarded as alive. P. regards the two Forms as divinities, as Heraclitus had so regarded fire, Anaximenes air and Thales water.

σήματ' ἔθεντο χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων: 'assigned them (opposite) characteristics separate from one another'. The characters of the two Forms are not described as real σήματα. They are not therefore to be discovered, like those of Being, by reasoning (cf. fr. 8, 1–2 n.). P.'s study of the physical world is thus not conceived as a 'way of search' for 'reality', but as an analysis of human experience in terms of elements which are themselves given in experience, though their identity as 'Forms' derives from the approximation of each of them to Being itself (l.60 n.). To describe P.'s physics as 'the *way* of mortals' or 'the *way* of belief' is to confuse the 'deceptiveness' inherent in the goddess' informed account of the (unreal) physical world (ll.50–52 n.) with the delusion of the mortals on the 'empirical way' of frr. 5 and 7.

φλογὸς αἰθέριον πῦρ ['aetherial fire of flame']: P. agrees with Heraclitus in holding fire to be an ultimate constituent of the physical world, but his alternative denomination of it as 'light' (fr. 11) and his assignment of an equal status *(ib.)* to 'night' or 'darkness' (ll.58–59 n.) indicate that his immediate source is rather the Pythagorean table of opposites (fr. 8, 53 n.); for other possible allusions to Heraclitus cf. frr. 1, 32; 2; 6; 12, 3–6; 13 nn. The adjective αἰθέριον ['aetherial'] (cf. frr. 1, 13; 9, 1) associates fire closely with the radiant substance of the ring which girdles the heaven (fr. 9, 1–2 n.).

57 ἤπιον ὄν ['being mild']: for the form of the participle cf. *Od.* η 94, ἀθανάτους ὄντας καὶ ἀγήρως ['being immortal and unageing']. It introduces the characteristics (σήματα) which mortals predicate of the body (δέμας) named in the preceding phrase.

μέγ' [ἀραιὸν] ἐλαφρόν: Karsten was the first to note that either ἀραιὸν
[222] ['loose-textured'] or ἐλαφρόν ['light'] must be excised as a gloss; he retained ἀραιὸν, which is sometimes glossed by ἐλαφρόν (e.g. schol. Hes. *op.* 807) and is used by Melissus and Anaxagoras. Diels pointed out however (*PL* 97) that the scholium cited by Simplicius, *phys.* 31 (t. 204), which collects predicates applied to the two Forms in other parts of the poem, implies that ἀραιὸν was not in the text here, since it begins ἐπὶ τῷδέ ἐστι τὸ ἀραιόν ['to

this are (sc. applied the terms) loose-textured …']. It follows that ἐλαφρόν [222]
not ἀραιὸν should be retained; for the sense 'light in weight' (in antithesis to ἐμβριθές ['heavy'], l.59) cf. *Il.* M 450, (λᾶαν) τὸν οἱ ἐλαφρὸν ἔθηκε Κρόνου πάις ['the son of Kronos made (sc. the stone) light for him'].

57–58 ἑωυτῷ πάντοσε τωὐτόν, τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ μὴ τωὐτόν ['the same as itself in every direction but not the same as the other']: in these words P. justifies his physical dualism logically; by positing two elemental substances instead of one he both preserves and accounts for the relativity which characterises the physical world without involving himself in the contradictions of which he accuses his predecessors (fr. 5, 7–9 n.). Fire, like Being (l.29), has a uniform identity, though it is a posited and not an objectively real identity, but it is also not-identical, sc. with the other Form. The view implicitly rejected is that a physical substance can be both identical and not identical with the same thing (cf. Pl. *soph.* 254^{b} sq.). Nevertheless in being not only τωὐτόν ['the same'] but also μὴ τωὐτόν ['not the same'] fire falls short of the identity which characterises Being.

P. appears to intend that night, as the opposite to light, is 'the other' (hence the neuter κἀκεῖνο ['that'], sc. τὸ ἕτερον ['the other']), though it is not other than itself, i.e. to identify otherness in the sensible world with night and identity with light. Aristotle's allusion to P.'s physical principles as τὸ θερμόν ['the hot'] and θάτερον ['the other'] (*metaph.* A5, 987^{a}1, t. 26) is both careful and correct and to be related to his report (fr. 207 R, p. 143 Ross) that Pythagoras 'gave the name 'Other' (ἄλλο) to matter' (cf. fr. 11, 3–4 n. *infra*).

58–59 ἀτὰρ κἀκεῖνο κατ' αὐτὸ τἀντία ['that, on ther other hand, being likewise in itself the opposites']: Diels understood αὐτὸ ['itself'] as qualifying adverbially the phrase κατὰ τἀντία ['in respect of the opposites'] ('gerade im Gegenteil'), but the words κατ' αὐτὸ are more naturally taken together (like καθ' ἑαυτό ['by itself'], l.29) as denoting that the features of night belong to it in virtue of its own nature as 'the other'. Then τἀντία ['the opposites'] is adjectival and parallel grammatically with ἤπιον ['mild'] etc. The phrasing is due to the change in form of the sentence from the simple antithesis τῇ μὲν … πῦρ, τῇ δὲ νύκτα ['on the one hand … fire, on the other hand night'], in consequence of the intervening allusion τῷ ἑτέρῳ ['the other'] (cf. the ellipse of τῇ l.24).

νύκτ' ἀδαῆ ['unintelligent night']: 'night' is the only name given to this Form in the extant fragments (1, 9, 11; 10, 1, 3; 13, 2); according to the scholium cited by Simpl. (t. 204) P. used also the term ζόφος ['darkness'], which as a

[222] poetic noun is likely to be authentic. Aristotle and Theophrastus regularly speak of the antithesis to fire in P.'s physics as 'earth'; in one place (t. 22) the former expressly says that P. called the cold element 'earth', but this may be an oversight.

[223] The adjective ἀδαής is elsewhere always active in sense; that it is so here, and means 'unintelligent', is suggested by Theophrastus' report (t. 45) that P. held that our awareness derives from that belonging to each of the Forms, βελτίω δὲ καὶ καθαρωτέραν τὴν διὰ τὸ θερμόν ['that which is due to the hot being better and purer'] (cf. introductory n. to fr. 17). Diels' notion that the word means 'dark' by derivation from δάος ['torch'] (Ω 647 etc.) is a figment.

πυκινὸν δέμας ἐμβριθές τε: 'a solid and heavy body', ἐμβριθές ['heavy'] refers primarily to weight and is antithetical to ἐλαφρόν ['light']; it may also include the metaphorical sense 'grievous' (LSJ) as the antithesis to ἤπιον ['light]. This leaves ἀδαῆ ['unintelligent'] and πυκινὸν ['solid'] without expressed contraries. The list of epithets of the two Forms in the scholium cited by Simplicius (t. 204) begins however with ἀραιόν ['loose-textured'], which is used as the opposite of πυκνόν by Melissus and Anaxagoras and in the doxographic accounts of P.'s physics, and is doubtless Parmenidean. Of the other characters named in the scholium (all of which except ἀραιόν form pairs) θερμόν-ψυχρόν ['hot-cold'] is likely to be authentic (cf. ἄστρων θερμὸν μένος, ['the stars' hot power'] fr. 10, 3); μαλθακόν-σκληρόν ['soft-hard'] is guaranteed as to its first member by the Ionic and poetic form; and while κοῦφον-βαρύ ['light-heavy'] may be simply paraphrase of ἐλαφρόν-ἐμβριθές in the present passage, as Diels supposed (*PL* 97), the more prosaic terms may possibly have occurred later in the poem. It is noteworthy that all these pairs of terms recur in close association in Theophrastus' account of Democritus' theory of the different types of sense-object (*de sens.* 59–62). Since the atomists drew much of their inspiration from P. and Zeno, it is fair to conclude that in his attribution of these characters to the two Forms P. was primarily concerned to give an account of the sensible properties of physical objects. This conclusion is confirmed by fr. 11, 2.

60 τόν σοι ἐγὼ διάκοσμον … πάντα ['this order of things I … to you … in its entirety']: the noun, which occurs first here, is used exclusively in military and philosophical contexts. It was adopted by the atomists, in view of their dependence on P. (t. 43) almost certainly from him, as a title for their accounts of the universe (ὁ μέγας διάκοσμος, ὁ μικρὸς διάκοσμος ['The Great World System,' 'The Small World System'], Leuc. frr. 1, 1a; Democr. frr. $4^{b–c}$, 5). It

is also used once by Thucydides; otherwise it is post-classical. The sense here is 'this cosmic system in its entirety …'. [223]

σοι ['to you'] is dative of interest as in l.50, ἐν τῷ σοι παύω κτλ ['therewith I put a stop for you'].

ἐγὼ ['I']: though the 'resolution to name two Forms' and the choice of light and night are attributed by the goddess unequivocally to human beings, i.e. are regarded as integral to the nature of human experience, she emphasises by the pronoun ἐγὼ that the characterisation as ἐοικότα ['likely'] of the world-system which the Forms constitute is her own. It is implied that the pattern after which the world is framed (*see* below) is unknown to human beings. P. presupposes the principle later enunciated by Plato τοῦτο τὸ εἰκὸς τοῖς πολλοῖς δι' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τυγχάνει ἐγγιγνόμενον · τὰς δὲ ὁμοιότητας ἄρτι (26l[e] sq.) διήλθομεν ὅτι πανταχοῦ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰδὼς κάλλιστα ἐπίσταται εὑρίσκειν ['most people in fact acquire this notion of what is likely through its similarity to the truth, whreas we have recently reached the conclusion that the one who knows the truth is the one who best knows how to discover the similarities'], *Phaedr.* 273[d], and echoed by Aristotle, *rhet.* i, 1, 1355[a]14 sq., τό τε γὰρ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ἀληθεῖ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι δυνάμεως ἰδεῖν … διὸ πρὸς τὰ ἔνδοξα στοχαστικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ὁμοίως ἔχοντος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν ['For the same faculty perceives the truth and what is like the truth … this is why the same person who is successful at guessing what is reputable is also successful in guessing the truth']. [224]

ἐοικότα … φατίζω ['I declare … likely']: the understanding of this phrase has been hampered by the untenable assumption that φατίζω means 'I tell'. Its usage (*see* n. on ll.35–36) shows that the sense is 'I declare to be ἐοικότα'; the whole clause therefore means 'this world-system I declare to you to be ἐοικότα in its entirety'. What is the meaning of ἐοικότα? In epic, lyric and tragic poetry, when this participle is used absolutely, it means 'fitting' (e.g. *Od.* δ 239, ἐοικότα γὰρ καταλέξω ['for I will recount something fitting']), but why should the goddess make a point of labelling her account of the universe simply 'fitting'? And why should hearing it place P. in the special position indicated in the next line, unless it were fitting in some special way? Little or nothing is gained by taking σοι closely with the participle. The context demands the translation 'likely', but it is objected that this meaning for the unqualified participle cannot be imputed to P. The intention however of the verb φατίζω is precisely to point to the introduction of a new concept, or rather, the reinterpretation of one derived from Xenophanes.

[224] A characteristic feature of the thought of Xenophanes is his association of 'belief' about divine things (which he expressly distinguishes, as alone possible for human beings, from knowledge of them) with the notion of likelihood or plausibility (cf. Introd. Sect. 4). The contrast between likelihood and truth derives ultimately from Homer and Hesiod. The former describes Odysseus' fictitious narrative to Penelope in the phrase ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα ['speaking many lies he made them like the truth'] (τ 203); these words were borrowed by Hesiod to characterise the plausible fictions of Homer himself in contrast to the truth of his own account of the gods (ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, ἴδμεν δ', εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι ['we know enough to make up lies which are convincing, but we also have the skill, when we've a mind, to speak the truth'], *theog.* 27–28). Xenophanes rejected Hesiod's claim that human beings can know the truth about celestial matters, but he was profoundly convinced of the possibility and importance of right beliefs about them (προμηθείην … ἀγαθήν ['high regard'], fr. 1, 24, Diels; δόκος ['opinion'], fr. 34, 4), the criterion for which he identified with what was profitable (χρηστόν, fr. 1, 23), proper (ἐπιπρέπει, fr. 26, 2) or pious (ὅσιον, Ps.-Plut. *strom.* 4 = *FdV* 21A32) to believe. Such beliefs he characterises in the verse ταῦτα δεδοξάσθω μὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς ἐτύμοισι, 'let these be accepted as
[225] beliefs resembling the truth' (fr. 35), where the final phrase is borrowed from Hesiod's criticism of Homer, but is now used positively to denote not fictions or falsehoods (ψεύδεα) but well-founded conjectures, persuasive but uncertain, since not based on direct acquaintance. P. differs radically from Xenophanes in maintaining not only that what is inaccessible to sense can be known but that only this can be known; but when we find him associating δόξαι βρότειαι ['human beliefs'] with the exposition of a world-order characterised as ἐοικότα, it is reasonable to suppose that he is here developing or modifying Xenophanes' doctrine and that the omission of the dative τοῖς ἐτύμοισι ['the truth'] is deliberate. It is certain from the few surviving fragments that P.'s account of the physical world is based on and incorporates principles derived from his arguments about τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] (frr. 8, 57–58; 9, 6–7; 11, 3–4 nn.). He establishes the 'likeliness' of his world-system from the beginning by framing his account of the two sensible Forms on the analogy of that of τὸ ἐόν, i.e. as self-identical, simple substances, each with its own characteristics, but especially by interpreting his dualism as admitting an analysis of the world with no more recourse to contradictory assertions than his account of Being. His διάκοσμος ['order of things'] is therefore 'likely', not in the Xenophanean sense of 'unknowable

by men, but like the truth, because founded on moral or religious principles', but in the sense 'unknowable in principle, but as like the one reality as is possible for a dualist order'. [225]

P.'s claim of 'complete' likeliness for his world-system, made in the word πάντα ['in its entirety'], is anticipated in the final words of the prologue διὰ παντὸς πάντα περῶντα ['ranging through all things from end to end'] (fr. 1, 32); the participle ἐοικότα similarly develops the sense already conveyed there by the adverb δοκίμως ['in general acceptance']. The association of likeness with δόξα ['belief'] is elaborated by Plato and related to the scientific use of hypothesis in the simile of the divided line (*resp.* vi, 509^{d} sq.).

61 For P.'s use of οὐ μὴ *see* fr. 7. 1–2 n. The sense of ὡς is, as Diels noted, rather modal than final and qualifies ἐοικότα, 'likely in such a way that never will any mortal pass you …'.

γνώμῃ: the word refers, as usually, to intelligence or judgement in an empirical context (cf. Snell, *die Ausdrücke für die Begriffe des Wissens,* 29 sq.). P. used it in the plural of the consensus to name two Forms (κατέθεντο … γνώμας, l.53); it is collateral but not synonymous with his epistemological term δόξα ['belief'] (used in the singular in fr. 20, 1).

The mss. commonly omit iota subscript, so that the tradition may represent either the nominative or the dative. Diels preferred the nominative as a characteristically archaic personification, but there is some awkwardness in correlating the 'judgement of mortals' with the personal pronoun (σε ['you']) and, since Homer twice uses παρελαύνω with an instrumental dative (οἷοισίν μ' ἵπποισι παρήλασαν Ἀκτορίωνε ['in chariot racing alone the two sons of Actor defeated me'], Ψ 638; μ 186), it is better to compare Eur. *suppl.* 904 (γνώμῃ δ' ἀδελφοῦ Μελεάγρου λελειμμένος ['left behind in judgment by his brother Meleager']) and read γνώμῃ. [226]

παρελάσσῃ ['outstrip']: this verb is never used in the general sense of 'pass' but keeps that of driving, rowing or riding past. It cannot here continue the imagery of the prologue, since P.'s journey, being ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐκτὸς πάτου ['far removed indeed from the step of men'] (fr. 1, 27), was in no danger of rivalry and the goddess' analysis of human experience is not presented as a ὁδός ['way'] (ll.55–56 n.). The expression is therefore an independent metaphor of the kind frequent in poetic allusions to γνώμη ['judgment'] (e.g. Pind. fr. 214 Schr. ἐλπὶς ἃ μάλιστα θνατῶν πολύστροφον γνώμην κυβερνᾷ ['hope, which most of all steers the much-turning judgment of mortals'], Eur. *Hipp.* 240, ποῖ παρεπλάγχθην γνώμης ἀγαθῆς ['where did I stray from good judgment?']; 290, 391, γνώμης ὁδόν ['path of judgment']).

[226] The sense of the verse is thus 'in such a way that never will any mortal outrun you in good judgement.' In these words P. asserts that his analysis of human beliefs, though 'deceptive', has a validity which experience will prove insuperable.

P.'s conviction of the practical value of his dualist analysis of the sensible world was converted to his own ends by Protagoras, who rejected (fr. 4) P.'s transcendentalism but revealed the source of his own relativism and pragmatism as the latter's analysis of the sensible world by the alternative titles which he gave to his best-known work, Ἀλήθεια ἢ Καταβάλλοντες (sc. λόγοι) ['Truth, or The Throwers']; the former implies that P.'s application of the term to a non-sensible reality was mistaken, the latter paraphrases (though the metaphor is changed from racing to wrestling) P.'s claim that his dualist and nominalist account of human experience afforded an invincible judgement in practical life (cf. Introd. Sect. 6).

FRAGMENT 9 (10 DK)

In these lines, for which our only authority is Clement (t. 130), who gives no indication of their position in the poem, the goddess promises to instruct P. about the origin and activities of 'aether', 'signs', sun, moon, 'heaven' and stars. In fr. 10 (11 DK) she states her intention of beginning her account of the universe by explaining the origin of earth, sun, moon, 'aether', galaxy, 'olympus' and stars. The apparent repetition is due to the difference of context. While fr. 10 introduces the cosmology, fr. 9 is characterised by the goddess' personal address to P. in the three future tenses εἴσῃ … πεύσῃ … εἰδήσεις ['you will understand' … 'you will learn' … 'you will understand'], which recall that in the conclusion of the prologue (ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπης καὶ ταῦτα μαθήσεαι ['nevertheless, you shall learn these also'], fr. 1, 31, cf. μάνθανε
[227] ['learn'], 8, 52). This links fr. 9 with the introductory account of δόξαι βρότειαι ['human beliefs'] in fr. 8, 50–61, which it seems likely to have followed closely and perhaps immediately.

1–2 εἴσῃ ['you will understand']: cf. εἰδήσεις ['you will understand'], l.5; both forms of the future are epic.

P.'s emphasis on his 'understanding' of celestial phenomena contrasts his cosmology with the theories of the physical monists, whom he had dismissed as 'understanding nothing' (fr. 5, 4) and presents it as an elaboration of the

understanding which qualified him to leave the world of sense as εἰδότα φῶτα [‘a man of understanding’].[49] [227]

αἰθερίην τε φύσιν [‘the aether’s origin’]: the word φύσις here and in l.5 may mean either ‘nature’ (cf. fr. 17, 3) or ‘origin’; the parallel phrases ἔργα … καὶ ὁππόθεν ἐξεγένοντο [‘deeds … and whence they sprang’] and ἔργα … καὶ φύσιν [‘deeds … and *phusis*’] in ll.3–5 show that the latter sense is intended, but the two meanings are closely related (cf. Ar. *phys.* ii, 1, 193^{b}12, ἡ φύσις ἡ λεγομένη ὡς γένεσις ὁδός ἐστιν εἰς φύσιν [‘nature in the sense of generation is a progression towards nature’]).

It is clear that P. distinguishes αἰθήρ [‘aether’] from fire, since the latter has no temporal origin and its character has already been described in fr. 8, 56–58. The phrase τά τ᾽ ἐν αἰθέρι πάντα σήματα [‘all the signs in the aether’] shows that P. means by αἰθήρ a region of the universe. In view of the expression φλογὸς αἰθέριον πῦρ [‘aetherial fire of flame’] (fr. 8, 56) this must be supposed to consist of the Form fire and to be in some sense its principal manifestation. According to Aëtius (t. 61) P. regarded the αἰθήρ as the ‘uppermost’ region of the universe and as governing the οὐρανός or heaven of the fixed stars.

τά τ᾽ ἐν αἰθέρι πάντα σήματα [‘all the signs in the aether’]: P.’s phrase is echoed accidentally or deliberately by Aratus at the point of his poem (*phaen.* 461) where he declines to discuss the motions of the planets and proceeds with an account of the circles of the celestial sphere (equator, ecliptic and tropics) and the constellations by which they may be identified: ἀπλανέων τά τε κύκλα τά τ᾽ αἰθέρι σήματα [‘the circles of the fixed stars and the signs in the aether’]. A Byzantine summary of an introduction to Aratus remarks that P. described the multitude of fixed stars as ‘nameless and unidentifiable’ (t. 219). The distinction between these and the named constellations is elaborated by Aratus, *phaen.* 367–385; it is unlikely however to be that intended by P. between ἄστρα [‘stars’] in l.7 and σήματα [‘signs’] here, since the latter are not characterised as constellations but as situated in the αἰθήρ, which is distinct from the οὐρανός [‘heaven’]. Aëtius reports (t. 65) that P. placed in the αἰθήρ the evening and morning stars, which he identified with each other (according to Favorinus, t. 123, for the first time). It seems likely then that by ‘all the signs in the aether’ P. means the planets. How many of the planets were known to him there is no express evidence to show. His identification with each other of the evening and morning stars

49. The first edition did not contain this paragraph. (RMcK)

[227] presupposes an awareness of their eastward motion through the zodiac counter to the daily revolution of the fixed stars.

P.'s location of the planets in the αἰθήρ suggests that he thought of the latter as a belt corresponding in breadth to that of the zodiac, with the same daily revolution as the fixed stars, but distinguished from the zodiac, which is part of the heaven, because the planets have also their own motion.

[228]

2–3 καθαρῆς εὐαγέος ἠελίοιο λαμπάδος ['of the pure torch of the brilliant sun']: the adjective καθαρός ['pure'] is used of light in general (Pind. fr. 108[b], σέλας καθαρὸν ἁμέρας ['pure light of day']); here it perhaps implies that the sun is composed wholly of this Form, as the indication in the prologue that the daughters of the sun are at home in the light (fr. 1, 9–10 n.) also suggests.

The sun like the planets is situated 'above' the heaven in the αἰθήρ ['aether'] (tt. 61, 65), since its motion is not wholly governed by that of the heaven. Aëtius reports that P. held that the sun was τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναπνοήν ['an exhalation of fire'] (t. 61) and that both it and the moon were formed by separation from the milky way, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀραιοτέρου μίγματος, ὃ δὴ θερμόν, τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυκνοτέρου, ὅπερ ψυχρόν ['the former from the rarer mixture, which is therefore hot, the latter from the denser (sc. mixture), which is cold'] (t. 68).

εὐᾱγής means 'bright' (not 'pure', which is εὐᾰγής); the word occurs from the fifth century onwards in lyric and tragic verse and in Ionic and Attic prose. Plato opposes it to θολερός ['murky'] (*Tim.* 58[d]) and σκοτώδης ['dark'] (*lg.* xii, 952[a]).

λαμπάδος ['torch'] again suggests that the sun consists of fire; it is used of the sun by Sophocles, *Ant.* 879 and Euripides, *Med.* 352. It is likely that P. like Alcmeon (*FdV* 24A12) regarded sun and moon as well as stars as divinities, since Cicero's phrase 'sideribus' ['heavenly bodies'] (t. 54) may include them all.

ἔργ' ἀίδηλα ['invisible deeds']: ἀίδηλος means either 'making invisible' and so 'destructive' (Hom., Hes. etc.) or, like the alternative form ἀείδελος, 'invisible', 'obscure' (Hes., Soph. etc.). The former sense is usually supposed to be intended here, as in the same phrase in *Il.* E 757, 872 (where Aristarchus and the vulgate have καρτερὰ ἔργα) and Hes. fr. 30, 17; the other sense however suits the context better, with reference to the sun's nightly path beneath the earth. The phrase ἔργ' ἀίδηλα appears to mean 'hidden actions' also in Hes. fr. 60, 2; P.'s use of it in connexion with 'the pure lamp of the shining sun' is a deliberate and vivid paradox.

ὁππόθεν ἐξεγένοντο ['whence they sprang']: the subject is σήματα καὶ [228]
ἠελίοιο λαμπάς ['signs and torch of the sun'].

4–5 κύκλωπος ['round-faced']: this adjective characterises the moon as round in spite of its constantly varying appearances; for P.'s meaning *see* n. on frr. 14–15.

περίφοιτα ['migratory'] normally conveys the notion not of revolving but of moving from one person or place to another (μισῶ καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον ['I hate a lover who strays'], Callim. *epigr.* 30, 3); here then not of the moon's daily revolution but of its monthly journey through the constellations of the zodiac; the same motion is alluded to in the verb ἀλώμενον ['wandering'], fr. 14.

Aëtius says (t. 61) that P. regarded the moon as a mixture of 'air' (which was separated by pressure from the earth) and fire. This accords with his later reports that it was formed by separation from the milky way (t. 68) and that it is the dark element in it (τὸ ζοφῶδες) which results in its appear- [229]
ing 'earthy' (γεώδης, t. 72).

5 εἰδήσεις δὲ καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντα ['you will understand also the heaven which surrounds them']: the general tenour of the fragment makes it certain that P. distinguished between οὐρανός ['heaven'] and αἰθήρ ['aether'], as Aëtius said (t. 61). The οὐρανός is described by Aëtius as fiery (tt. 61, 63, 65) but it probably comprised also night (fr. 10, 3 n.). Aëtius also reports that P. regarded the οὐρανός as 'the outermost revolution from the earth' (t. 62). This is acceptable, in so far as the αἰθήρ, if it contains sun, moon and planets, must revolve with it.

The literary pattern for the phrase καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντα ['also the heaven which surrounds them'] is Homer's κίονας … αἳ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι ['columns … which hold the earth and heaven apart'], α 53–54, which P. recasts so as to convert the allusion to the separation of heaven from earth into one to the celestial sphere encircling the earth.

The adoption of the sphere as a model of the heavens is attributed to Anaximander (astrologiam Atlas Libyae filius, ut alii, Aegyptii, ut alii, Assyrii. sphaeram in ea Milesius Anaximander ['according to some Atlas the son of Libya discovered astronomy; according to others it was the Egyptians or the Assyrians. Anaximander of Miletus discovered (sc. the importance of) the sphere in it'], Plin. *N.H.* vii, 203, not in *FdV* but accepted for Anaximander by Boll, Pauly-Wissowa vii, 1428 and Heiberg, *Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften im Altertum* p. 50; cf. Plin. ib. ii, 31

[229] (*FdV* 12A5), obliquitatem eius (sc. zodiaci) intellexisse, hoc est rerum foris aperuisse Anaximander Milesius traditur primus ol. LVIII ['Anaximander of Miletus is reported to have been the first to understand the obliquity of it (sc. the zodiac)—that is, to have opened the doors of the the universe—in the fifty-eighth Olympiad']). The spherical hypothesis is firmly attested for P. by his awareness that sun, moon and planets move through the zodiac from west to east, and his acceptance of Anaximander's view that the earth rests unsupported in the centre of the universe (t. 75); it is likely to be intended by Theophrastus' statement that he 'heard Anaximander' (t. 41).

6–7 The οὐρανός ['heaven'] after its formation was both 'led' and 'chained' by necessity. The phrasing refers to its revolution round a stationary axis (cf. Arat. *phaen.* 21–23, αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' οὐδ' ὀλίγον μετανίσσεται ἀλλὰ μάλ' αὔτως ἄξων αἰὲν ἄρηρεν … περὶ δ' οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἀγινεῖ ['but the axis does not change position in the slightest but is always fixed exactly the same … and rotates the very heaven']).

The phrase ἐπέδησεν ἀνάγκη ['necessity chained'] echoes the language of fr. 8, in which justice keeps τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] in chains (ll.14–15), necessity holds it in the bondage of a limit (l.31) and fate chains it so as to be entire and motionless (ll.37–38); the unvarying orbit of the heaven is seen by P. as the physical counterpart to the unvarying perfection of Being. This cosmic necessity cannot be distinct from the female divinity who governs the universe (fr. 12, 3), who is named Genesis by Plato (t. 1) and Aphrodite by Plutarch (t. 111); it is perhaps to be identified also with the αἰθήρ itself, cf. frr. 1, 22; 12, 3; 13 nn.

The allusion to the necessary character of Being implied in the phrase
[230] ἐπέδησεν ἀνάγκη ['necessity chained'] raises the question what relation P. conceived to exist between physical and non-physical necessity. The answer must be in terms of resemblance, in accordance with the principle asserted in fr. 8, 60 and already exemplified in the account of the two Forms (v. n. ib.). As light and night are, in so far as is open to them, like Being, so the necessity governing all physical events resembles that characterising the reality which does not change; and as the latter necessity determines what cannot and what must be thought and said, i.e. the content of knowledge, so the former determines the content of a valid physical theory. That a correct physical theory is necessarily of a certain character was asserted by implication in fr. 1, 32 (ὡς τὰ δοκεῦντα χρῆν δοκίμως εἶναι κτλ. ['that the things that are believed to be should have their being in general acceptance']). P.'s derivation of physical from metaphysical and logical necessity enables him to maintain that, though

a physical theory can never be 'true', it may be right or wrong, valid or invalid, according as it translates correctly or incorrectly the principles of the journey of persuasion to a dualist and empirical context. It remains true however that a valid physical theory is. in P.'s view, simply an analysis of human experience. [230]

πείρατ' ἔχειν ἄστρων ['to control the stars']: the phrase πείρατα ἔχειν followed by the genitive case signifies 'to control' or 'be master of' (cf. *Il.* H 102, νίκης πείρατ' ἔχονται ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι ['victory is controlled by the immortal gods']; Aratus, *phaen.* 1150–1151, αἱ γάρ (sc. τετράδες) τ' ἄμυδις συνιόντων μηνῶν πείρατ' ἔχουσιν ['for they (sc. the fourth day of the month and the fourth day from the end of the month) control the months' convergence']; Zeuxis, *PLG* ii, 318; Solon, fr. 16 D).

Fragment 9 thus promises an account of the origin and nature of all the principal moving bodies in the heavens (planets, sun, moon, fixed stars) and of the regions in which they are located (αἰθήρ ['aether'], οὐρανός ['heaven']). The stars (along with the galaxy, fr. 10, 2) are assigned to the οὐρανός, planets and sun (t. 65) and presumably the moon to the αἰθήρ.

FRAGMENT 10 (11 DK)

These lines are cited by Simplicius (t. 203) as P.'s summary of the first part of his ensuing account of the sensible world. They appear to have occurred in the immediate prelude to this account, while fr. 9, which is largely similar in content, served rather to contrast the themes of the goddess' account of the world with her preceding argument about 'reality'.

The lines constituting fr. 10 are clearly influenced by ll.108–110 of Hesiod's *Theogony.* Hesiod's lines are part of the closing passage of his prologue, in which he asks for inspiration first about the origin of the elder gods and earth, rivers, sea, stars and heaven, and then about the descendants of these, i.e. the younger gods or Olympian pantheon. Similarly P.'s goddess proposes to begin her account of the physical world with the formation of its primal features (περὶ δὲ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἄρξασθαί φησι λέγειν, 'πῶς γαῖα καὶ ἥλιος κτλ. ['(sc. P.) says about sensibles that they had a beginning—that he states "how earth and sun …"']' Simpl. t. 203) and then to proceed to that of the divine and human creatures which were generated subsequently (καὶ τῶν γινομένων καὶ φθειρομένων μέχρι τῶν μορίων τῶν ζώων τὴν γένεσιν παραδίδωσι ['and he presents the generation of things that come to be and perish, even to the point of discussing the parts of animals'], ib., cf. Plutarch, t. 113). The second phase seems to have included some allusion to the traditional myth of Cronus and the Titans (Plato, t. 2). [231]

[231]

1 Diels remarks that the introductory words of Simplicius suggest that the lines may have opened with the participle ἀρξαμένη [‘beginning’], preceded by a verse of the same kind as fr. 3, 1.

ἥλιος [‘sun’]: P. has ἠελίοιο in fr. 9, 2 but Ἑλιάδες in 1, 9; Homer and Hesiod have ἠέλιος except in *Od.* ϑ 271 (where Ἥλιος is treated as a person).

2 αἰθήρ τε ξυνός [‘and universal aether’]: the αἰθήρ [‘aether’] is ‘common’, perhaps in the general sense of comprehending and governing all else, or possibly in the more special sense of embracing both celestial hemispheres (fr. 12, 3 n.). There is some resemblance of both sound and context with Homer’s γαῖα δ’ ἔτι ξυνὴ πάντων καὶ μακρὸς Ὄλυμπος [‘but the earth and tall Olympus are common to all’], *Il.* Ο 193 (sc. common to Poseidon, Hades and Zeus), which is strengthened by P.’s choice of the term ὄλυμπος [‘olympus’] for the conclusion of his verse.

γάλα τ’ οὐράνιον [‘and celestial galaxy’]: if οὐράνιον [‘celestial’] is used strictly, P. placed the milky way in the οὐρανός [‘heaven’], as its unvarying position relatively to the fixed stars would indicate. According to Aëtius he regarded its colour as due to a mixture of ‘the dense and the rare’ (t. 73); the sun and moon were separated from it, the sun ‘from the rarer mixture, which is hot, the moon from the denser, which is cold’ (t. 68). Elsewhere (t. 61) Aëtius says sun and milky way are τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναπνοήν [‘an exhalation of fire’]; what lies behind this is obscure.

2–3 ὄλυμπος ἔσχατος [‘extreme olympus’]: the noun ὄλυμπος [‘olympus’] in Homer and Hesiod is regularly distinct in sense from οὐρανός [‘heaven’], though they may be closely associated (*Od.* υ 103, 113; Hes. *theog.* 689, ἄμυδις δ’ ἀρ’ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ ἠδ’ ἀπ’ Ὀλύμπου [‘he came immediately from the heaven and from Olympus’]). P. associates, but does not therefore identify, ὄλυμπος with οὐρανός by naming it between galaxy and fixed stars.

In fr. 8 the comparison of Being to a sphere was deduced from the premise that its limit is πύματον [‘ultimate’] or ἔσχατον [‘extreme’]. Analogously perhaps here the characterisation of ‘olympus’ as the limit of the physical universe may allude to P.’s acceptance of the hypothesis of the sphericity of the heavens (fr. 9, 5 n.). Zeno argued later that no spatial body could be said to have an absolute limit, since its limit must
[232] be part of the body and so itself needs a limit. Since he based himself in this argument on P.’s thesis that Being has an ultimate limit (fr. 8, 42 n. and Appendix I), it is reasonable to interpret P.’s expression in terms of Zeno’s argument and to suppose that P. does not envisage ‘olympus’

as a body but as a limit which, though extensive, is not strictly physical, and which does not delimit the universe from anything else, since there can be nothing else (cf. Plat. *Tim.* 33^{c} sq.). If so, P.'s view would resemble that of Plato, according to whom the spherical universe is contained by the eternal forms (*Phaedr.* 247^{c}) and of Aristotle, who considered it as contained by eternity itself (*de caelo,* i, 9, 279^{a}7 sq.). [232]

ἄστρων θερμὸν μένος ['the stars' hot power']: according to Cicero (t. 54) P. regarded the stars as gods; they are however governed by the οὐρανός ['heaven'] (fr. 9, 6–7). Aëtius says that P. held them to be 'concentrations of fire' (πιλήματα πυρός, t. 64). Since fire in P.'s physics is essentially rare (ἀραιόν ['loose-textured'], fr. 8, 57 n.), this must mean that they are composed of purer fire than the surrounding heaven, which is itself πυρώδης ['fiery'] (tt. 61, 63, 65).

FRAGMENT 11 (9 DK)

Simplicius cites these lines (t. 215) along with fr. 8, 53–59 to show that P. made the opposites light and night the principles of the physical world. He remarks that the lines occurred 'a few verses' later than fr. 8, 59; it is clear that he regarded the two passages together as comprising P.'s account of the physical elements. Diels for this reason placed fr. 11 next to fr. 8, but it seems better to regard it as following frr. 9 and 10 (*see* the introductory nn.) and as preceding the account of the rings of light and night in fr. 12.

1 The sense given by the accepted translation 'since all things have been named light and night' must allude to the 'resolution to name two Forms' of fr. 8, 53–59; what is said there however is not that other things have been given the names of the Forms, but that mortals have chosen two Forms with opposite characteristics and have given names to these two Forms. It is better to translate 'since light and night have been given all names', i.e. they are the substance of the multiplicity of named physical things. The verse appears to be an adaptation of Heraclitus fr. 67, ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρη εὐφρόνη, χειμὼν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰρήνη, κόρος λιμός … ὀνομάζεται καθ' ἡδονὴν ἑκάστου ['God is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger … is named according to the scent of each']. The notion of a 'Form' with many names reappears in Aesch. *P.V.* 210, Θέμις καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία ['Themis and Gaia, one form with many names'].

ὀνόμασται ['have been given … names']: the text is confirmed, as Diels observed, by the scholium cited by Simplicius, *phys.* 31 (t. 204), ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ

[232] πυκνῷ ὠνόμασται τὸ ψυχρόν κτλ. ['while to the dense the names 'cold,' … are given'] The unreduplicated perfect form finds an analogy in Herodotus'
[233] practice of retaining a short initial vowel in perfect tenses, usually where the vowel is followed by two consonants (ἀμμένης, i, 86; ἀρτέαται, i, 125; ἀργμένος, i, 174; ἔργασται, iii, 155 etc.), but occasionally where it is short by position as well as by nature (ἁλισμένος, iv, 118, vii, 172; συναλίσθαι, v, 15). In epic Greek such unreduplicated forms occur only in inherited perfects (εἰκώς, ἔρχαται, etc. Schwyzer, *GG* i, 766–767). For P. as a linguistic innovator cf. fr. 1, 13, 17–20 nn. (πλῆνται, ἀναπτάμεναι).

2 'And since the names corresponding to their powers have been given to these things and those'. The powers are the σήματα ['signs'] of light and night alluded to in fr. 8, 55 sq.; the implied correlation of δύναμις ['power'] with μορφή ['form'] anticipates its regular association with εἶδος ['form'] and ἰδέα ['idea'] in later philosophy and science (e.g. Melissus, fr. 8, 4 (ἰσχύν) ['endurance']; Plat. *Tim.* 28[a]; [Hippocr.] *de arte* 4; *nat. hom.* 5; Philistion, fr. 4 Wellmann, etc.).

For the idiom ὀνομάζεσθαι ἐπί τινι ['be a name given to something'] cf. the scholium cited on l.1 above; Thuc. iv, 98, 6, παρανομίαν τε ἐπὶ τοῖς μὴ ἀνάγκῃ κακοῖς ὀνομασθῆναι ['lawbreaking is the name given to those who are bad through no compulsion']; Emped. fr. 8, 4, φύσις δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνομάζεται ἀνθρώποισιν ['and nature is the name given to them by humans'].

τοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖς ['to these things and those']: cf. τῇ ἢ τῇ ['in one regard than in another'], fr. 8, 45. The phrase alludes to physical things with mutually opposite characteristics, which are said to be derived from and named after the opposite δυνάμεις ['powers'] of light and night. Aristotle similarly derives sensible opposites from the four basic δυνάμεις hot, cold, moist and dry (e.g. *part. an.* ii, 1, 646[a]14 sq.).

3–4 From the premise that all empirical objects and their properties are analysable in terms of the two Forms and their properties (which like the objects are not authentic substances but 'names', i.e. subjects of misleading assertions, fr. 8, 38–41 n.) P. concludes that the empirical world is not only full but, since neither Form contains void and both are therefore equal, universally dual.

πᾶν ['all'] is to be understood as in fr. 8, 5, 22, 24, 25, 48, i.e. as characterising the whole subject of discourse, here the universe as conceived by human beings.

ἀφάντου ['invisible'] makes the point that, though night is the opposite of φάος ['light'] and invisible, it is not nothing.

In Homer the forms πλέον meaning 'full' and μέτα for μέτεστι occur only [233]
in Od. υ 355 and φ 93 respectively.

ἴσων means 'equal in status or power', as the succeeding clause makes plain.

The predicates asserted in these two lines of the physical world reflect those asserted earlier of Being. The language of l.3 is intended to recall that of fr. 8, 5, νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν ['it is now all together'] and 8, 24, πᾶν [234]
δ' ἔμπλεόν ἐστιν ἐόντος ['but it is all full of Being']; in l.4 ἴσων ἀμφοτέρων ['both of them equal'] recalls fr. 8, 49, οἷ γὰρ πάντοθεν ἶσον ['for it is equal to itself from every view'] (Being is equal with itself but the two Forms with each other); and ἐπεὶ οὐδετέρῳ μέτα μηδέν ['since in neither is there Nothing'] recalls fr. 8, 46–47, οὔτε γὰρ οὐκ ἐόν ἐστι τό κεν παύοι μιν ἱκνεῖσθαι εἰς ὁμόν ['for neither has Not-being any being which could halt the coming together of Being']. The final clause of l.4 was rightly understood by Karsten ('neutri inane inest' ['void is in neither']). Diels, Burnet and others rejected his view in favour of one based on Simplicius' paraphrase (t. 215), which involves supposing an ellipse of οὐδετέρου ['neither'] and understanding μηδέν as 'not at all' ('since neither has any part in the other'). Elsewhere however P. uses μηδέν to mean 'Nothing' (frr. 5, 2; 8, 10) and this together with the awkwardness of the ellipse shows that Karsten was right.

In a physical context μηδέν signifies void or empty space, the existence of which was rejected not only by P. but more explicitly later by Melissus (*see* introductory n. to fr. 7). The clause ἐπεὶ οὐδετέρῳ μέτα μηδέν ['in neither is there Nothing'], as Diels comments, justifies ἴσων ἀμφοτέρων ['both of them equal'], to which οὐδετέρῳ ['neither'] directly refers.

P.'s derivation of the equality of the two fundamental opposites from the proposition that neither contains nothing or void has been thought to be incompatible with Aristotle's assertion (tt. 26, 30) that he coordinated or equated 'the hot' or fire (i.e. light) with τὸ ὄν ['Being'] and earth (i.e. night) with τὸ μὴ ὄν ['Not-being']. Aristotle's assertion is reformulated by Theophrastus (tt. 40, 41), who says that P. treated fire as αἴτιον καὶ ποιοῦν ['cause and agent'] or δημιουργός ['creator'] and earth as ὕλη ['matter']. Alexander and Philoponus rightly assume (tt. 207, 196) that this renders Aristotle's meaning correctly (cf. Ar. *phys.* i, 9, 192^{a}4, καὶ τούτων τὸ μὲν οὐκ ὂν εἶναι κατὰ συμβεβηκός, τὴν ὕλην ['and one of these, matter, is accidentally a thing that is not']); there is therefore no incompatibility between Aristotle's report and P.'s words. On Simplicius' rejection of the Peripatetic view that P. regarded light as active and night as passive *see* introductory n. to fr. 12.

[234] FRAGMENT 12

These lines are cited by Simplicius (tt. 204, 207) in two overlapping sections (1–3 and 2–6) and are said by him to have occurred in the poem a few verses after fr. 8, 61, and after P.'s account of the two elements. They may therefore be taken to have followed very closely upon fr. 11.

In both the citations which make up fr. 12 Simplicius' aim is to show that P. postulated as originative cause in his physics a power distinct from the Form fire, viz. the 'goddess who governs all things'. His argument is directed explicitly against Alexander, who followed Theophrastus (tt. 40, 41) in saying that P. regarded fire as ποιητικὸν αἴτιον ['the originative cause'] and earth (P.'s 'night') as ὕλη ['matter']. It is clear from the lines which
[235] Simplicius quotes that P. did not simply equate the governing power in the physical world with fire in general, as Theophrastus' language suggests; Simplicius makes no attempt however to identify the goddess further, so that the effect of his criticism is largely negative.

The scanty information about P.'s goddess which Simplicius provides from his reading of the poem is as follows: (i) she is originative cause (ποιητικὸν αἴτιον) of both corporeal and incorporeal things in the world of belief (t. 204 ad fin.); (ii) she is situated ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ['in the middle of all things'] and is cause of all coming-to-be (t. 205); (iii) she is cause not only of other things but also of the gods, and she sends the souls now from the visible to the invisible and now back again (t. 207). Of these items it is certain that (ii) is based on the latter part of fr. 12, which Simplicius has cited three pages previously. But if so, there seems to be no reason to suppose that the similar language of Aëtius' version of the doxographic tradition (t. 61) has any other foundation: τῶν δὲ συμμιγῶν (sc. στεφανῶν) τὴν μεσαιτάτην ἁπάσαις † τε καὶ † κινήσεως καὶ γενέσεως ὑπάρχειν ['the one at the center is … of motion and generation for all of (sc. the rings) that are mixtures']. This hypothesis is strengthened by Simplicius' clear implication that fr. 12, 3 is the first express reference to the goddess in the Beliefs of Mortals and by the improbability that, since the general pattern of the στεφάναι ['rings'] must have been described in the lines preceding fr. 12, which deals with their composition, the goddess introduced in fr. 12 can have been expressly identified as one of them later. It is true that the doxographic account of P.'s rings is based in part on lines of the poem now lost. These lines must however have mainly preceded fr. 12. If those preserved by Simplicius occurred 'a few verses' (μετ' ὀλίγα δὲ πάλιν, t. 207) after fr. 8, 61, the lost lines which Simplicius summarises as 'concerned with the two elements' must have been few in number, and it seems clear that

their interpretation was uncertain from Simplicius' conspicuous failure to explain the context of the two citations comprising fr. 12 and even to indicate in either place what noun is qualified by αἱ … στεινότεραι ['the narrower'] and αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ['those over them']. There is therefore no difficulty in supposing that Aëtius' equation of the goddess with one of the 'mixed rings' is intended to paraphrase fr. 12, 3. [235]

The doxographic tradition about the goddess varies in detail. As presented by Aëtius (t. 61) the elements of P.'s cosmology are as follows:

(1) a complex of rings of the rare and the dense comprises also intermediate mixed rings of light and dark.

Since the composition of at least some of the rings is set out in fr. 12, it seems that this section of Aëtius' exposition is at least in part paraphrase of the first two lines of this fragment. It is noteworthy that there is nothing in Aëtius' version corresponding to P.'s epithet στεινότεραι ['narrower'].

(2) The whole complex of rings is enclosed within a solid periphery 'like a wall', 'under which' is a fiery ring; there is a solid centre to the whole system surrounded by a further fiery ring. [236]

There is nothing in fr. 12 corresponding to the solid periphery and centre here described. The periphery is distinguished from the στεφάναι or rings by the neuter form of the phrase (τὸ περιέχον ['the surrounding']); the comparison with a city-wall may possibly have been used by P. himself, since it recurs in a Pythagorean context at the end of Maximus of Tyre's essay τίς ὁ θεὸς κατὰ Πλάτωνα (… οὐρανὸν μὲν οἷον τεῖχός τι ἐληλαμένον ἐν κύκλῳ ἄρρηκτον, πάντα χρήματα ἐν ἑαυτῷ στέγον, γῆν δὲ οἷον φρουρὰν καὶ δεσμοὺς ἀλιτρῶν σωμάτων) ['who is Plato's god … the heaven is like an unbreakable wall constructed in a circle, sheltering in itself all things, and the earth is like a prison and bonds for wicked bodies)']. P.'s οὐρανός ['heaven'] however was not 'solid', (i.e. not composed of Night, cf. tt. 61, 63, 65) and Aëtius' assertion that the outer envelope is στερεόν ['solid'] appears to be a misinterpretation of ὄλυμπος ἔσχατος ['extreme olympus'] (cf. fr. 10, 2–3 n.).

The centre is similarly expressed in the neuter (τὸ μεσαίτατον πασῶν ['the one at the center of all']) and is clearly identical with the earth, the sphericity of which, according to Theophrastus (t. 41), P. was the first to assert (E. Frank's denial that P. held the earth to be spherical hardly merits the discussion which it has occasioned, but reference may be made to Tarán, *Parmenides,* pp. 296–298).

(3) The 'most central' of the mixed rings is the source of motion and coming-to-be for all the rings and is named 'governing goddess', 'key-carrying justice', and 'necessity'.

[236] This appears, as is suggested above, to be simply a paraphrase of fr. 12, 3, eked out by an allusion to the Justice of the prologue and the Necessity of fr. 9.

The remainder of Aëtius' paragraph consists of a brief account of the relation of most of the celestial phenomena named in frr. 9 and 10 to the cosmic features just described.

The doxographic tradition about the goddess, as it appears elsewhere, both supplements and varies from that in Aëtius. In the best manuscripts of Cicero's summary of P.'s cosmology (t. 54) she is 'a ring of light confining the (celestial) heat and girdling the heaven'. According to Philodemus (t. 47) she is distinguished from the gods created by her as 'inanimate' (ἄψυχον), while they have human psychological attributes.

Now the lines of P. quoted by Simplicius could be reconciled with the Peripatetic and doxographic tradition about the rôle of fire in P.'s cosmology if the goddess herself could be considered to be in some sense the primary body of fire. This suggests that Cicero's version of the tradition may be more reliable than the fuller version of Aëtius, in which she is identified as one of the mixed rings. No such reconciliation however is attempted by Simplicius,
[237] who rejects out of hand Alexander's assertion that P. treated fire as originative cause. Since Philoponus also once rejected the Peripatetic view (t. 195), although he later subscribed to it (t. 196), it seems likely that both he and Simplicius derived their anti-Peripatetic stance originally from their common master Ammonius. Neither Simplicius nor Philoponus has anything to say about the constitution of the goddess in terms of the two elemental Forms.

1–2 αἱ γὰρ στεινότεραι ['for the narrower']: Simplicius gives no indication of the content of the lost lines to which the particle γὰρ ['for'] refers, save that they were 'about the two elements', and does not even say what noun the adjective qualifies. The doxographic tradition shows that this was στεφάναι ['rings'], but neither clarifies its sense nor paraphrases the adjective. στεφάνη ['ring'] is translated by Cicero as 'corona' ['wreath'] and paraphrased as 'orbis' ['circle'] (t. 54). The word is used by Homer in the sense of 'crown', 'summit' and 'helmet', and by later authors of a variety of things with a ring-like shape. Since P. used it apparently to denote the spatial form of the bodies in question, it is unlikely that it carried any other than its normal sense of 'ring' (ἡ στεφάνη ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοκέντρων κύκλων ὁριζομένη ['the ring defined by concentric circles'], Procl. *in Eucl. I,* p. 163, 12 Friedl.). στεινότεραι will then refer more naturally to the relative width of the rings than to their relative diameter.

πλῆντο πυρὸς ἀκρήτοιο ['became filled with unmixed fire']: the scansion [237]
of πλῆντο ['became filled'] suggests, as Diels notes (*PL* 106), that P. has in mind Homeric phrases such as **P** 499, ἀλκῆς καὶ σθένεος πλῆτο φρένας ἀμφὶ μελαίνας ['his dark heart became filled with strength and might']; **Σ** 50, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀργύφεον πλῆτο σπέος ['the silvery cave became filled with them']; **Ψ** 777, etc. For P.'s lengthening of the final short vowel *in arsi* before a single consonant cf. fr. 8, 7 n.

It appears that in the lines preceding fr. 12 P. must have described the arrangement of the στεφάναι ['rings'], of which he now describes the substance. It is not implied that the rings had an existence prior to their becoming filled with fire and night, any more than in fr. 11, 3 what 'is full of light and night' is other than they are, or in fr. 8, 24 what 'is full of Being' is other than Being.

The aorist of πίμπλημι invariably means 'became filled'; P. is therefore alluding to the formation of the rings.

αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς νυκτός ['and those over them with night']: the rings which are 'over' the narrower ones, and which 'became filled with night', are clearly the wider rings implied in στεινότεραι ['narrower'].

μετὰ δὲ φλογὸς ἵεται αἶσα ['in which moved a proportion of flame']: the noun αἶσα denotes the proportion in the wider rings of flame to night. The sense is guaranteed by the contrast with πυρὸς ἀκρήτοιο ['unmixed fire'] (cf. Emped. fr. 62, 4–5, οὐλοφυεῖς … τύποι … ἀμφοτέρων ὕδατός τε καὶ εἴδεος αἶσαν ἔχοντες ['whole-natured forms … having a portion of both water and heat']).

The change of tense from πλῆντο ['became filled'] to ἵεται ['moved'] is [238]
notable and in view of P.'s careful use of tense-distinctions (fr. 1, 1–2 n.) must imply that he regards the rings as still part of the universe, i.e. the lines are cosmological as well as cosmogonical (so in effect Diels, *PL* 106). Reinhardt's view that they are 'a purely cosmogonic construction, not to be confused with P.'s cosmology' (*Parmenides* p. 13) is therefore unacceptable. The verb ἵεται characterises fire as active and perhaps implies that the 'proportion of flame' in each mixed ring derives from an adjacent ring of pure fire.

Lines 1–2 thus represent the universe as comprising two or more relatively narrow rings of fire, 'over' which lie two or more wider rings composed of night tempered by fire. This account is compatible with the first part of Aëtius' summary, which adds only that there were also rings composed solely of night. In the fragmentary state of P.'s poem it is no longer possible to be sure what cosmological or astronomical rôle belonged to the στεφάναι ['rings']; it is natural however to associate them with his account of the

[238] celestial sphere (fr. 9, 5 n.). The narrower στεφάναι of unmixed fire may then be identified as the intertropical or equatorial regions of the spherical οὐρανός ['heaven'], which are considered as two, as later by Polybius (xxxiv, 1, fr. 14 = Strabo ii, 3, 1), because bisected by the equator. The mixed rings lying 'over' these will be the extra-tropical belts (to which correspond the terrestrial zones later known as εὔκρατοι, i.e. well-mixed or temperate, cf. t. 99), while the rings of the dense element mentioned by Aëtius will be the arctic and antarctic zones round the poles, to which the equatorial heat does not penetrate. The identity of the midmost ring in Aëtius' summary is discussed below.

P.'s lines give so strongly the impression of describing an actual model (as Plato does in his account of the world-soul, cf. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, pp. 74 sq.; Schuhl, *La fabulation platonicienne* pp. 91 sq.), that they may reasonably be regarded as evidence for the construction in the early fifth century of celestial globes, the invention of which is ascribed to Anaximander (Diog. Laert. ii. 2). If P. is describing such a model, the aor. πλῆντο ['became filled'] gains in force, since he may be supposed to envisage the rings which 'became filled' in terms of the bands shown on his model.

The interpretation of P.'s rings proposed here may be seen as confirming the doxographic ascription (Aët. ii, 11) of the zonal division of the celestial sphere to 'Thales' (whose name may be ignored, since his astronomy was not spherical) and 'Pythagoras and his followers', which may refer simply to P., to whom Aëtius ascribes the division later. Aëtius' assertion here (t. 74) that P. placed the inhabited regions of the earth 'beneath the two (extra-)tropical
[239] zones of the heaven derives from Posidonius (cf. Reinhardt, *Parmenides* 147 n.), who is doubtless the source also of his note (iii, 14) that 'Pythagoras' (i.e. Parmenides?) 'divided the (spherical) earth into zones analogous to those of the heaven'. While it is reasonable to accept the attribution to P. of the origination of the celestial zones, and probably also, in spite of Reinhardt's arguments, of the terrestrial zones, Posidonius' criticism (t. 99) that he made the torrid zone of the earth twice too wide will signify simply that he spoke of the regions uninhabited through heat as stretching from the equator as far as and into the temperate zones.

3 This line is the *raison d'être* of Simplicius' two citations which make up fr. 12. He makes clear (t. 207) that it constitutes P.'s first allusion in the Δόξαι ['Beliefs'] to the goddess who is the originative cause in the physical world. P. describes the goddess as ἐν … μέσῳ τούτων ['between these'], which Simplicius paraphrases as ἐν μέσῳ πάντων, 'in the centre of the universe'

Sixteenth-century armillary sphere showing the celestial zones and zodiac lying obliquely to the equator and tropics.

Science Museum / Science & Society Picture Library, London, UK.

[239] (t. 205). Since P. (like Plato later) accepted Anaximander's theorem that the earth is poised in the centre of the universe (tt. 41, 75), Simplicius' paraphrase is unacceptable, unless the goddess is placed in the centre of the earth. Zeller, Diels and others suppose that this was Simplicius' meaning, that he regarded P.'s divinity as occupying the same position as the Hestia of those Pythagoreans who placed the universe under the government of a body of fire within the earth, and that this was in fact P.'s view. This interpretation of P.'s goddess is perhaps already present in the third century Peripatetic Anatolius (t. 150). It may have been intended by Simplicius, who mentions in other contexts the Pythagorean theory of fire within the earth (*cael.* 512, 9; *phys.* 1354, 2; 1355, 8), though his reserve suggests uncertainty. It cannot however be what P. means, for neither is it what he says (τούτων might refer to the whole complex of rings but scarcely also without elucidation to the spherical earth) nor could such a view have left no trace in the doxographic tradition, which represents the kernel of the universe, i.e. the earth, as στερεόν ['solid']. A further objection, not in itself decisive, to this exegesis is that it precludes any agreement between P.'s cosmology and the imagery of the prologue. Aëtius' interpretation of l.3 however is equally unacceptable with that of Simplicius. By referring τούτων ['these'] to the 'rings' of l.2 and paraphrasing ἐν … μέσῳ ['between'] as μεσαιτάτην ['at the center'] he arrives at the view that the goddess is one of the mixed rings. This is both unplausible in itself and at variance with Theophrastus' assertion that P. regarded fire as the moving cause.

There remains the doxographic tradition in Cicero's version. This avoids all the difficulties, so long as the text is not altered to square it with Aëtius: 'coronae similem efficit, στεφάνην appellat, continentem ardorem lucis
[240] orbem, qui cingit caelum, quem appellat deum' ['he makes up something like a ring—he calls it a stephanē—a continuous blazing circle of light which encircles the heaven, and he calls it god'], i.e. 'P. devises a circle of light like a garland (he calls it a στεφάνη) confining the heat; it encompasses the heaven and he calls it god.' Here 'caelum' is οὐρανόν, around which, according to Aëtius' fuller summary, lies the αἰθήρ ['aether']. Cicero's sentence corresponds closely to and is clearly a version of what Aëtius says of this: περιστάντος δ' ἀνωτάτω πάντων τοῦ αἰθέρος ὑπ' αὐτῷ τὸ πυρῶδες ὑποταγῆναι τοῦθ' ὅπερ κεκλήκαμεν οὐρανόν ['the aether is highest and encircles all; beneath it is stationed the fiery (sc. region) which we have called the heaven'] (t. 61 ad fin.), where the infinitive ὑποταγῆναι ['is stationed'] does not ascribe to the heaven simply a local situation beneath the αἰθήρ ['aether'] but its subordination to it; the same is true of Cicero's corresponding participle

'continentem' ['continuous'], which alludes to the constraint exercised by [240]
the 'ring of light' upon the 'heat' (sc. of the heaven, Aëtius' τὸ πυρῶδες ['the fiery (sc. region)']). The correspondence suggests that Cicero's 'ring of light', which P. 'calls god', is Aëtius' and P.'s αἰθήρ. The identity of the goddess with the αἰθήρ is compatible with the interpretation of the στεφάναι proposed above; it is compatible also with the text of l.3. if ἐν … μέσῳ is understood neither as 'midmost' with Aëtius nor as 'at the centre' with Simplicius but as 'between' (as in μέσσῳ δ' ἀμφοτέρων σκῆπτρα σχέθον ['they held their scepters between the two men'], Hom. H 277), for the αἰθήρ must lie in the plane of the zodiac (fr. 9, 1–2 n.), which lies transversely between the two extra-tropical belts of the οὐρανός ['heaven'] or celestial sphere, touching the one tropic in the sign of Cancer, the other in that of Capricorn (cf. Sixteenth-century armillary sphere, above p. 367). Cicero's report affords a satisfactory explanation of Theophrastus' assertion that P. regarded fire as the originative cause; it also affords some support to Simplicius' criticism, since the goddess is not identical with fire as such but with a formation of it, which had a temporal beginning (frr. 9–10). Aëtius' reference of P.'s τούτων ['these'] to the mixed στεφάναι ['rings'] of l.2 is confirmed but his paraphrase of ἐν … μέσῳ must be regarded as a misunderstanding, perhaps of Stoic origin, which resulted in the concealment of the identity between the goddess and the αἰθήρ. This identity lends a peculiar force to the description in fr. 9, 6 of the οὐρανός as 'led and chained by Necessity', since 'Necessity' is another name for the goddess (Aëtius, ib.), and the line will therefore mean that the daily revolution of the heaven is imparted to it by the surrounding ring of the αἰθήρ.

The personification of the αἰθήρ ['aether'] as female accords with P.'s biological theory (t. 34 etc.) that female animals contain more heat than male. In this correlation P. conflicts with the view ascribed by Aristotle to those Pythagoreans who placed light and male on the same side in the table of opposites. In other respects P.'s view accords with that attributed by the doxographic tradition to Pythagoras (Aët. i, 25, 2, Πυθαγόρας ἀνάγκην ἔφη περικεῖσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ ['Pythagoras said that the world is enclosed by necessity']) and in more detail by the *theologumena arithmeticae* to 'the theologians' (p. 81, 19, τὴν ἀνάγκην οἱ θεολόγοι τῇ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ ἐξωτάτῃ ἄντυγι [241]
ἐπηχοῦσι διηνεκῶς ἐλαύνουσαν καὶ κατεπείγουσαν ἀδαμαντίνῳ καὶ ἀτρύτῳ μάστιγι τὴν σύμπασαν περιδίνησιν … πάντα περιορίζουσα καὶ ἀλλήλοις καταμιγνύουσα καὶ πάλιν διιστάνουσα καὶ κίνησιν καὶ ἀλληλουχίαν ἐμποιοῦσα τοῖς οὖσιν ['the theologians proclaim that necessity continually drives the outermost vault of the entire heaven and urges on the rotation of the whole

[241] with an unwearying whip of adamant … setting boundaries for all things, mingling them with one another and in turn separating them, and creating motion and relatedness in the things that are.']). On the assertion in the latter passage that Necessity encloses the universe and mingles and separates things and lends them motion and relatedness Tannéry commented 'c'est si voisin de Parménide, qu'on doit se demander si cette donnée ne représente pas seulement son opinion' (*Science Hellène,* p. 243 n.); if P.'s αἰθήρ is recognised as annular and as identical with the goddess, the resemblance of the remainder of the passage from the *theologumena* to his opinion is not less close. Equally, when Proclus in his second Hymn speaks of Aphrodite as 'either encircling and holding fast the heaven … or inhabiting the aether above the orbits of sun, moon and planets' (ll.15–17), he may be taken to refer to the Pythagorean (or Parmenidean) goddess, who is named Genesis by Plato but by Plutarch Aphrodite (fr. 13 n.).

If P.'s goddess is identical with the circle of the aether, the basis of his belief in her supremacy may be sought in the significance seen even much later in the movement of the sun, moon and planets in the plane of the ecliptic counter to the daily revolution of the οὐρανός ['heaven']. When Aristotle writes οὐχ ἡ πρώτη φορὰ (sc. the circumpolar revolution) αἰτία ἐστὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ τὸν λοξὸν κύκλον ['the cause of coming to be and perishing is not the primary motion (sc. the circumpolar revolution) but motion along the inclined circle'] (*gen. corr.* ii, 10, 336^{a}31–32; cf. *metaph.* Λ 5, 1071^{a}15–17), he in effect gives a non-mythological version of P.'s goddess. A more general statement of the same theory is given by Adrastus ap. Theon. Smyrn. p. 150, 7 Hiller: νῦν δὲ τροπαὶ καὶ ἰσημερίαι πρόσοδοί τε καὶ ἀποχωρήσεις κατά τε ὕψος καὶ πλάτος μάλιστα μὲν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (sc. τῶν πλανωμένων), τάς τε ὥρας διαφόρους ἐπιτελοῦσι καὶ τὴν ἐνταῦθα πᾶσαν ἐργάζονται μεταβολὴν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ ἀλλοίωσιν ['But in fact, the solstices and equinoxes and the approaches and recessions in longitude and latitude—especially those of the sun and moon but to a lesser degree also of the others (sc. the planets)—cause the different seasons and bring about all change, generation and alteration'].

In whatever aspect she is considered, the goddess is for P. an element in human experience and not in τὸ ἐόν ['Being']. There is therefore no incompatibility between her identification with the αἰθήρ ['aether'] and the ascription of a temporal origin to the latter in frr. 9–10.

The concluding sentence in Simplicius' account of the goddess asserts that 'she conducts the souls now from the visible to the invisible and now back

again'. This information Simplicius certainly derives from P.'s Δόξαι ['Beliefs'], since he includes it with the description of the goddess which he says he is obliged to give because of contemporary ignorance τῶν παλαιῶν γραμμάτων ['of ancient writings'], sc. of the text of P. (t. 207). It strikingly confirms the statement of Numenius reported by Porphyry (t. 133) that P. referred to the two gateways in the heaven through which souls descend εἰς γένεσιν ['to birth'] and ascend εἰς θεούς ['to the gods']. Numenius' words were held by Diels to allude to the gateway described in the prologue to the poem; it is clear that they do so, but likely from Simplicius that their primary reference is to the Δόξαι ['Beliefs']. P.'s gateways belong evidently, as Numenius remarks, to the same tradition as the two celestial χάσματα ['openings'] in Plato's myth of Er, through which the souls ascend from and descend to the place of judgement. Numenius cites the authority of 'the theologians' for locating the two gates in the zodiacal signs of Capricorn and Cancer. He associates this view with the representation of the universe as a cave, and appears to ascribe it to both Plato and P. In the myth of Er however Plato does not depict the universe as a cave, while P. treats it rather as analogous to Tartarus (frr. 1, 11; 8, 27–28 nn.). In the prologue P. describes the gate through which he passed as situated at the boundary of the universe (fr. 1, 11 n.) and as giving access to the αἰθήρ ['aether'] (fr. 1, 13 n.); there is no evidence that he located either gate more precisely in the Δόξαι ['Beliefs']. [241] [242]

3–6 If P.'s goddess is rightly identified with the αἰθήρ ['aether'], his characterisation of her in ἣ πάντα κυβερνᾷ ['who governs all things'] may be regarded as an echo of Heraclitus' phrase κυβερνῆσαι πάντα διὰ πάντων ['steers all things through all things'] (fr. 41), which similarly denotes the rational power of the divine fire (cf. fr. 64, τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός ['thunderbolt steers all things']). The rôle of pilot of the universe had been ascribed to the Infinite by Anaximander (*FdV* 12A15) with an allusion to Homer's epithet of Zeus ὑψίζυγος ['high-benched'] (cf. schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 75, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ Ζεὺς ὑψίζυγος · ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ ὑψίστου ζυγοῦ καθήμενος ὁ κυβερνήτης περιφέρει τοὺς οἴακας ['Homer's "high-benched Zeus' is like this: for the steersman is seated on the highest bench when he manipulates the rudder handles']: *see* Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 182 f.). P. thus places his δαίμων ['divinity'] directly in the Ionian tradition about the supreme cosmic divinity, which was still maintained by Diogenes of Apollonia (fr. 5). The verb ἄρχει ['initiates'] (l.4) alludes again to Anaximander (cf. *FdV* 12A15, B1), and μητίσατο ['devised'] in fr. 13 to Homer, in whom μητιέτα ['wise counsellor'] is a standing epithet of Zeus.

[242] P.'s divinity exercises her power by bringing about 'hateful birth and union'; as the means to this she 'first of all the gods devised love' (fr. 13). The epithet στυγερός ['hateful'] belongs in Homer to disease, war, darkness and death; its use here of τόκου καὶ μίξιος ['birth and union'] is (in spite of Zeller and Diels) unmistakably Pythagorean (cf. Introd. Sect. 4, fr. 1, 11 n.).

In l.4 Mullach's correction (πάντῃ) of the manuscript reading πάντα (cf. Aesch. *Eum*. 967, *suppl*. 88 [omnipotence of God])[50] is more attractive than Karsten's insertion of ἦ, which was adopted by Diels, but the text remains uncertain. πάντων (Mo) may be right, but normal with ἄρχει would be πᾶσιν.[51]

FRAGMENT 13

[243] This line is cited first by Plato in a passage which, though it was admirably elucidated by Stallbaum, has continued to suffer misapprehension and alteration (t. 1, where the word-order is that of the mss.). Plato puts the quotation on the lips of Phaedrus who, after abbreviating and paraphrasing verses from Hesiod's *Theogony*, continues Παρμενίδης δὲ τὴν γένεσιν λέγει πρώτιστον μὲν ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων ['Parmenides says of generation: "First of all the gods she devised love"'].

The use of λέγω ['say'] with an accusative personal object, which refers to the subject of a direct quotation, with the sense 'says of x as follows,' occurs in *Phaedo* 94[d] (Ὅμηρος … λέγει τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, 'στῆθος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ, κτλ' ['Homer … says that Odysseus 'struck his breast and rebuked his heart, saying …'].) and, as Heindorf noted, already in *Il.* Z 479–480 (καὶ ποτέ τις εἴποι, 'πατρός γ' ὅδε πολλὸν ἀμείνων', ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα ['and one day may someone say, "he is a far better man than his father," when he comes back from war']). These parallels indicate that Plato regarded γένεσις ['generation'] as subject to P.'s μητίσατο ['devised'] and, as was first proposed by K. F. Hermann, as a personification of Becoming in general (cf. Stallbaum's note and Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* ii, 215[1]). Aristotle (t. 25) ignores this personification, as he ignores P.'s goddess entirely. It is not necessary to suppose, but it is not unlikely, that P. himself used Γένεσις ['Generation'] as a proper name though the goddess herself has maintained in fr. 8, 21 that the noun is strictly a name of nothing.

Simplicius (t. 207) expressly identifies the subject of μητίσατο ['devised'] with the governing divinity of fr. 12, 3. The verb characterises the goddess

50. The parenthetical remark was not in the first edition. (RMcK)
51. The final sentence in this paragraph was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

as a rational power and, as Plato implies, as creator not parent. If we may [243]
believe Philodemus (t. 47), the divinities created by her were endowed with human πάθη ['affections'], while she herself was ἄψυχος ['inanimate']. Since P. considered the soul as comprising νόος ['mind'] and θυμός ['spirit'] (Introd. Sect. 3 (iii) and fr. 5, 5–6 n.), this implies that she was regarded as pure intelligence, which accords with her prophetic rôle in relation to P. and with the doxographic appellation of her as πρόνοια ['providence'] (t. 58).

Plutarch, who also cites fr. 13, paraphrases it as saying that Eros is 'eldest of the works of Aphrodite' (t. 111). P.'s goddess is not elsewhere so named, but the lines from Proclus' Hymn to Aphrodite referred to in the note on fr. 12 and Menander's statement (tt. 151–152) that P. gave detailed allegorical interpretations of the Olympian pantheon suggest that Plutarch's name is authentic.

The goddess governs by 'initiating' generation (ἄρχει, fr. 12, 4) through the forces which she creates, and which (in Simplicius' phrase t. 204 ad fin.) 'complete Becoming'. Among these forces Eros is primary. Two others are named by Cicero ('quippe qui bellum, qui discordiam, qui cupiditatem ceteraque generis eiusdem ad deum revocat' ['since he deifies war, discord, desire, and other things of that sort'], t. 54); these again (cf. fr. 12, 3–6 n.) reveal the influence of Heraclitus, who had written πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους [244]
['war is the father of all and king of all, and some he shows as gods, others as men'] (fr. 53) and εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐόντα ξυνὸν καὶ δίκην ἔριν καὶ γινόμενα πάντα κατ᾽ ἔριν καὶ χρεών ['it is necessary to know that war is common and justice is strife and that all things happen in accordance with strife and necessity'] (fr. 80). Aristotle's reference to Eros as 'efficient cause' in P.'s physics (t. 25) neglects these other powers as well as the goddess herself.

FRAGMENTS 14–15

The information provided by the doxographic tradition about P.'s theory of the moon is that it was formed out of the denser or cold mixture in the galaxy by separation (t. 68) and is composed of a mixture of 'air' and fire (tt. 61, 72). It is of the same size as the sun (t. 70) and is illuminated by it (tt. 70, 71). The report (t. 69) that P. regarded the moon as 'fiery' may be regarded as a misleading abbreviation of the assertion that it contains fire as well as 'air', and as emphasising the fact that it appears to have a faint light of its own (cf. Diels, *PL* 112). The dark element in the mixture is the cause of the moon's earthlike appearance (t. 72). Cicero's attribution to P.

[244] of the view that 'sidera' ['stars'] are gods (t. 54) alludes to moon and sun as well as stars, as previously in the case of Alcmeon (*de nat. deorum* i, 11, 27).

In fr. 9 P. describes the moon as round and alludes to its monthly journey through the zodiac (fr. 9, 4–5 n.). The phrase περὶ γαῖαν ἀλώμενον ['wandering … around the earth'] in fr. 14 refers to the same motion (cf. the name πλάνητες (ἀστέρες) ['wandering (sc. stars)'], which in Greek geocentric parlance included both sun and moon).

Fragments 14 and 15 are cited by Plutarch, not to demonstrate P.'s astronomical theory, but for their ethical and illustrative quality. Plutarch has no doubt however that P. thought that the moon derives its light from the sun. This view, asserted also by Aëtius (t. 70), was rejected by Tannéry (*Science Hellène,* p. 216) on the ground that the discovery of the moon's illumination by the sun is attributed elsewhere, and most notably by Plato, *Crat.* 409[a-b], to Anaxagoras. The decision must rest on P.'s own words.

Fragment 15 is cited twice by Plutarch (tt. 109, 112), in the first passage to illustrate the virtue of voluntary obedience to a superior. That this notion was in fact present in the original context is likely from Empedocles' imitation ἀθρεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἄνακτος ἐναντίον ἁγέα κύκλον ['gazes straight at the pure circle of her lord'] (fr. 47), where the superiority of the sun is expressed in the word ἄνακτος ['lord']. Tannéry maintains that fr. 15 'indicates merely that the luminous face of the moon is constantly turned towards the sun, an observation which is clearly very important, but which differs essentially from the discovery of the cause'. Plutarch thought otherwise (t. 112), and it is difficult to see why, if P. thought that the moon's light was its own and that its inferiority consisted in being merely less
[245] bright than the sun, he should see any virtue in its constantly facing the sun; the expression 'always gazing on the rays of the sun' plainly suggests that the moon is inferior because it lacks illumination and faces the sun that it may receive it.

This is confirmed by fr. 14, which is cited by Plutarch (t. 114) as implying that, though the moon is not the sun, it is not therefore unreal but is an illuminated body. P.'s phrase ἀλλότριον φῶς ['alien light'] is a play on Homer's ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ὁρώμενος ἀλλότριος φώς ['a man from abroad, judging by your size and handsome appearance'] (σ 219), prompted perhaps by the participle ἀλώμενον ['wandering'], since a vagabond is an alien; an ἀλλότριον φῶς is therefore a light not originating in the places through which it travels. Tannéry's proposal to understand the phrase as referring to the origin of the lunar fire in the milky way is both unplausible in itself and conclusively refuted by Empedocles' imitation

κυκλοτερὲς περὶ γαῖαν ἀλώμενον ἀλλότριον φῶς ['a round alien light spins around the earth'] (fr. 45). It is not disputed that Empedocles thought that the moon's light was borrowed and, if so, he can hardly have used the expression 'alien light' of the moon with any other implication. Equally he cannot have appropriated P.'s striking adaptation from Homer in a different sense from P.; still less can he have borrowed it to express a theorem taken over from Anaxagoras. The weakness of Tannéry's case is shown by his suggestion that fr. 14 is spurious and is imitated from Empedocles. [245]

It may be taken as certain therefore that P. regarded the moon's light as borrowed from the sun. According to the doxographic tradition this theory was of Pythagorean origin (cf. t. 71, where it is attributed to Thales, whose name may be discounted, and then to Pythagoras and P.). Plato does not in fact assert that Anaxagoras discovered the theory but that he maintained it (ὃ ἐκεῖνος νεωστὶ ἔλεγεν ['what he was recently saying'], *Crat.* l.c.); possibly his originality lay in using the theory to give a true account of lunar eclipses.

Since P. describes the moon as 'round' (κύκλωπος, fr. 9, 4), it is likely that he made use of the observation that it always faces the light of the sun in order to account for its phases. These can be satisfactorily explained only if the moon is regarded as spherical. It seems probable that P. believed it to be a sphere like the earth; there is however no direct evidence on this point and, since Empedocles, who accepted the theory of its illumination from the sun, regarded it as lentoid, the matter remains uncertain.

P. describes the moon not only as an alien light but as one which is νυκτιφαές ['darkly bright']. This word is usually understood as 'shining in the night', a commonplace for which P. would hardly have coined a new epithet (the word is cited from only one other place, ὄργια ['rites'] νυκτιφαῆ, *Orph. H.* 54, 10). The analogy of other nouns compounded with -φαής ['bright'/'shining'], (e.g. φοινικοφαής, κεραυνοφαής, ἠλεκτροφαής, χρυσοφαής) suggests that the sense is rather 'shining like night'. 'Night' is P.'s regular name for the dense element; the phrase will therefore signify the luminosity of a body which is predominantly solid or dark. A similar sense, but without P.'s allusion to reflected light, is expressed by Euripides' phrase μελαμφαὲς … ἔρεβος ['black-shining … darkness'] (*Hel.* 518) and Aristophanes' parody ὄρφνα κελαινοφαής ['darkness of night, blackly-shining'] (*ran.* 1331). The doxographic assertion (t. 72) that P. called the moon ψευδοφανῆ ['false-shining'] (made also in the same chapter for Anaxagoras) derives perhaps from an original ψευδοφαῆ, ['false-shining'] which occurs in the false attribution of the theory to Anaximander [246]

[246] by Diogenes Laertius ii, 1 (cf. Diels, *PL* pp. 112–114), and may be a paraphrase by Theophrastus of νυκτιφαῆ; both expressions ('darkly shining' and 'falsely shining') allude to the view that the moon is a solid body which shines, as regards its phases, with reflected light. The paradox of a darkness which shines is closely paralleled by that in fr. 9, 2–3 (n.) of the unseen activity of the brilliant torch of the sun.

P.'s use in in fr. 14 of the Attic contraction φῶς ['light'] may be compared with his use of φανόν ['bright'] (fr. 8, 41); unlike the latter, however, it is motivated by the play on φώς ['man'], and the contraction, though unparalleled in epic, is presupposed by the protracted form φόως in the traditional text of Homer.

If Jaeger's thesis (*RhM* 100 (1957) 42–47) were acceptable, that the word νυκτικρυφές ['night-hidden'] in Aristotle, *metaph.* Z 15, 1040^{a}31 is a quotation from P., the interpretation of νυκτιφαές proposed above would be refuted, for the two epithets would have to be understood as antithetical. Jaeger's suggestion however is purely speculative. Doubtless νυκτικρυφές is a quotation, but there is no evidence to suggest that it derives from P.; the probable sense of νυκτιφαές affords a positive reason for supposing that it does not.

The whole verse is a remarkable instance of P.'s trenchant and creative use of the epic language.

FRAGMENT 16 (15A DK)

The 'roots' of the earth are familiar from Hesiod (*theog.* 728) and Xenophanes (ἐπ᾽ ἄπειρον αὐτὴν ἐρριζῶσθαι ['it is rooted infinitely far down'], Ar. *cael.* ii, 13, 294^{a}22). P. does not however like them conceive of the earth as extending 'downwards' (τὸ κάτω δ᾽ ἐς ἄπειρον ἱκνεῖται ['but the lower part goes down without limit'], Xenoph. fr. 28, 2 Diels), but as a sphere in the centre of the universe (Theophr. t. 41). His description of it as 'rooted in water' must therefore refer to subterranean rivers or seas such as those imagined by Plato, *Phaedo* 111^{d} sq., where the same theory of a centrally poised spherical earth is maintained as was held by P. This will still be true if the epithet refers to land-masses and not to the whole earth. The cosmological or geographical context of fr. 16 is uncertain; it is possible that P. explained earthquakes as due to the movement of water under
[247] the surface of the earth, as Thales, Democritus and the Stoics are said to have done (Aët. iii, 15). For the trenchant neologism cf. νυκτιφαὲς ['darkly bright'], fr. 14.

FRAGMENT 17 (16 DK) [247]

These four lines are cited by both Aristotle (t. 28) and Theophrastus (t. 45); the latter clearly has his master's argument and citation before him, but quotes the lines for a different purpose and from an independent text.

The context of Aristotle's citation is a discussion of the Protagorean thesis that all beliefs are equally true and equally false, which he derives from the combined assumptions that perception is understanding (φρόνησιν) and that it is a process of physical change. These assumptions he illustrates by allusion to Democritus, to Empedocles (frr. 106, 108) and to P. (fr. 17).

Theophrastus cites fr. 17 as, with its adjacent lines, the only passage in P.'s poem which suggests a theory of perception. Having included P. among those who hold that perception is of like by like he goes on to say that he offers no definite account of it, but simply asserts that knowing (τὴν γνῶσιν) or intelligence (τὴν διάνοιαν) differs according to which of the two elements (warm and cold) predominates in the individual, and that that which derives from the warm element is better and purer, though like the other it requires a certain proportion of the opposite. These assertions Theophrastus supports by citing fr. 17, in elucidation of which he remarks that P. speaks of perceiving and understanding (τὸ φρονεῖν) as the same, and consequently derives remembering and forgetting from the two elements through their mixture. He remarks that P. does not say whether understanding is possible if the elements are equal in the mixture, or what its condition would then be, but that it is clear that he regards each of the opposites in itself as cause of perception, since he asserts that a corpse owing to its deficiency of fire has no perception of light, heat or articulate sound, but does perceive their contraries, cold and silence. He adds that in general P. held that everything there is (πᾶν τὸ ὄν) has an awareness (τινὰ γνῶσιν) and by so saying cuts off the difficulties attendant on his view.

It appears from Theophrastus' summary that fr. 17 was immediately preceded or succeeded by an assertion that the understanding which derives from the warm element is better and purer than that deriving from the cold, although it requires an admixture of cold. In view of Theophrastus' account of the latter awareness it seems likely that P.'s assertion about the better and purer understanding was couched as a proposition about the awareness of living as opposed to that of dead men, and that it is to such an assertion that the initial γὰρ ['for'] of fr. 17 and the adverb ἑκάστοτε ['at [248]
each moment'] allude. Theophrastus' concluding remark suggests that P. asserted explicitly that 'all that is has some awareness'. Empedocles' lines

[248] τῇδε μὲν οὖν ἰότητι Τύχης πεφρόνηκεν ἅπαντα ['in this way by the will of chance all things think'] (fr. 103) and πάντα γὰρ ἴσθι φρόνησιν ἔχειν καὶ νώματος αἶσαν ['for know that all things possess thought and a portion of intelligence'] (fr. 110, 10) may therefore be modelled on lines of P.

1 ἑκάστοτ' ['at each moment']: this reading, given by the two oldest mss. of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (EJ) and by Theophrastus, may be regarded as certainly correct. The reading ἑκάστῳ in the next oldest ms. of Aristotle (A^b) is simply a corruption of it, and ἕκαστος (E^2, Alexander) a later correction. 'Freilich prosaisches Wort, zuerst bei Herodot' (Diels, *PL* 112), but the whole fragment is versified prose.

κρῆσιν (codd. κρᾶσιν) ['temper']: Stephanus' κρᾶσις ['mixture'], adopted by some modern editors, would be justifiable only if the text of Aristotle and Theophrastus were untenable. Diels rightly supposed the subject of ἔχῃ ['has'] to be νόος ['mind'].

μελέων πολυπλάγκτων ['of the vagrant body']: Aristotle's πολυκάμπτων ['much bent'] is clearly due to citation from memory and influenced by Homer's ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι ['in my crooked limbs'] (Λ 669 etc.). μελέων means simply 'body'. If it meant 'hauptsächlich die Sinnes-organe' (Diels, *PL* 112, 'sensus', *PPF),* it would be right to understand πολυπλάγκτων ['vagrant'] as alluding directly to the mental aberration (πλαγκτὸν νόον ['mind astray']) described in fr. 5; there is no warrant however for thus narrowing the sense of μελέων ['limbs'], still less for Rostagni's notion (*Il verbo di Pitagora,* 109[1]) that it could mean 'elements', as in Empedocles' allusions to the cosmic god (frr. 30, 1; 35, 11). The epithet is therefore to be taken literally, as in Homer (e.g. ρ 511, πολυπλάγκτῳ γὰρ ἔοικε ['he appears like a much travelled man']); it alludes to the individual's changes of environment, which, it is implied, lead to changes in his physical constitution and thereby in his mentality. The theory is a development, as has often been remarked, of the view expressed in Odysseus' lines in Homer (σ 136–137),

τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
οἷον ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,
['the mind of mortal men varies with
what the father of men and gods brings each day']

and Archilochus' imitation (frr. 131–132 West). In the fifth century the sentiment reappears in Aeschylus, fr. 399N[2] (where ἐφήμερα should not be altered to ἐφ' ἡμέραν) and in one of Pindar's last poems (*Pyth.* viii. 95 sq., cf. Introd. Sect. 5, H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens,* 2nd edition 23 sq. and Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes,* 191). Pindar's version

implies that 'it cannot be said of man, a creature whose thoughts and feelings change with each day's changing fortunes, that he either is or is not the same person for more than a day' (Burton, l.c.). The allusion to men as neither being anything nor not being anything but as 'the dream of a shadow', distinguishes Pindar's version of the topic from all others and reveals the influence of Eleatic ontology (cf. fr. 5, 7–9 n.). P.'s influence may be seen also in the allusion to a light bestowed from heaven, which refers rather to mental illumination than to material prosperity (cf. ll.2–4 n.), and to a 'life of peace', which has Pythagorean associations (cf. t. 96). [248] [249]

P.'s identification of understanding and constitution in human beings was adopted by Empedocles in the verses cited by Aristotle along with those of P.

2 παρέστηκεν ['is present']: so Theophrastus. Diels preferred Aristotle's παρίσταται on the grounds that the perfect tense is unsuitable and that Empedocles' imitation (fr. 108) renders the present παρίσταται certain. These arguments cannot stand against the facts (i) that Aristotle was quoting P. from memory (cf. n. on πολυπλάγκτων ['vagrant'], l.1) and may well have unconsciously assimilated the tense of P.'s verb to that used by Empedocles, which he had just written, and (ii) that παρίστᾱται (whether written παρίσταται or παρίστηται) cannot be justified by either of the parallels cited by Diels (cf. Schwyzer, *GG* i, 687[1]). ἐπίστηται in *Il.* Π 243 is probably subjunctive; on ἔρᾱσαι *see* Gow on Theocr. i, 78 and Snell, *Glotta* xxxvii (1958), 316. We have then to accept and interpret Theophrastus' παρέστηκεν. This is best understood in the light of Homer's use of it. The form occurs twice only in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* the dying Hector (Π 853) and Thetis (Ω 132) both prophesy to Achilles ἀλλά τοι ἤδη ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή ['but already death is present nearby for you, and powerful fate']. These famous passages are likely to have provided a pattern for P.'s use of παρέστηκεν to denote the presence of νοῦς ['mind']. P.'s phrase however is normal fifth and fourth century usage: cf. e.g. Hippocr. *de morb. sacr.* 18, ὁ φόβος παρέστηκε μέχρι ἀπέλθῃ (sc. ἡ χολή ['fear is present until it (sc. bile) departs']); Soph. *O.T.* 633, τὸ νῦν παρεστὸς νεῖκος ['the present quarrel']; Aristoph. *eq.* 399, τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ παρεστηκότος ['his present color']; Pl. *lg.* 962[d], ὁ νῦν παρεστηκὼς ἡμῖν λόγος ['our present argument'], etc.

2–4 The second of the three sentences in the fragment is not paraphrased by Theophrastus and it is not clear how he understood it. Alexander's treatment (t. 137) of τὸ γὰρ αὐτό ἐστιν ['for it is the same'] and τὸ γὰρ πλέον ἐστὶ νόημα

[249] ['for the preponderant is the thought the mind conceives'] as comments by Aristotle, and not part of P.'s text, may be ignored. The key to P.'s meaning lies in recognising that the phrase ὁ αὐτὸς ὅσπερ ['the same as'] is a regular identifying formula, in which the relative clause defines the reference of the pronoun. The following instances will make this clear: ἐκ δὲ τοκήων τῶν αὐτῶν οἵ περ τέκον Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα ['from the same parents that bred king Alcinoos'] (η 55); ἄρχε δὲ τῷ αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἥν περ οἱ ἄλλοι ['on this he set out on the same way that the others (sc. took)'] (ϑ 107); ναύαρχος μέν νυν ἐπῆν ὡυτὸς ὅς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ['the commander of the fleet was the same as at Artemision'] (Hdt. viii, 42); τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ['in
[250] the same way as a little before'] (Isocr. *or.* iv, 66); δόξειεν ἂν τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸ κρῖναι τίς ὀρθῶς ἰάτρευκεν οὗπερ καὶ τὸ ἰατρεῦσαι ['it might seem that the same person that can judge who has correctly healed can also heal'] (Ar. *pol.* iii, 10, 1281^{b}40); τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχον δύναμιν ἥνπερ τοῖς ἐναίμοις τὸ αἷμα ['with the same power as blood has in blooded animals'] (*part. an.* i, 5, 645^{b}9, cf. iv, 13, 695^{b}11; *EN* v, 7, 1131^{b}30; *an. pr.* i, 14, 33^{a}9). The question remains, which thing is identified in terms of which? The grammatical possibilities are (a) to take μελέων φύσις ['the nature of the body'] as subject to ἐστιν ['is'], in which case the subject to φρονέει may be *either* μελέων φύσις again (or an indefinite τις), ὅπερ then being an accusative governed by φρονέει, *or* the relative ὅπερ, (b) to take νόος ['mind'] as subject to ἐστιν, in which case the subject to φρονέει must be μελέων φύσις. The senses resulting from these possibilities will be: (a) the physical constitution of the individual is identifiable as *either* his or its understanding *or* that which understands, (b) mind (νόος) is identifiable as the understanding possessed by the physical constitution. Of these the alternatives under (a) may be excluded at once, since they contradict the sense of the first sentence (ll.1–2), which makes νόος a function of physical temperament. The second version (b), which identifies mind by reference to the body's awareness or intelligence, alone satisfies both idiom and context; the words ἀνθρώποισιν καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ παντί ['for all and each'] qualify the assertion as true both for all human beings and for each individual. The ground for the assertion is then given in the most general terms in the third clause τὸ γὰρ πλέον ἐστὶ νόημα ['for the preponderant is the thought the mind conceives']. This asserts an identity between any individual νόημα and τὸ πλέον ['the preponderant']. By νόημα P. means the thought or understanding produced by the activity of thinking (νόος, νοεῖν), as in fr. 8, 50, where it refers to the whole argument about Being. By τὸ πλέον he means the preponderant element in the individual's physical make-up; the identification with this of the individual's thought appears to be an

aspect of the view ascribed to P. by Theophrastus that 'everything there is [250]
has some awareness.' This assumption perhaps derives from P.'s ascription of divinity to the two Forms (cf. fr. 8, 55 n.). Theophrastus' paraphrase δυοῖν ὄντοιν στοιχείοιν κατὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον ἐστὶν ἡ γνῶσις ['there being two elements, cognition is in accordance with the one that predominates'] gives the substance of this sentence. Attempts have been made by some modern scholars to understand πλέον as 'full', as in fr. 11, 3; this is incompatible not only with Theophrastus' paraphrase but with the context, which concerns the proportion in which the two Forms are mingled.

Having determined the sense of its parts we may now consider that of the argument as a whole. If a deductive arrangement of the steps is substituted for P.'s analytic formulation, it runs as follows: the preponderant physical element in any individual is the individual's thought; hence for all human beings and every human being, mind or thinking is identical with the intelligence possessed by the individual's physical constitution; hence at any given time mind is present to human beings according to their physical composition at that time. The argument moves from the nature of νόημα [251]
['thought'] to that of human νόος ['mind'] in general, and thence to that of human νόος at each instant. It probably moved thence to the distinction between the awarenesses of the living and the dead body alluded to by Theophrastus and expressly named by him 'perception'.

It is conspicuous that neither Aristotle nor Theophrastus in their accounts of P.'s epistemology in fr. 17 uses P.'s nouns νόος and νόημα but only his verb φρονέει and its related noun φρόνησις. Aristotle asserts that, like Empedocles and Democritus, P. supposed that perception is intelligence (φρόνησιν) and is a physical alteration (ἀλλοίωσιν); Theophrastus follows his language closely, asserting that P. spoke of perceiving and understanding (τὸ φρονεῖν) as the same. It is certain that neither thought that P. regarded knowledge of τὸ ἐόν ['Being'] as perceptual, and clear that both refer fr. 17 solely to his theory of knowledge of the sensible world. All that they assert with regard to this knowledge is that P. made no clear distinction between knowing and perceiving, whence Aristotle includes him among those who regarded no human belief as truer than any other. This was in fact P.'s position, since he regarded all beliefs as 'deceptive' (fr. 8, 50–52 n.). It represents however only a part of the meaning of fr. 17. It is *prima facie* unlikely that P. employs the terms νόος and νόημα in these lines in a sense incompatible with that which they bear in his account of the journey of persuasion. This unlikelihood is greatly enhanced by his earlier allusions to νόος in the phenomenal world, e.g. his characterisation in fr. 5, 6 of philosophers who accept the

[251] evidence of the senses as misdirecting their intelligence (νόον), not as lacking intelligence, and his attribution in the prologue of knowledge of the 'unchanging heart of reality', and so of νόος, to the goddess of the region of light. Fragment 17 should therefore be concerned with the physiological basis of the intelligence, of which the proper use is analysed in the account of the journey of persuasion.

According to Theophrastus P. identified mind (νοῦν) and soul (tt. 41, 78) and said that the soul was πυρώδη ['fiery'] (t. 76). It is unlikely that these assertions occurred in this form in the poem, but their tenour accords with Theophrastus' report that death (like sleep, old age and forgetfulness) occurs διὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν τοῦ πυρός ['on account of the absence of fire'] (tt. 45, 86, 89), for it is certain that P. believed that at death the soul leaves the body (fr. 12, 3 n.). Macrobius is no doubt right in saying (t. 92) that P. thought that even the soul contains a proportion of 'earth', since it seems likely that he distinguished between the quality of intelligence belonging to animals (t. 78), human beings and the goddess. This likelihood is supported by the apocalyptic form of the poem: P. is translated to the region
[252] of pure light by the daughters of the sun, who symbolise the moral power of the intelligence in guiding the θυμός ['spirit'] away from terrestrial life along the 'way to the goddess' (Introd. Sect. 3 (iii)); but the topography of the journey of persuasion is revealed only by the goddess herself. The Homeric overtones of the verb παρέστηκεν ['is present'] in l.2 thus acquire their full significance; it represents P.'s experience of νόος ['mind'] as other than a subjective awareness and (like 'death and forceful fate' in Homer) as a power transcending the human individual, which exists in its pure form in the phenomenal world only in the person of the goddess. Even this superhuman νόος remains however a phenomenal power and radically other than τὸ ἐόν ['Being'].

FRAGMENT 18 (17 DK)

These words are quoted by Galen (t. 125) to substantiate his assertion, derived perhaps from a Stoic source, that P. was among the early thinkers who said that male children are conceived on the right side of the womb. This view is attributed by Aristotle (*gen. an.* iv, 1, 763^{b}30 sq.) to 'Anaxagoras and other physiologists' and associated by him with the theses that the distinction between male and female exists in the seed before conception, that seed is provided only by the male parent (the view propagated by Apollo in Aeschylus, *Eum.* 658 sq., οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἡ κεκλημένη τέκνου τοκεύς, τροφὸς

δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου κτλ. ['she who is called mother is not a parent of the child, but only a nurse of the newly planted fetus'])
[252]
and that male seed comes from the right, female from the left. P. however followed Alcmeon of Croton in maintaining that both parents contribute seed (fr. 19, 1; t. 50).

According to the report of Censorinus (who drew on Varro, who made use of the *Vetusta Placita*) P. originated the view that the sex of the child is determined by the issue of a conflict between the seed from the father and that from the mother (t. 51). Aristotle ascribes this theory to Democritus (ib. 764^{a}7 sq.), and P.'s own words in fr. 19 show that he envisaged a conflict only in abnormal cases, the embryo being formed normally by the union of the δυνάμεις ['powers'] of the two kinds of seed. Censorinus' derivation of Democritus' view from P. must therefore be rejected, and fr. 18 may be understood, as it was by Galen, as implying that the sex of the embryo is determined according to whether it lies on the right or left of the womb. The view associated with this theory by Aristotle, that the father contributes both kinds of seed, is excluded however for P. not only by the first verse of fr. 19 but by the implication in the last verse that in normal human beings only one of the two kinds is present, according as they are male or female. It follows that the passage from Lactantius (*de opif. dei,* 12, 12) cited by Diels (*Dox.* 194, *FdV* 28A54), in which the other view is assumed, cannot relate to P., though it may possibly derive from Anaxagoras.
[253]

In his chapter πῶς ἄρρενα γεννᾶται καὶ θήλεα ['How males and females are generated'] Aëtius reports that Anaxagoras and Parmenides said that 'seed from the right is deposited on the right side of the womb, that from the left on the left; if the deposition occurs conversely (sc. from right to left or *vice versa),* females are produced' (t. 84). Since as an aetiology of sex-differentiation this is both incompatible with fr. 18 and evidently incomplete, the concluding words are justly characterised by Diels as 'truncated or corrupt' (*Dox.* 194). The supplements which he proposes, <τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα> γίνεσθαι <θηλύτερα, τὰ δὲ> θήλεα <ἀρρενικώτερα> ['males become more feminine and females more masculine'], or γίνεσθαι <ἀρρενοθήλεα> ['become male-females'], are influenced however by the passage from Lactantius and by his own unacceptable interpretation of fr. 19. Now Censorinus and Aëtius agree in reporting that P. derived the resemblance of children to their parents from the side of origin of the seed ('when the seed is separated from the right of the womb, they are like their father, when from the left, like their mother', Aët., t. 85; 'when the seed is produced from the right, the sons are like their father, when from the left, like their mother', Censor., t. 52). Both statements are summary and incomplete, but they suggest that the conclusion of t. 84

[253] should be supplemented by (e.g.): γίνεσθαι θήλεά <τε τῷ πατρὶ ὅμοια καὶ ἄρρενα τῇ μητρί> ['females are generated that resemble their father and males that resemble their mother']; cf. Ar. *gen. an.* iv, 3, 769[a]1 sq. P.'s account of the genetic relation of children to their parents will then be as follows: seed from the right and seed from the right produce boys like their father; from left and left, girls like their mother; from left and right, boys like their mother; from right and left, girls like their father.

The original form of P.'s verse is uncertain. It is quoted unmetrically by Galen, probably after his source. Karsten's restoration is simpler and better than that proposed in his text of Galen by Wenkebach (δεξιτεροῖσι κόρους, λαιοῖσιν δ' αὖ < κτίσε> κούρας).

FRAGMENT 19 (18 DK)

These lines were cited (t. 124) in his treatise περὶ ὀξέων καὶ χρονίων παθῶν ['On acute and chronic affections'] by Soranus of Ephesus, which survives complete only in the fifth century Latin version by Caelius Aurelianus. Soranus, who taught in Rome and Alexandria under Trajan and Hadrian, was affected by Stoic influences and probably derived P.'s lines from a Stoic author, possibly from Posidonius. The ease with which (*pace* Diels, *PL* 114) Caelius' Latin verses can be turned into Greek suggests that his claim to have translated P. closely ('ut potui simili modo' ['as closely as I could']) is justified.

The six lines were cited by Soranus to illustrate the view of homosexuality
[254] held by the numerous theorists who 'genuinam dicunt esse passionem et propterea in posteros venire cum semine' ['say that it is an inborn condition, and this is why it is transmitted to offspring along with the seed']. So far as it goes, Soranus' summary of them is accurate. Diels argued that he had transferred the passage from a different context and that P. was concerned simply to explain the origin of either 'harmlos weibische Männer (γύνανδροι) und männliche Weiber (viragines)' (*PL* 116), 'nulla libidinis notione adiecta' (*PPF* 72), or hermaphrodites. He is refuted by the language of ll.5–6 and in particular by the Homeric allusion, which is transparent even in Caelius' translation, and which implies an illustration from the relation between Achilles and Patroclus (*see* n. on ll.4–6).

The gist of P.'s lines is that both parents contribute seed, which is formed from the blood; each of the two kinds of seed has a 'potency', which, when the seeds mingle, normally combines with the other to form one potency. This then fashions well-constituted bodies by maintaining a due harmony.

As evidence P. observes that if, when the seeds are mingled, the potencies conflict instead of uniting, the offspring will eventually be cursed with the possession of both male and female seed. [254]

1 This verse confirms the accuracy of the doxographic tradition that P. held that seed is contributed by both parents (tt. 50, 85). This was the dominant view from Alcmeon of Croton onwards, though it was rejected by Anaxagoras and Diogenes of Apollonia, who confined the female role to providing τὸν τόπον ['the place'] (Ar. *gen. an.* iv, 1, 763^{b}30). Aristotle's compromise between the two views is based on his general theory of causes (εἰ οὖν τὸ ἄρρεν ἐστὶν ὡς κινοῦν καὶ ποιοῦν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ᾗ θῆλυ ὡς παθητικόν, εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἄρρενος γονὴν τὸ θῆλυ ἂν συμβάλλοιτο οὐ γονὴν ἀλλ᾽ ὕλην ['if, then, the male has the active and productive role while the female as such has the passive role, the female will contribute to the male sperm not sperm but matter'], ib. i, 20, 729^{a}28).

2–3 Caelius' translation of these lines is not completely lucid. It is clear from ll.4–5 that 'virtus' refers to a single power formed by the union of the powers belonging to the paternal and maternal seed respectively. This power 'gives form to and fashions (informans … fingit) well-constituted bodies by preserving a due measure.' Since there is a single power only after the union, 'venis' must mean either ἐκ τῶν σπερματικῶν φλεβῶν ['from the spermatic vessels'], sc. of the parents (Diels, *PL* 115), or 'in the veins of the embryo'; in view of the allusion to the parents in 'diverso ex sanguine', ['from the diverse blood'] the latter alternative is better: the potency derived from the blood of father and mother is active in the veins, i.e. in the blood, of the embryo to give form and structure to the new organism by the maintenance of proportion or harmony.

The phrase 'diverso ex sanguine' ['from the diverse blood'] implies that the seed is a form or derivative of blood. In this P. differs from Alcmeon, who held that it was ἐγκεφάλου μέρος ['a part of the brain'] (Aët., *FdV* 24A13); its derivation from the blood is ascribed by Aëtius (v, 3, 2) to Pythagoras (i.e. Parmenides?) and was later maintained by Diogenes of Apollonia (fr. 6). [255]

The term 'virtus' ['potencies'] in Caelius' translation clearly represents the Greek δύναμις. Caelius writes 'vult enim seminum praeter materias esse virtutes' ['for he wants there to be powers of seeds in addition to their matter']; this is still Aristotle's doctrine, though he retains the term 'matter' (ὕλη) for the female contribution to the κύημα ['embryo'] and analyses the male contribution into δύναμις ['power'] and σῶμα ['body'] (*gen. an.* i,

[255] 19, 726[b]19 sq., i, 21, 729[b]5 sq. etc.). Aëtius' attribution to Pythagoras of the doctrine that the seed has both an ἀσώματον δύναμιν and ['incorporeal power'] σωματικὴν ὕλην ['corporeal matter'] (v, 4, 2) may refer simply to P.

P.'s thesis of the harmony and unity of the male and female principle in the genesis of the organism has a close affinity with Alcmeon's theory of health as τὴν σύμμετρον τῶν ποιῶν κρᾶσιν ['the balanced mixture of qualities'] (Aët., *FdV* 24B4).

temperiem servans ['if it maintains the measure']: the phrase was used by Claudian, *cons. Mall. Theod.* 218, temperiem servant oculi ['the eyes maintain the measure'], as Caelius perhaps recollected. P. may have written ἁρμονίην (or σύγκρησιν) σῴζουσα ['preserving the harmony (or combination)']. Line 3 is paraphrased by Soranus in Caelius' version as 'congruam sexui generent voluntatem' ['they beget a desire appropriate to the sex (sc. of the person generated)'], i.e. he understood 'temperiem' ['measure'] of the relation of the resultant 'virtus' ['potency'] to its physical counterpart, which is 'well-constituted' in that it properly embodies the unitary 'virtus'. Similarly Plato in a more general (ostensibly Pythagorean) context writes πρὸς γὰρ ὑγιείας καὶ νόσους ἀρετάς τε καὶ κακίας οὐδεμία συμμετρία καὶ ἀμετρία μείζων ἢ ψυχῆς αὐτῆς πρὸς σῶμα αὐτό ['with regard to health and sickness, virtue and vice, no proper proportion or lack of proportion is more important than that between the soul itself and the body itself'], *Tim.* 87[d].

4–6 The introductory 'nam' ['for'] shows that P. cites the abnormal case, in which the potencies conflict and fail to unite, as evidence for his general theory. In such cases the mingled seeds will still develop into a single embryo but this will be cursed from birth with the eventual possession of 'double seed', i.e. those normally characteristic of men and women separately.

permixto in corpore ['when the seed is mingled']: sc. permixto semine corporeo ['when the bodily seed is mingled'] (Caelius).

dirae nascentem ['furies … nascent']: the conjunction of these words is an unmistakable allusion to Homer's ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ μὲν κὴρ ἀμφέχανε στυγερή, ἥ περ λάχε γιγνόμενόν περ ['the hateful fate of death that was assigned to me when I was born has opened its jaws to swallow me'] (Ψ 78–79). But these are Patroclus' words to the dreaming Achilles, whose mutual relation (as depicted by Aeschylus in his *Myrmidons,* though not by Homer) P. thus invokes for illustration. An approximation to P.'s own words might be κὴρ γιγνόμενόν διδύμῳ λυπήσει σπέρματι τέκνον ['the fate of death will grieve the child born with double seed'], but many variations are possible.

The treatment of 'double seed' as a curse excludes the possibility that P. regarded the father as contributing both male and female seed, as in the anonymous theory cited by Diels from Lactantius (cf. fr. 18 n.). [255]

FRAGMENT 20 (19 DK) [256]

Simplicius quotes these three lines (t. 203) along with frr. 1, 28–32 and 8, 50–52 to show that P. distinguished sensible from intelligible reality. He states that they occurred at the end of the account of the sensible world, as fr. 8, 50–53 at its beginning after the account of Being. They may therefore be the concluding verses of the poem.

1–2 τάδε ['these things'] appears to refer to all natural substances except the two Forms light and night. The verbs however, especially ἔφυ ['originated'] and τραφέντα ['having received their sustenance'], imply a primary concern with living things; cf. fr. 8, 6–7 n., 38–41 n.

καί νυν meaning 'and (or 'even') now' is, as Diels notes, a common expression in Pindar (*Ol.* iii, 34; x, 78 etc.). With καί νυν … καὶ μετέπειτα ['and now … and in later times'] cf. *Od.* ξ 403, ἅμα τ᾽ αὐτίκα καὶ μετέπειτα ['both now and afterwards'].

The phrase κατὰ δόξαν ['according to belief'] qualifies ἔασι ['are'] and τελευτήσουσι ['will end'] equally with ἔφυ ['originated'] and is synonymous with δοκίμως ['in general acceptance'] (fr 1, 32)[52]. For the change from singular to plural verbs cf. *Od.* μ 43, Xenoph. fr. 29 Diels. The two verses contrast the nature of sensible things with that asserted of Being in fr. 8, 5, οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἦν οὐδ᾽ ἔσται, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν ['it never was nor will be, since it is now all together'].

3 ὄνομ᾽ ἄνθρωποι κατέθεντ᾽ ['men bestowed a name']: cf. fr. 8, 38–41, 53 nn.

ἐπίσημον ἑκάστῳ ['to give its mark to each']: there is probably a metaphor from coinage (cf. Hdt. ix, 41, χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον ['a large amount of coined gold and a large amount of uncoined']; Thuc. ii, 13; Xen. *Cyr.* iv, 5, 40 etc.). The meaning is that everything which is normally regarded as real has no other being than its currency in human experience. This currency is guaranteed by the name it is given, as that of a coin by its imprint (cf. frr. 8, 38–41; 11, 1 nn.).

52. The last clause in this sentence was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

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Appendix [257]

I Zeno's argument about magnitude

In order to refute what he regards as a misleading account of Zeno's argument by Alexander of Aphrodisias, Simplicius refers to the relevant part of Zeno's book, to this section of which, at least, he appears to have had access. His words are as follows:

in phys. (139, 5) Diels: ἐν μέντοι τῷ συγγράμματι αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἔχοντι ἐπιχειρήματα καθ' ἕκαστον δείκνυσιν ὅτι τῷ πολλὰ εἶναι λέγοντι συμβαίνει τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν · ὧν ἕν ἐστιν ἐπιχείρημα ἐν ᾧ δείκνυσιν ὅτι, εἰ πολλά ἐστι, καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ καὶ μικρά · μεγάλα μὲν ὥστε ἄπειρα τὸ μέγεθος εἶναι, μικρὰ δὲ οὕτως ὥστε μηθὲν ἔχειν μέγεθος. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ (139, 10) δείκνυσιν ὅτι οὗ μήτε μέγεθος μήτε πάχος μήτε ὄγκος μηθείς ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἂν εἴη τοῦτο. 'εἰ γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὄντι', φησί, 'προσγένοιτο, οὐδὲν ἂν μεῖζον ποιήσειεν · μεγέθους γὰρ μηδενὸς ὄντος, προσγενομένου δέ, οὐδὲν οἷόν τε εἰς μέγεθος ἐπιδοῦναι. καὶ οὕτως ἂν ἤδη τὸ προσγινόμενον οὐδὲν εἴη. εἰ δὲ ἀπογινομένου τὸ ἕτερον μηδὲν ἔλαττόν ἐστι μηδὲ αὖ προσγινομένου (139, 15) αὐξήσεται, δῆλον ὅτι τὸ προσγενόμενον οὐδὲν ἦν οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπογενόμενον'. καὶ ταῦτα οὐχὶ τὸ ἓν ἀναιρῶν ὁ Ζήνων λέγει ἀλλ' ὅτι μέγεθος ἔχει ἕκαστον τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀπείρων τῷ πρὸ τοῦ λαμβανομένου ἀεί τι εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἐπ' ἄπειρον τομήν· ὃ δείκνυσι προδείξας ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔχει μέγεθος ἐκ τοῦ ἕκαστον τῶν πολλῶν ἑαυτῷ ταὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἕν.

(140, 33) καὶ οὕτως μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐκ τῆς διχοτομίας ἔδειξε, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέγεθος πρότερον (141, 1) κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιχείρησιν. προδείξας γὰρ ὅτι, 'εἰ μὴ ἔχοι μέγεθος τὸ ὄν, οὐδ' ἂν εἴη', ἐπάγει, 'εἰ δὲ ἔστιν, ἀνάγκη ἕκαστον μέγεθός τι ἔχειν καὶ πάχος καὶ ἀπέχειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου. καὶ περὶ τοῦ προὔχοντος ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἕξει μέγεθος καὶ προέξει αὐτοῦ τι. ὅμοιον δὴ τοῦτο ἅπαξ τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀεὶ λέγειν · οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον (141, 5) ἔσχατον ἔσται οὔτε ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον οὐκ ἔσται. οὕτως εἰ πολλά ἐστιν, ἀνάγκη αὐτὰ μικρά τε εἶναι καὶ μεγάλα, μικρὰ μὲν ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν μέγεθος, μεγάλα δὲ ὥστε ἄπειρα εἶναι'.

['(139, 5) In his treatise which contains many particular arguments he proves that anyone who says that many things are contradicts himself. One

[257] of the arguments is that in which he proves that if many things are, they are both large and small, large so as to be unlimited in size and so small that they have no size. In this argument (139, 10) he proves that a thing that has no size, density or volume cannot be. 'For if it accrued to another thing that is, it would not make it any larger, for when there is a thing with no size and it accrues to something, the latter cannot increase at all in size. Thus the thing accruing is nothing. And if when it is removed the other thing is no smaller and when it accrues (139, 15) the other thing does not grow, obviously what accrued or was removed was nothing.' In fact, Zeno says this not because he intends to eliminate the One but because he intends to disprove through division ad infinitum that each of the many and unlimited things has size because there is always something in front of what is taken. He proves this after proving first that nothing has size from the fact that each of the many is self-identical and one.

(140, 33) And this is how he proved that it is infinite in number on the basis of dichotomy, whereas he had previously proved that it is unlimited in size (141, 1) by the same argument. For after first proving that 'if what is had no size, neither would it be', he continues 'but if it is, each thing must have some size and density, and one part of it must lie away from another. And the same reasoning holds good for the part lying in front, for that also will have size, and some part of it will lie in front. Now it is the same thing to say this once and to go on saying it always, for no such part of the thing (141, 5) will be ultimate and will not be one part related to another. Thus if many things are, they must be both small and large, small so as not to have size, and large so as to be unlimited.']

In these passages Diels regards as actual quotation from Zeno (139, 11–15) and (141, 1–8). There is good reason however to attribute also the words preceding the former passage to Zeno (οὗ μήτε μέγεθος … οὐδ' ἂν εἴη τοῦτο ['a thing that has no size … cannot be']), since the phrase μέγεθος … καὶ πάχος ['size and density'] occurs in the latter passage and its continuation there καὶ ἀπέχειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου ['one part of it must lie away from another'] appears to correspond to the third noun ὄγκος ['vol-
[258] ume'] (139, 10), which is hardly likely to be Simplicius' paraphrase. The phrase ἑαυτῷ ταὐτὸν καὶ ἕν ['self-identical and one'] (139, 19) may also be direct quotation.

Since Simplicius gives clear indications of the order in which Zeno deployed his reasoning, the argument may be reconstructed as follows:
Ἄ. (139, 18). He shows first that since each of the Many is self-identical and one, it has no size.

(139, 10). He then shows that anything which has neither size nor density nor volume would also not be. For if it accrued to something else which is, it would not make it any larger, since, if there is a thing with no size and it accrues to something, the latter cannot increase at all in size; thus the thing accruing must be nothing. And if by the removal of the thing the other thing is not any less, any more than it will grow by its accruing, it is clear that what is removed, as well as what accrued, was nothing. [258]

B. (141, 1). Having shown first that, if what is had no size, neither would it be, he goes on: But if it is, each thing must have some size and density, and one part of it lie away from another. The same reasoning holds good for the part lying in front, for that also will have size, and some part of it will lie in front. Now it is the same thing to say this once and to go on saying it always, for no such part of the thing will be ultimate and will not be one part related to another.

Thus if many things are, they must be both small and large, small so as not to have size, and large so as to be indeterminate.'

The approximate sense of the term πάχος ['density'] in this argument (139, 10; 141, 3) is guaranteed by Melissus' use of it to distinguish the material density of physical body (σῶμα), which is divisible, from the non-bodily substance of τὸ ἐόν ['Being'], which is indivisible: εἰ μὲν οὖν εἴη, δεῖ αὐτὸ ἓν εἶναι · ἓν δ' ἐὸν δεῖ αὐτὸ σῶμα μὴ ἔχειν · εἰ δ' ἔχοι πάχος, ἔχοι ἂν μόρια καὶ οὐκέτι ἓν εἴη ['Now if it is, it must be one. But being one, it must not have body. But if it had thickness, it would have parts and no longer would be one.'] (fr. 9). It does not here denote thickness as a dimension.

By the term 'many things' Zeno means empirically known objects. This was Melissus' understanding of the expression (εἰ γὰρ ἦν πολλά, … γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ πῦρ καὶ σίδηρος καὶ χρυσός, καὶ τὸ μὲν ζῶον τὸ δὲ τεθνηκός, καὶ μέλαν καὶ λευκὸν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα φασὶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἀληθῆ, εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ἔστι καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἀκούομεν κτλ. ['If many things are … earth and water and air and fire and iron and gold, and the living and the dead, and black and white and all the other things that people say are real—if these things really are and if we see and hear correctly …'], (fr. 8, 2), and Plato makes Socrates and Parmenides interpret Zeno explicitly thus ('you and I and the other things which we call 'many'', *Parm.* 129[a]; cf. 129[d], 'sticks and stones and such things'; 130[a], 135[e], 'visible things'). Earlier and contemporary theories derived the physical world from physical constituents and causes; Zeno and Melissus are concerned to defend Parmenides' non-physical monism against all such analyses and accordingly use the term 'many' to denote not simply any plurality but the plurality of physical substances. [259]

[259] The verb ἐστι in the formula εἰ πολλά ἐστι ['if many things are'] must not be given a simply existential interpretation. Zeno's use of 'is' is dialectical in the same sense as Parmenides' own (Introd. Sect. 5); its meaning is not predetermined but is examined in the course of the argument. This proceeds in two stages: in the first Zeno assumes that the predicate attributes to the subject a being different from that which its name signifies, which is definable in terms of the reasoned analysis of Being in Parmenides' poem; in the second stage he argues from the subject's perceived being as spatially extended.

The first part (**A**) of the argument maintains that each of the Many, if it is something, must (as Parmenides had argued for whatever is anything) be self-identical and unitary, but that genuine or indivisible units would have no size, density or volume. Since however no unit without these physical characteristics would by accruing to another thing make it any larger or make it smaller by being removed, such units must be nothing.

It is clear that this reasoning is about bodies capable of agglomeration and separation (sc. sensible substances) and about nothing else; i.e. it depends on the hypothesis εἰ πολλά ἐστι ['if many things are']. Simplicius is right to insist (139, 16–17) against Eudemus, Alexander and Aristotle (*Metaph.* B4, $1001^{b}7$ f.)[53] that it does not 'abolish unity' but points out that, if to be is to be a physical body, what is without bodily characteristics is nothing; it implies neither that Parmenides' one Being is nothing nor that it must have the physical characteristics of size, density and volume.

In the antithesis (**B**) Zeno asserts that to be one of the Many is of necessity to have size, density and extension, and that in respect of size or largeness each of the Many will be indeterminate. This depends on the proposition that no part of the extension of a body can be 'the last', i.e. can limit it, but whatever is taken to be its limit will have size and will be ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον ['one part related to another'], a part relative to another part (i.e. the limiting part itself requires a limit, which must be a part of it) and so on indefinitely.

It must be noted that neither Zeno nor Simplicius uses the epithet ἄπειρον ['unlimited'] of the magnitude or size of a body but only of the body itself (this excludes H. Fränkel's alteration of the text (139, 17) from ἀπείρων to ἄπειρον). Zeno does not assert that any sensible body has an infinite size but that as regards its size each is indeterminate or unlimited.

53. The reference to Aristotle was not in the first edition. (RMcK)

The argument is concerned with the notion of limit and makes no allu- [259]
sion to that of division; it does however presuppose, as Simplicius remarks, that what is spatially extended is divisible indefinitely.

Taken together Zeno's thesis and antithesis maintain that, if to be something [260]
is to be a sensible body with size, density and extension in three dimensions, then (**A**) if the sense of 'being' is considered, none of the Many can be anything, since none can have any size, (**B**) if the nature of sensible bodies is considered, each of them will be indeterminate in respect of size or largeness. Zeno summarises his argument as showing that 'if many things have being, they must necessarily be both small and large, small so as not to have largeness and large so as to be unlimited'. In this formulation 'small' denotes not a degree of magnitude but the absence of largeness, which is a condition of a thing's having identity and unity, while 'large' denotes again not a degree of magnitude but its presence, in virtue of which a thing is of necessity not unitary but indeterminate. Since 'large' and 'small', so understood, are contradictory opposites, the argument is taken to show that the subject and predicate of the hypothesis (πολλά ἐστι ['many things are']) are incompatible and the hypothesis is therefore false. Zeno is thus in agreement with Parmenides' denial to the sensible world of any but a nominal being (fr. 8, 38–41).

The affinity of Zeno's reasoning with arguments in Parmenides' poem is manifest; the assertion that what is anything must be selfsame and one reiterates the latter's epithets of Being (ἕν, συνεχές ['one, indivisible'], fr. 8, 6; τωὐτόν ['the same'], 29), while the argument that no part of a physical body can be its ultimate limit recalls Parmenides' thesis that what can be said to be must have an absolute limit (fr. 8, 42) and consequently 'must not be either larger or smaller in one respect than in another', i.e. cannot be spatially extended (44–49). Zeno's conclusion implies that, if physical objects have any being, they are both identities and (since they are indeterminate) not identities; this equates the philosophers against whom he is arguing, whom Plato characterises as mockers of Parmenides' monism, with the empiricists on the παλίντροπος κέλευθος ['journey that turns backwards again'] criticised by Parmenides himself in fr. 5, i.e. with (at this date) all non-Eleatic philosophers.

Zeno's argument that physical bodies are indeterminately large implies that they cannot limit each other spatially; the distinctions which we draw in the physical world must therefore be distinctions of form (dependent, if Zeno adopted Parmenides' dualist physics, on the elemental distinctions

[260] between the two μορφαί ['forms'], light and night). This point was taken by Anaxagoras, when he declared that physical substances (ἐόντα χρήματα ['things that are'], fr. 17) are not spatially or numerically isolable from one another (fr. 6 etc.) but are eternally distinct in form (οὐδὲν ἐοικότων ἀλλήλοις
[261] ['in no way like one another'], fr. 4). The same theory of substances diverse in kind but incapable of isolation from each other, because existing only as a numerically and quantitatively non-determinable continuum, was held by Anaxagoras' Athenian pupil Archelaus. Socrates in his early youth was closely associated with Archelaus, and it is likely to have been from this association that he first acquired the interest in distinctions of form ascribed to him by both Plato and Aristotle.

II Zeno's argument about numerability[54]

In the discussion above of Zeno's argument about magnitude it was pointed out that he constructs the antinomy by considering in turn the predicate and subject of the hypothesis εἰ πολλά ἐστι ['if many things are'], from which it is deduced. The same is true of the only argument of Zeno of which we have a complete report guaranteed expressly as verbatim, that about numerability (fr. 3 Diels). Zeno's words here are: 'If many things are, it is necessary that as many things should be as are and neither more than they nor fewer; and if as many things are as are, they would be determinate. If many things are, the things that are are indeterminate, for always other things are between the things that are, and between those, other things again, and so the things that are are indeterminate'.

In the thesis of this antinomy Zeno argues implicitly from the predicate ἐστιν ['is'] of the hypothesis. He adapts Parmenides' characterisation of Being as οἷ … πάντοθεν ἶσον ['equal with itself from every view'] (fr. 8, 49) to the Many, which, if they are credited with being, are 'neither more than the things that are nor fewer', and are therefore equal in number with themselves; the conclusion πεπερασμένα ἂν εἴη ['they would be determinate'] is likewise a paraphrase of the remainder of Parmenides' verse ὁμῶς ἐν πείρασι κύρει ['encounters determination all like']. In the antithesis Zeno argues from the subject of the hypothesis, considering it intrinsically as a perceived plurality with no 'being' other than that signified by its name. As in the argument about magnitude, the antinomy

54. Here and below, the first edition had 'plurality' instead of 'numerability'. (RMcK)

is generated by interpreting the hypothesis first in terms of what reason dictates as the criterion of 'being', and then in terms of the evidence of the senses. Since (on the Eleatic view of predication) the determinate cannot be indeterminate, the antinomy is taken to prove that the subject and predicate of the hypothesis are incompatible, i.e. that ἐστιν ['is'] cannot be asserted of the Many, which is a significant 'name' in human experience or 'beliefs' but not the name of anything real. [261]

III Zeno's paradox of the Arrow [262]

Our information about this argument comes wholly from Aristotle, who calls it a syllogism and telescopes it accordingly. He describes it as the third of Zeno's four paradoxes about motion. These are alluded to by Plato, when he speaks of Zeno as λέγοντα … τέχνῃ ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσι τὰ αὐτὰ ὅμοια καὶ ἀνόμοια καὶ ἓν καὶ πολλὰ μένοντά τε αὖ καὶ φερόμενα ['speaking … with art with the result that his audience thinks that the same things are alike and unalike, one and many, and at rest and also in motion'] (*Phaedr.* 261[d], cf. *Parm.* 129[e]). It is clear from Plato's association in both these passages of arguments about motion with those about likeness and unity that in the former arguments as in the others Zeno was concerned to deduce contradictory conclusions from the empiricist belief in the reality of the physical world. In the first paradox of motion, the 'Dichotomy', as also in the 'Arrow', he appears to have argued that the same things must be moving and stationary; in the 'Achilles' that the faster is also slower; in the 'Stadium' that half a given time is equal to twice the time. In the 'Arrow' the contradiction is expressed by Aristotle in the phrases ἡ ὀιστὸς φερομένη ἕστηκεν ['the moving arrow is stationary'] and ἀκίνητον τὴν φερομένην εἶναι ὀιστόν ['the moving arrow is motionless'].

Though Plato writes (*Parm.* 127[e]–128[e]) as if Zeno did not expressly infer the falsity of the hypothesis εἰ πολλά ἐστι ['if many things are'] from which his antinomies were deduced, Melissus makes the inference explicitly (δῆλον τοίνυν ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐωρῶμεν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνα πολλὰ ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ εἶναι, ['hence it is clear that we do not see correctly and we are incorrect in thinking that those many things are'] fr. 8; *see* IV below), and there is no reason to question Plato's understanding that this was Zeno's intention. The paradoxes of motion will therefore be meant to confirm Parmenides' thesis that 'since there is no time apart from Being, which is entire and motionless, all the things which human beings believe to be real and suppose … to change their place … will be a name' (fr. 8, 38–41).

[262] Aristotle introduces the paradox of the arrow in connection with his discrimination of the temporal movement and rest of an object from its atemporal occupation of successive positions within a period of time. He says of it: Ζήνων δὲ παραλογίζεται · εἰ γὰρ αἰεί, φησίν, ἠρεμεῖ πᾶν [ἢ κινεῖται] ὅταν ᾖ κατὰ τὸ ἴσον, ἔστιν δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ φερόμενον ἐν τῷ νῦν, ἀκίνητον τὴν φερομένην εἶναι ὀιστόν · τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ψεῦδος · οὐ γὰρ σύγκειται ὁ χρόνος ἐκ τῶν νῦν τῶν ἀδιαιρέτων, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἄλλο μέγεθος οὐδέν ['Zeno argues fallaciously. For if, he says, everything is always at rest [or in motion] when it is in an equal place, and what is moving is in fact always "in the now," the moving arrow is motionless. But this is false, since time is not composed of indivisible nows, nor is any other magnitude.']. After relating the first two paradoxes he continues: τρίτος δ' ὁ νῦν ῥηθείς, ὅτι ἡ ὀιστὸς φερομένη ἕστηκεν, συμβαίνει δὲ παρὰ τὸ λαμβάνειν τὸν χρόνον σύγκεισθαι ἐκ τῶν νῦν · μὴ διδομένου γὰρ τούτου οὐκ ἔσται ὁ συλλογισμός ['The third argument is the one just stated, that the arrow is stationary while it is moving. This follows from assuming that time is composed of nows. If this is not conceded, the deduction will not go through.'] (*phys.* vi, 9, 239^{b}5–9, 30–33).

In l.6 ἢ κινεῖται ['or in motion'] has commonly been bracketed since Zeller and is hardly defensible. If it is omitted, the argument, as Aristotle reports it, may be combined with Plato's account of its context as follows:

'If many things are, the arrow is stationary while in motion;
[263] for everything always, when it is in an equal place, is at rest;
what moves locally is always in the Now <and so in an equal place>;
therefore the moving arrow is at rest.
But the moving cannot be at rest;
therefore it is impossible that many things should be.'

It is uncertain how many of the three verbs used here by Aristotle for 'being stationary' (ἠρεμεῖ ['be at rest'], ἀκίνητον εἶναι ['is motionless'], ἕστηκεν ['is stationary']) come from Zeno; it may be noted that ἠρεμοῦν is coupled with κινούμενον in the Pythagorean table of opposites cited by Aristotle (*metaph.* A 5).

If Zeno's object was to support Parmenides, it is reasonable to suppose that he related the immobility of the arrow (as he relates the unity of an object in the argument about magnitude, and the self-equality of a set of objects in the argument about numerability) to Parmenides' similar characterisation of Being. This connexion appears in fact in Aristotle's report in the formula ἔστιν δ' αἰεὶ τὸ φερόμενον ἐν τῷ νῦν ['and what is moving is in fact always "in the now"'], where the emphatic ἔστιν ['is in fact'] implies that, if the arrow

is in motion, it must *be* always in the Now belonging (in Parmenides' view) [263]
to whatever is anything (Parm. fr. 8, 5, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν ['since it is now all together']). Equally the phrase εἶναι κατὰ τὸ ἴσον, translated above as 'to be in an equal place', which is likely to come from Zeno (in his own argument Aristotle uses only the indefinite expression εἶναι κατά τι ['to be at something']), may be understood as a transformation to a spatial context of Parmenides' verse οἷ γὰρ πάντοθεν ἶσον ὁμῶς ἐν πείρασι κύρει ['for it is equal with itself from every view and encounters determination all alike'] (fr. 8, 49): on the supposition that 'being' belongs to the arrow, its limits and its self-equality will be three-dimensional and it will 'occupy an equal place'.

If these associations are correct, the argument about the arrow will resemble those about magnitude and plurality in depending on an antithesis between the determinate 'being' ascribed to the arrow and the ἄπειρον ['indeterminateness'] of its perceived movement, i.e. on a deduction first from the predicate of the hypothesis εἰ πολλά ἐστιν ['if many things are'] and then from its subject. The implied conclusion will then be that, since the moving cannot be at rest, the subject and predicate of the hypothesis are incompatible. It will follow that in Zeno's eyes the arrow has no being and is therefore never ἐν τῷ νῦν ['in the now'] and so never at rest, and an echo of the argument may be perceived in Melissus' denial of being to what moves (εἰ γὰρ διήρηται τὸ ἐόν, κινεῖται · κινούμενον δὲ οὐκ ἂν εἴη ['for if what-is is divided, it moves. But if it moved, it would not be'], fr. 10). Aristotle, who accepts the anti-Eleatic hypothesis that being belongs to sensible substances, is led to treat Zeno's arguments as a simple polemic against the possibility of motion. It is clear however from Zeno's conclusion, as cited by Aristotle himself, that Zeno did not deny that the arrow can move but asserted that on his opponent's hypothesis (not his [264]
own) it is also stationary. He may have added, as Aristotle implies (though the adverb αἰεί appears in neither of his formulations of Zeno's conclusion), that it is always stationary. Whether he did so or not, Aristotle's objection that time is not composed of indivisible 'nows' is beside the point, for Zeno's Now, like the unit in his argument about magnitude, has no physical reality but signifies an actuality which he regarded as prior to the continuity of time.

IV Melissus' argument against Empedocles and Anaxagoras

Zeno's mode of reasoning, illustrated in I–III above, from the predicate and subject of a given hypothesis in turn, in order to demonstrate their

[264] incompatibility and therewith the falsity of the hypothesis, was used later by Gorgias (Sext. *adv. math.* vii, 67) and put into Parmenides' mouth by Plato in the second part of his *Parmenides.* It reappears also in Fragment 8 of Melissus, who follows Zeno in arguing that the hypothesis εἰ πολλά ἐστιν ['if many things are'], if considered thus, entails a contradiction. Melissus' words are: 'The foregoing is the principal proof that only one thing is, but the following are also proofs. If many things were, they must be such as I say the One is. For if earth and water and air and fire and iron and gold are, and one thing is alive, another dead, and black and white and all the other things which men say are real; if these things are and we see and hear rightly, each thing must be such as we first believed it and not change or become unlike, but each must be always such as it is. We do now say that we see and hear and understand rightly, and we believe that the hot becomes cold and the cold hot and the hard soft and the soft hard and that the living dies and comes to be from not-living, and that all these things alter, and what was and what is now are in nothing alike, but iron which is hard, is worn in contact with the finger and flows, and so do gold and stone and everything else which is believed to be strong, and earth and stone are believed to come from water; from which it follows that we are neither seeing nor recognising the things that are. Now these assertions are not consonant with each other: we say that many eternal things are, having forms and strength, but we believe that they all alter and change from what we see at each moment. It is clear then that we were not seeing rightly nor do we believe rightly that those things are many; for they would not have been changing, if they had been real, but each would have been such as we believed it, since nothing is superior to what is real; but if a thing changes, what is perishes and what is not has come to be. Thus if many things were, they must be such as the One.'

[265] Melissus' argument here starts from a Zenonian antinomy which may be formulated as 'if many things are, they are both invariable and variable'. He uses the antinomy as part of a larger argument, but not before he has made explicit that it depends, as do those of Zeno, on a contrast between the nature of Being, which he has argued to be (in Simplicius' phrase) ἀγένητον καὶ ἀκίνητον ['ungenerated and motionless'], and the perceived transience of the sensible world, i.e. on a deduction first from the predicate of the hypothesis εἰ γὰρ ἦν πολλά ['if many things were'], and then from the variable nature of its subject. With this antinomy Melissus combines the observation that not only the variability but the individuality of each of

the Many derives from sense-perception, so that the thesis of the antinomy, if its subject is the perceived substances and characters which he lists, has no validity in reason, i.e. if ἐστιν ['is'] is predicable of a plurality of things at all, they must be 'such as the One'. This is to detach pluralism from the empiricism with which Parmenides' critics had linked it, and it is hardly to be doubted that Melissus is here alluding to the atomism of Zeno's pupil Leucippus, the central feature of which was the indefinite multiplication of Parmenidean units tossed endlessly in the abyss of not-being (τὸ γὰρ κυρίως ὂν πάμπληρες ὄν, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐχ ἓν ἀλλ᾽ ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἀόρατα διὰ σμικρότητα τῶν ὄγκων, ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐν τῷ κενῷ φέρεσθαι, ['for what is in the strict sense is a perfect plenum, but such a thing is not one, but they are infinite in number and invisible on account of the smallness of their bulk, and these things are in motion in the void'] Ar. *gen. corr.* A8, 325[a]28). It is not clear whether Melissus went on to argue further ὅτι ἓν μόνον ἐστίν ['that there is only one thing'] or whether he regarded his conclusion about pluralism as, in conjunction with earlier arguments, a sufficient proof of monism. In any case he expresses in this passage a preference for a pluralism of an atomist type over those of Empedocles and Anaxagoras, for the mention together of earth, water, air and fire is as clear an allusion to the former as the addition to these of gold and stone, the attribution of 'being' to black and white, and the reference to 'many eternal things possessing forms and strength', and to the genesis of earth and stones from water are to Anaxagoras (water, fire, gold, *FdV* 59A41, 44; fire from stone from earth from water from air from fire, A45, B16; black and white, A97–98, B10; 'seeds of all things, with every kind of forms, colours and tastes', B4; 'things' eternal, B17). Melissus' criticism is apt, since Empedocles expressly ascribed 'being' to his four 'roots' (31B17 etc.) and Anaxagoras likewise to his indefinitely numerous 'seeds' (59B17). [265]

CONCORDANCE OF FRAGMENTS

C	DK (= *FdV*[5])	*PL. PPF. FdV*[1–4]	DK	C
1	1	1, 1–32	1	1
2	5	3	2	3
3	2	4	3	4
4	3	5	4	6
5	6	6	5	2
6	4	2	6	5
7	7	7; 1, 33–38	7	7
8	8	8	8	8
9	10	10	9	11
10	11	11	10	9
11	9	9	11	10
12	12	12	12	12
13	13	13	13	13
14	14	14	14	14
15	15	15	15	15
16	15a	–	15a	16
17	16	16	16	17
18	17	17	17	18
19	18	18	18	19
20	19	19	19	20

CONCORDANCE OF TESTIMONIA

DK		C
28 A	1	16, 41, 93, 96–97, 123, 140
	2	41
	3	41
	4	121, 153
	5	3, 7, 8, 98, 134
	6	26
	7	40
	8	43
	9	39
	10	39
	11	157
	12	103, 116
	13	138
	14	203
	15	107
	16	108
	17	167
	18	170
	19	206
	20	213 (§ 146)
	21	213 (§ 144)
	22	87
	23	90
	24	26
	25	20, 31
	26	6, 18
	27	24
	28	42, 36
	29	57
	30	187
	31	56
	32	58
	33	88
	34	113, 207 (§ 39)
	35	32–33, 53
	36	59, 60
	37	61, 54
	38	63
	39	64
	40	219
	40a	65, 123
	41	67
	42	69–71
	43	68
	43a	73
	44	44, 75, 150
	44a	74, 99
	45	76–78, 92
	46	45
	46a	86
	46b	89
	47	80
	48	82
	49	46, 79
	50	81
	51	48
	52	34
	53	49, 50, 83–84
	54	52, 85

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INDEXES & GLOSSARY

I Testimonia

1. ANCIENT AUTHORS
2. ENGLISH–GREEK GLOSSARY
3. GREEK–ENGLISH INDEX

II Commentary

1. SUBJECTS
2. GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES

III Proper Names in the Introduction, Commentary and Appendix

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I Testimonia

1. ANCIENT AUTHORS

(Bracketed numbers refer to testimony cited under the rubric of other authors.)

Achilles Tatius (99a)
Aëtius (55–86)
Alcidamas 15
Alexander Aphrodisiensis 137 (33a, 36, 40, 42, 207–208)
Ammonius 187–189
Anatolius 150
Anonymus Academicus 122
Anonymus Byzantinus 1 219
Anonymus Byzantinus 2 220–221
Antiochus (100, 132)
Apollodorus 97–98
Arcesilaus 94
Aristocles 132
Aristoteles 17–35
[Aristoteles] 120
Asclepius 189–192
Athenaeus 134

Boëthius 218

Caelius Aurelianus (124)
Calcidius 158–159
[Cebes] 119
Censorinus (48–52)
Cicero 100–102 (53–54)
Clemens Alexandrinus 127–131 (88)
Clitomachus (101–102)
Commentator Arati (219)

Damascius 200–201 (156)
Diogenes Laertius 138–140 (15–16a, 39a, 41, 41a, 44, 93, 95–98, 123, 123a)

Eudemus 36–38
Eusebius 157 (91, 129, 132, 149)

Favorinus 123

Galenus 125–126
[Galenus] (61a)

Hermias 186
Hermippus 95
Hesychius Milesius (41a)
Hippolytus (90)

Iamblichus 153–156 (17)
Isocrates 14

Macrobius 161 (92, 134a)
Menander rhetor 151–152

Nicomachus Gerasenus 121 (153)
Numenius 133

Olympiodorus 197–199

Palladius (125a)
Philo Alexandrinus 104–105
Philodemus (46–47)
Philoponus 193–196 (33a)
Placitorum excerptores 46–92
Plato 1–12
Plotinus 141–147
Plutarchus 107–118 (94)
[Plutarchus] 87

Porphyrius 148–149 (133, 210, 212)
Posidonius 99
Proclus 166–185 (121)

Scholiastes Basilii (220–221)
Sextus Empiricus 135–136 (18)
Simplicius 202–217 (36–39, 42–43)
Soranus 124
Sotion 96
Speusippus 16
Strabo 103 (99)
Suda (41a, 148)
Syrianus 162–165 (155, 174)

Tertullianus (89)
Themistius 160
Theodoretus (46, 55, 58a, 69a, 87a, 127)
Theologumena arithmeticae (150)
Theophrastus 39–45
Timon 93
Titulus Veliensis 106

Varro 48–52

Xeoncrates (16a)
Xenophon 13

2. ENGLISH–GREEK GLOSSARY

abandon, ἀφίστασθαι
able to be spoken, ῥητός
above, ὑπερανέχων
absence, ἔκλειψις, ἐρημία
abstraction, ἀφαίρεσις
absurd, ἄτοπος
absurdity, ἄτοπον (τό)
accept, ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀποδέχεσθαι
accident, συμβεβηκός
account, λόγος
accurate, ἀκριβής
accuser, κατήγορος
Achilles, Ἀχιλλεύς
acquaintance, γνώριμος
act of hearing, ἀκοή
act of seeing, ὅρασις
act, ποιεῖν
acting, ἐνεργοῦν (τό)
activity, ἐνέργημα
actuality, ἐνέργεια
ad infinitum, εἰς ἄπειρον, ἐπ᾽ ἄπειρον
add, προστιθέναι, συνεισάγειν
adherent, πλησιαστής
admirer, ζηλώτης
admit, ἀπολείπειν, δέχεσθαι, ἐπιδέχεσθαι, προσιέναι, συγχωρεῖν
adoption, θέσις
adorn, διακοσμεῖν
aether, αἰθήρ
affection, ἀγάπη, πάθος, φιλότης
affirm, καταφάναι, καταφάσκειν
affirmation, κατάφασις
affirmative, καταφατικός
agent, ποιοῦν
aggregate, περιοχή
agree, ὁμολογεῖν, συμφάναι
agree with, ἀποδέχεσθαι
air, ἀήρ
akin, οἰκεῖος
Akousilaus, Ἀκουσίλεως
Alcidamas, Ἀλκίδαμας
Alcmeon, Ἀλκμέων
Alexander, Ἀλέξανδρος
Alexander of Aphrodisias, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀφροδισιεύς
alike, ὁμοῖος
All (the), πᾶν (τό)
all things, ὅλα (τά)
alter, ἀλλοιοῦσθαι
alteration, ἀλλοίωσις
ambiguous, ἀμφίβολος
Ameinias, Ἀμεινίας
amount to, συντρέχειν
Anaxagoras, Ἀναξαγόρας
Anaximander, Ἀναξίμανδρος
Anaximenes, Ἀναξιμένης
ancient, ἀρχαῖος, παλαιός, πρέσβυς
animal, ζῷον
another's, ἀλλότριος
answer (n.), ἀπόκρισις
answer (v.), ἀποκρίνεσθαι

Antidotes against Poisonous Bites (title of Nicander's work), Θηριακά
Antiphon, Ἀντιφών
Aphrodite, Ἀφροδίτη
Apollo, Ἀπόλλων
Apollodorus, Ἀπολλόδωρος
apparent meaning, φαινόμενον (τό)
appear, παραφαίνεσθαι
appearance, ἔμφασις, φαινόμενον (τό)
append, παραγράφειν
appetite, ὄρεξις
apply, κατατείνειν, παράπτεσθαι, προσάγειν, προσαρμόττειν
apply oneself to, ἐφάπτεσθαι
apply to, ἁρμόττειν, ἐφαρμόττειν,
apprehension, ἀντίληψις
appropriate, οἰκεῖος, πρέπον
appropriate proportion, συμμετρία
approve, ἐγκρίνειν
Aratus, Ἄρατος
Arcesilaus, Ἀρκεσίλαος
Archilochus, Ἀρχίλοχος
arctic, ἀρκτικός
argue fiercely, βιάζεσθαι
argument, ἐπιχείρημα, ἐπιχείρησις, λόγος
arise, γί(γ)νεσθαι
Aristophanes, Ἀριστοφάνης
Aristotle, Ἀριστοτέλης
art of poetry, ποιητική
ascend, ἀναβαίνειν, ἀνάγεσθαι, ἀνατρέχειν, ἀνιέναι
ask, ἐπανέρεσθαι
assertion, φάσις
assign, ἀποδιδόναι
assistance, βοήθεια
associate, ἑταῖρος
associate with, κοινωνεῖν, συνδιατρίβειν
assume, λαμβάνειν
assume a premise, λαμβάνειν
assumption, ὑπόληψις
astronomer, μετεωρολόγος
at all, ὅλως
at rest, ἑστώς
atom, ἄτομος
atomic, ἄτομος
attain, ἀπολαμβάνειν
attempt, πειρᾶσθαι
attribute (n.), πάθος, προσῆκον (τό)
attribute (v.), ἀναφέρειν, ἀνατιθέναι, ἐπιλέγειν, προστρίβεσθαι
authority, βεβαιότης
avoid, ἀποφεύγειν, διαφεύγειν
awe, σέβας

banish, ἐξορίζειν
base on, ποιεῖσθαι
be, γί(γ)νεσθαι, εἶναι, ὑπάρχειν
be a follower, ἀκολουθεῖν
be a student of, ἀκούειν, ἀκρόασθαι, διακούειν
be a unity, ἑνοῦσθαι
be abundant in blood, πολυαιμεῖν
be acted on, πάσχειν
be active, ἐνεργεῖν
be appropriate to, προσήκειν
be at rest, ἑστηκέναι
be attributed to, συμβεβηκέναι
be born, γί(γ)νεσθαι
be composed of, συνίστασθαι
be conceived, κυΐσκεσθαι
be coordinate with, ἀντιδιαιρεῖσθαι
be discordant, ἀπᾴδειν
be due to, γί(γ)νεσθαι
be endowed by nature, πεφυκέναι
be equal, ἰσάζειν
be equidistant, ἴσον ἀφίστασθαι
be established, ἱδρύεσθαι
be established as superior, ὑπεριδρύεσθαι
be generated, γί(γ)νεσθαι
be generated in addition, προσγίγνεσθαι
be ignorant, ἀγνοεῖν
be in contact, ἅπτεσθαι
be in excess, ὑπεραίρειν
be in flux, ῥεῖν
be intelligent, νοῦν ἔχειν
be known, γνωρίζεσθαι
be moved, κινεῖσθαι
be no different, οὐδὲν διαφέρειν
be posited, ὑποκεῖσθαι

be predicated, λέγεσθαι
be present in greater amount, πλεονάζειν
be reversed, ἐναλλάσσεσθαι
be right, κατορθοῦν
be said in only one way, μοναχῶς λέγεσθαι
be separate, κεχωρίσθαι
be simultaneously true, συναληθεύειν
be situated, κεῖσθαι
be subject to, πάσχειν
be surprised, θαυμάζειν
be true of, ἀληθεύειν
be unknown, ἀγνοεῖσθαι
be well governed, εὐνομεῖσθαι
be well nourished, εὐτροφεῖν
beautiful, καλός
beautiful, the, καλόν (τό)
beauty, καλλονή
become, γί(γ)νεσθαι
become less, ἐλαττοῦσθαι
becoming akin, οἰκείωσις
begin, ἀρχὴν ποιεῖσθαι, ἄρχεσθαι
beginning, ἀρχή
behold, θεᾶσθαι
being, εἶναι (τό), οὐσία
being divided into parts, μερισμός
belong, ὑπάρχειν
belong in, ἐνυπάρχειν
belong to, προσήκειν, προσιέναι, ὑπάρχειν
belong to something as derived from something else, παράγεσθαι
beneficial, ἀγαθοποιός
benefiting mankind, φιλανθρώπως
beautiful (the), καλόν (τό)
birth, γένεσις, γένος, φύσις
blend, μιγνύναι
blend together, συμφύρειν
blending, κρᾶσις, σύγκρασις
blood, αἷμα
bloody, αἱματώδης
body, σῶμα
book, βιβλίον, γραφή
border against, συνάπτειν
both members of a contradiction, ἀντίφασις
boundary, ὅρος
breadth, πλάτος
brevity of speech, βραχυλογία
briefly, συντόμως
bright, λαμπρός
brilliant, εὐφεγγής
bring, προάγειν, προσάγειν
bring a charge against, ἐγκαλεῖν
bring about, συνιστάναι
bring in together with, συνεισφέρειν
bring to completion, συμπληροῦν, τελειοῦν
bring to mind, ὑπομιμνήσκειν
bring together, συνάγειν, συνιστάναι

call, ὀνομάζειν, προσονομάζειν
Callimachus, Καλλίμαχος
Cancer, καρκίνος
Capricorn, αἰγόκερως
carry along, ἄγειν
cause, αἰτία, αἴτιον
cause generation, γεννᾶν
cause motion, κινεῖν
cave, ἄντρον
celebrate, ἀνυμνεῖν
center, μέσον
centrality, μεσότης
Ceramicus, Κεραμεικός
champion, προστάτης
chance, ἀποκλήρωσις
change (n.), μεταβολή
change (v.), μεταβάλλειν, μεταλλάσσειν
Chaos, Χάος
charge with, ἐγκαλεῖν
charitably, εὐγνωμόνως
chest, θώραξ
choice, αἵρεσις
Chronica (title of Apollodorus' work), Χρονικά
cite, παρατίθεσθαι
claim, ἀξιοῦν
class, ἰδέα
classify as prior, προτάσσειν
clear, καθαρός, σαφής

clear up, διασαφεῖν
clearly, σαφῶς
coexist, συνυπάρχειν
cognition, κατάληψις
cognitive, ἐπιστημονικός
cold (adj.), ψυχρός
cold (n.), ψυχρότης
cold (the), ψυχρόν (τό)
collection of maxims, γνωμολογίαι
color, χρῶμα, χρόα
Colotes, Κωλώτης
combination, σύγκρισις
combine, συμπλέκειν, συμφέρειν, συνάγειν
come after, ἐπιγίγνεσθαι
come forth, βλάστειν
come to be, γί(γ)νεσθαι
come to light, ὑποφαίνειν
come under attack, αἰτίαν ἔχειν
coming to be, γένεσις
comment, ὑπόμνημα
commentary, ὑπομνήματα
commentator, ὑπομνηματιστής
common, κοινός
common characteristic, κοινότης
common property, κοινόν
compare, ἀπεικάζειν
compel, ἀναγκάζειν
complete (adj.), ὁλόκληρος, ὁλοτελής, τετελεσμένον, τέλειος
complete (v.), συμπληροῦν
completely, ὅλως, τελέως
completeness, τὸ τέλειος εἶναι
compose, ποιεῖν, συντιθέναι
composed of fire, πύρινος
comprehended, περιληπτός
compressed mass, πίλημα
conceive, ἐννοεῖν
conceive of, ἐπινοεῖν
conception, ἔννοια
conclusion, συμπέρασμα
condition, διάθεσις, πάθος
confirmation, βεβαίωσις
connect, συνάπτειν
consequence, ἀκόλουθον
consider, ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, θεᾶσθαι, λαμβάνειν, σκέπτεσθαι, σκοπεῖν
consider carefully, ἐφιστάνειν
consider right, ἀξιοῦν
consider worthwhile, ἀξιοῦν
consider worthy, ἀξιοῦν
contain in advance, προλαμβάνειν
containing mixtures, συμμιγής
contemplate, θεωρεῖν
contemplation, περιωπή, θεωρία
contemplator, θεωρῶν (ὁ)
contend earnestly, διατείνειν
contentious, ἐριστικός
continue, ἐπάγειν
continuity, συνέχεια
continuous, συνεχής
contradict, ἀντιλέγειν, μάχεσθαι
contradictory, ἀντικείμενος
contradictory claim, ἀντικείμενον
contrariety, ἐναντίωσις
contrary, ἐναντίος
contrast, ἀντιδιαστέλλειν
converge, συννεύειν
convergence, συννεῦον (τό)
conversation, συνουσία
coordinate, σύζυγος
corporeal, σωματικός
corpse, νεκρός
correct, διορθοῦν
cosmogony, κοσμογονία
cosmos, κόσμος
count together with, συναριθμεῖν
counter-argument, ἀντιλογία
create, παράγειν, ποιεῖν
creator, δημιουργός
creator of the cosmos, κοσμοποιός
criterion, κριτήριον
Cronius, Κρόνιος
cube, κύβος
cut off, ἀποτέμνειν, ἀποτμήγειν

daemon, δαίμων
dark, σκοτεινός
darkness, σκότος, ζοφῶδες (τό), ζόφος
deceive, ἀπατᾶν, διαψεύδειν
deception, ἀπάτη

deceptive, ἀπατηλός
decision, κρίσις
declaration, ἀνάρρησις
declare, ἀποφαίνειν
declare one's opinion, ἀποφαίνειν
decrease, φθίνειν
dedicate, ἀνατιθέναι, ἱδρῦσθαι
deduce conclusions, συλλογίζεσθαι
deductive argument, συλλογίζεσθαι (τό)
deed, ἔργον
defend, ἀπολογεῖσθαι
deficiency, ὑπόληψις
define, ὁρίζεσθαι
definition, λόγος
Democritus, Δημόκριτος
demonstrate, ἀποδεικνύναι
demonstration, ἀπόδειξις
Demylus, Δήμυλος
denial, ἀπόφασις
dense, πυκνός
deny, ἀποφάναι, ἀποφάσκειν
depart, ἐξίστασθαι
depend on, ἀναρτᾶσθαι, ἐξαρτᾶσθαι
deposit, καταβάλλειν
depositing, καταβολή
deprive, ἀφαιρεῖν
deprived of, στερεῖν
descend, ἐκπίπτειν, καταβαίνειν, κατιέναι
descent, ὕφεσις
designation, πρόσρημα
desire, ἐπιθυμία
destructive, φθαρτικός
detached, ἀπολελυμένος
detect, φωρᾶν
determine, ἀφορίζεσθαι, διαγιγνώσκειν, διορίζειν
develop, ἀναπτύσσειν
dialectic, διαλεκτική
dichotomy, διχοτομία
differ, διαφέρειν, διΐστασθαι
difference, διαφορά, ἑτερότης
different (the), θάτερον
difficulty, δυσχερές (τό)
dignity, ὄγκος
Diochaitas, Διοχαίτας
directly, προηγουμένως
discern, καθορᾶν
discharge, πρόεσις
discourse, λόγος
discover, εὑρίσκειν
discuss, διαλέγεσθαι, προχειρίζεσθαι
discuss nature, φυσιολογεῖν
discuss theology, θεολογεῖν
discussion, λόγος
disgrace, αἰσχρόν (τό)
disgraceful, αἰσχρός
disobey, ἀπιστεῖν
disorderly, ἄτακτος
display, παρέχειν
disregard, παρέρχεσθαι
distinguish, διαιρεῖν, διακρίνειν
distinguish so as to correspond with, συνδιαιρεῖν
divide, διαιρεῖν
divided, διῃρημένος
divine, δαίμων, θεῖος
divinely inspired, ἔνθεος
divinity, θεότης
divisible, διαιρετός
division, διαίρεσις
do, ποιεῖν
doctrine, δόγμα, λόγος
drawing, γραφή

ear, οὖς
earth, γῆ
Earth, Γαῖα,
east, ἀνατολή
efficient, ποιοῦν, ποιητικός
efficient cause, ποιητικόν (τό)
effort, σπουδή
egg, ᾠόν
Egyptian, Αἰγύπτιος
elderly, πρεσβύτης
Ele, Ἔλη
Elea, Ἐλέα
Eleatic, Ἐλεατικός
element, στοιχεῖον
elementary, στοιχειώδης
elevate, ἀνάγειν

eliminate, ἀναιρεῖν
eliminating, ἀναίρεσις
elimination, ἀναίρεσις
Empedoclean, Ἐμπεδόκλειος
Empedocles, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς
employ, ἐπιτηδεύειν, παραλαμβάνειν
empty, διάκενος, κενός
encircle, περιϊστάναι
encounter, ἐντυγχάνειν
encourage, προτρέπειν
end, πέρας, τέλος
endless, ἀπέραντος
enmattered, ἔνυλος
entire, ὅλος
entitle, ἐπιγράφειν
entity, φύσις
Epicharmus, Ἐπίχαρμος
Epicurus, Ἐπίκουρος
Epitome (title of Theophrastus' work), Ἐπιτομή
equal in strength, ἰσοσθενής
equally, ὁμοίως
equilibrium, ἰσόρροπον (τό), ἰσορροπία
Eros, Ἔρος, Ἔρως
escape, διαφεύγειν
essence, εἶναι (τό), τί ἦν εἶναι
essentially, οὐσίᾳ
establish, κατασκευάζειν
eternal, αἰώνιος, ἀίδιος
eternity, αἰών
Eudemian, Εὐδήμειος
Eudemus, Εὔδημος
Euripides, Εὐριπίδης
evening star, ἕσπερος
evidence, μαρτύριον, πιθανόν (τό)
evident, ἐναργής, φανερός, συμφανής
evidently, ἐναργῶς
examine, εὐθύνειν
example, παράδειγμα
excess, ὑπερβολή
excrement, περίττωμα
exhalation, ἀναπνοή
exist, ὑπάρχειν, ὑφίστασθαι
exist separately, χωριστὸς εἶναι
existence, οὐσία, ὕπαρξις, ὑπόστασις
experience (n.), ἐμπειρία
experience (v.), πεπονθέναι
explain, ἐξηγεῖσθαι, παραμυθεῖσθαι, παρατίθεσθαι
explain further, προσδιασαφεῖν
explain on natural principles, φυσιολογεῖν
explanation, αἰτία, ἐξήγησις, παραμυθία
explicitly, ἀναπεπταμένως, διαρρήδην
exposition, ἀνέλιξις
expound, ἀποδιδόναι, ὑφηγεῖσθαι
extend, ἀποτείνειν
extend beyond, ὑπερπίπτειν
external, ἔξω
extremity, ἄκρον, ἔσχατον, πέρας
eye, ὄμμα, ὀφθαλμός

fabrication, πεπλασμένον
fact (the), ὅτι (τό)
fact of the matter, πρᾶγμα
false, ψευδής, ψεῦδος
falsehood, ψεῦδος
false-shining, ψευδοφανής
fasten upon, περικαθάπτειν
fate, εἱμαρμένη
father, πατήρ
fault, μέμφεσθαι
Favorinus, Φαβορῖνος
female, θῆλυς
fiery, διάπυρος, πυρώδης
figure of speech, σχῆμα
find out, πυνθάνεσθαι
fire, πῦρ
first, πρῶτος
fit into, ἐναρμόττειν
fixed star, ἀπλανής
flourish, ἀκμάζειν
flux, ῥοή, ῥῦσις
follow, ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐπακολουθεῖν, κατακολουθεῖν, συμπεραίνεσθαι, ζηλοῦν
follow from, παρέπεσθαι
follower, ζηλώτης
fond of contemplating, φιλοθεάμων
foreigner, ξένος
forgetting, λήθη

form, εἶδος
formal, εἰδικός
formal cause, εἰδικόν, ἡ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος αἰτία
friendship, φιλία
from Gela, Γελῶος
full, πλήρης
future, γενησόμενος, μέλλον

gate, πύλη
general, καθόλου
generate, ἀπογεννᾶν, γεννᾶν
generated, γενητός
generated later, ὑστερογενής
generation, γένεσις
genius, μεγαλόνοια
genus, γένος
geography, γεωγραφία
geometer, γεωμέτρης
get, λαμβάνειν
get training, γυμνάζειν
give, ἀποδιδόναι
give a title, ἐπιγράφειν
give laws, νομοθετεῖν
give up on, ἀπογι(γ)νώσκειν
Glaucus, Γλαῦκος
go, χωρεῖν
go astray, πλανᾶσθαι
go on, ἐπάγειν
go through, διαπεραίνεσθαι, διεξιέναι
god, θεός
goddess, δαίμων
good, ἀγαθός
Good (the), ἀγαθόν (τό)
goodness, ἀγαθότης
Gorgias, Γοργίας
grant, συγχωρεῖν
grasp, αἱρεῖν, περιλαμβάνειν
Great Greece, μεγάλη Ἑλλάς
gross error, διαμαρτία
grounds for attack, ἀντίληψις
grow, αὔξεσθαι
guardian, φύλαξ

Hades, Ἀιδής
happen, συμβαίνειν
hard, σκληρός
has five zones, πεντάζωνος
have, ἐπέχειν
have a share, μετέχειν
have an attribute, πάσχειν
have as an attribute, πεπονθέναι
have faith, πιστεύειν
have in mind, ἐννοεῖν
have trust, πιστεύειν
hear, ἀκούειν
hear of, ἀκοῇ εἰδέναι
hearth, ἑστία
heat, καῦμα, θερμότης
heaven, οὐρανός
heavy, βαρύς
Hera, Ἥρα
Heraclitus, Ἡράκλειτος
Hermippus, Ἕρμιππος
Herodotus, Ἡρόδοτος
Hesiod, Ἡσίοδος
high, ἄκρος
highest, πρῶτος
highly honored, πολυτίμητος
Hipparchus, Ἵππαρχος
Hippasus, Ἵππασος
Hippocrates, Ἱπποκράτης
hold doctrines, δογματίζειν
hold of, ὑπάρχειν
hold opinions, δοξάζειν
Homer, Ὅμηρος
honor, τίμη
hope (n.), ἐλπίς
hope (v.), ἐλπίζειν
hot, θερμός
hot (the), θερμόν (τό)
Hyele, Ὑέλη
hymn, ὕμνος
hypothesis, ὑπόθεσις
hypothesize, ὑποτίθεσθαι
Hypsipyle, Ὑψιπύλη

Iamblichus, Ἰάμβλιχος
idea, ἰδέα
identity, ταυτότης
idle talk, ἀδολεσχία
ignorance, ἄγνοια

illuminate, φωτίζειν
image, εἰκών, πλάσμα
imitator, μιμητής
immortal, ἀθάνατος
immovable, ἀμετακίνητος
immutability, ἄτρεπτον (τό)
imperishable, ἀνώλεθρος, ἄφθαρτος
implausible, ἀπίθανος
impossibility of cognitive impressions, ἀκαταληψία
impossible, ἀδύνατος
impression, φαντασία
impulse, ὁρμή
in a unified way, ἡνωμένως
in a way appropriate to forms, εἰδητικῶς
in a way that brings them together, συνῃρημένως
in a way that involves extension, διαστατικῶς
in agreement, σύμφωνος
in an exceeding degree, καθ' ὑπερβολήν
in any way, ὅλως
in general, ὅλως
in Ibycus' poem, Ἰβύκειος
in its unity, ἡνωμένως
in many ways, πολλαχῶς
in motion, κινούμενος
in only one way, ἁπλῶς
in prose, καταλογάδην, πεζῇ
in the same way, ὁμοίως
in the strict sense, κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον
in truth, τὸ ἀληθές, κατὰ τὸ ἀληθέστατον
incessant, ἀδιάλειπτος
include, περιλαμβάνειν, συγκαταριθμεῖν, συναιρεῖν
inclusive, περιληπτικός
incomplete, ἀτελής
incomprehensible, ἄληπτος
inconsistent, μαχόμενος
incorporeal, ἀσώματος
indescribable, ἄφατος
indicate, δηλοῦν, ἐνδείκνυσθαι
indication, δήλωσις
individual, ἄτομος, κατὰ μέρος
indivisible, ἀδιαίρετος, ἀμέριστος
ineffable, ἄρρητος, ἄφραστος
infallible, ἀδιάπτωτος
infer, συνάγειν
inferior, δεύτερος
inhabitable, οἰκήσιμος
inhabited, οἰκούμενος
initiate, κινεῖν
initiated, ἐποπτικός
innate, σύμφυτος
innovation, καινοτομία
Inquiry into Nature (title of Theophrastus' work), Φυσικὴ Ἱστορία
inquiry, ζήτησις, ἱστορία, μέθοδος, σκέψις
inseparable, ἀδιάκριτος
insert, ἐμφέρειν
instrumental, ὀργανικός
intellect, νοῦς
intellection, νοεῖν (τό), νόησις
intellective, νοερός
intellectual, νοητικός
intelligence, γνώμη, διάνοια
intelligent, ἔμφρων
intelligible, νοητός
intelligize, νοεῖν
intend something to apply, ἐπιφέρειν
interchange, ἐναλλάσσειν
intermediate, μέσος
intermingle, παραμειγνύναι
interrogate, ἀναπυνθάνεσθαι
intertwine, περιπλέκειν
interweave, πλέκειν
intestines, κοιλία
introduce, εἰσάγειν, ἐπάγειν, εἰσηγεῖσθαι
introduce along with, συνεισάγειν
introduction, προτέλεια
intuition, ἐπιβολή
invalid, ἀσυλλόγιστος, ἀσυμπέραντος
invalidity, ἀσυλλόγιστον (τό)
investigate, ζητεῖν
Ion, Ἴων
iron, σίδηρον

irrational, ἄλογος
Isthmus, Ἰσθμός
Italian, Ἰταλιώτης
Italy, Ἰταλία

just, δίκαιος
justice, δικαιοσύνη, δίκη

keep apart, διείργειν
keeper of the keys, κληδοῦχος
kind, εἶδος
kind of thing known, γνωστόν
know, γι(γ)νώσκειν
knowledge, ἐπιστήμη, γνῶσις
Kronos, Κρόνος

label, προσηγορία
laborious, πραγματειώδης
lack, ἔλλειψις
lacking, ἐνδεής
last, τελευταῖος
law, νόμος
law and order, εὐνομία
lawgiver, νομοθέτης
Laws (title of Plato's work), Νόμοι
lay claim to, ὑποποιεῖσθαι
lay the foundations of, ὑφίστασθαι
learn, παραλαμβάνειν
leave, ἀπολείπειν
leave behind, ἀπολείπειν
lecture, ἀκρόασις
left, ἀριστερός
less, ἐνδεής
less reputable, ἀδοξότερος
lesson, διδασκαλία, μάθημα
Leucippus, Λεύκιππος
life, ζωή
light (adj.), κοῦφος
light (n.), φάος, φῶς
like, ὅμοῖος
liken, ἀπεικάζειν
likeness, ὁμοιότης
limit (n.), πεῖραρ, πέρας
limit (v.), περαίνειν
limited, πεπερασμένος
liquid, ὑγρός

listen to, ἀκούειν
live, ζῆν
living being, ζῷον
living being itself, αὐτόζῳον
location, ἕδρα
logical practice, κανονικόν
look off, ἀποβλέπειν, ἀφορᾶν
loosely, καταχρηστικῶς
love, ἔρως
Love (in Empedocles), φιλία, φιλότης

magistrate, ἀρχή
magnitude, μέγεθος
maintain, διϊσχυρίζεσθαι, ἐγχειρεῖν
make, ποιεῖν
make a difference, διαφέρειν
make clear, διασαφηνίζειν, ἐμφαίνειν
make concessions to, ἐνδιδόναι
make fallacious inferences, παραλογίζεσθαι
make fun of, κωμῳδεῖν
make known, ἀποκαλύπτειν
make proclamations, ἀνυμνεῖν
male, ἄρρην
man, ἀνήρ
mark, διαλαμβάνειν
master, καθηγεμών
material, ὑλικός
material cause, ὑλικόν
mathematically, μαθηματικῶς
matter, ὕλη
mean, διανοούμενος λέγειν
Megara, Μέγαρα
Megarian, Μεγαρικός
Megarians, Μεγαρικοί (οἱ)
Melissus, Μέλισσος
Memorabilia (title of Favorinus' work), Ἀπομνημονεύματα
memory, μνήμη
menstrual flow, γυναικεία
menstrual fluids, καταμήνια
mention (n.), μνεία
mention (v.), μνημονεύειν
metaphorical use, μεταφορά
Metaphysics (title of Aristotle's work), Μετὰ τὰ Φυσικά (ἡ)

meter, μέτρον
method, διέξοδος, μέθοδος
Metrodorus, Μητρόδωρος
middle, μέσον
milky, γαλακτοειδής
milky way, γαλάξιος κύκλος
mind, νοῦς
Miscellaneous History (title of Favorinus' work), Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία
misunderstanding, παρακοή
mix together, συγκεραννύναι
mix up together, συναναφύρειν
mix with, συμμιγνύναι
mixed, μικτός
mixture, μῖγμα, μίξις
model, παράδειγμα
Monad, μονάς
monadic, μοναδικός
moon, σελήνη
morning star, ἑῷος, φωσφόρος
mortal, βροτεῖος
mother, μήτηρ
motion, κίνησις
motionlessness, ἀκινησία
mouth, στόμιον
move (intr.), κινεῖσθαι
move (tr.), κινεῖν
moved, κινούμενος
mud, ἰλύς
mythical, μυθικός

name (n.), ὄνομα
name (v.), ἀποτίθεσθαι, κατονομάζειν, ὀνομάζειν
name as a joint author, συνεπιγράφειν
nameless, ἀνώνυμος
narrative, ἀπαγγελία
natural, φυσικός
natural philosopher, φυσικός, φυσικὸς φιλόσοφος, ἀνὴρ ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ
Natural Philosophers (title of Theophrastus' work), Οἱ Φυσικοί
natural philosophy, φυσική, φυσιολογία
natural thing, φυσικόν (τό)
nature, φύσις
necessarily, ἐξ ἀνάγκης
necessary, ἀναγκαῖος
necessity, ἀνάγκη
negatively, ἀποφατικῶς
Nicander, Νίκανδρος
Nicomachus, Νικόμαχος
night, νύξ
nobility, καλόν (τό)
north, ἄρκτος, βόρειος, βορρᾶς
northerly, βόρειος
not know, ἀγνοεῖν
not lacking, ἀνενδεής
number, πλῆθος
Numenius, Νουμήνιος
nymph, νύμφη

object, πρᾶγμα
object of contemplation, θεώρημα
object of opinion, δοξαστόν
object to, ἀντιλέγειν, ὑπαντᾶν
objection, ἀπάντησις
observation, ἐπίστασις
observe, θεωρεῖν
observe in addition, προσθεωρεῖν
obvious, πρόχειρος
occur, γί(γ)νεσθαι
of Abdera, Ἀβδηρίτης
of Acragas, Ἀκραγιντῖνος
of an older person, πρεσβυτικός
of Colophon, Κολοφώνιος
of Cos, Κῷος
of Croton, Κροτωνιάτης
of Elea, Ἐλεάτης
of equal value, ἰσότιμος
of Heraclitus, Ἡρακλείτειος
of high opinions, πολύδοξος
of long ago, παλαιός
of Metapontum, Μεταποντῖνος
of Miletus, Μιλήσιος
of necessity, ἐξ ἀνάγκης
of Tarentum, Ταραντῖνος
of the soul, ψυχικός
of time, χρονικός
offer, προβάλλειν
old, πρεσβύτερος

old age, γῆρας
older, πρεσβύτερος
omit, ἀπολείπειν
On Generation (title of Aristotle's work), Περὶ Γενέσεως
On Nature (title of Empedocles' work), Περὶ Φύσεως
On Nature (title of Melissus's work), Περὶ Φύσεως
On Nature (title of Parmenides' work), Περὶ Φύσεως
On Nature (title of works of early writers), Περὶ Φύσεως
On Nature or On That-which-is (title of Melissus's work), Περὶ Φύσεως ἢ Περὶ τοῦ Ὄντος
On Opinion (title of part of Parmenides' work), Πρὸς Δόξαν
On Philosophers (title of Speusippus' work), Περὶ Φιλοσόφων
on the intelligible level, νοητός
on the level of discursive thought, διανοητός
on the level of the senses, αἰσθητός
On the Natural Philosophers (title of Theophrastus' work), Περὶ τῶν Φυσικῶν
one's own, οἰκεῖος
opinable, δοξαστός
opinion, δόξα
Opinion (title of part of Parmenides' work), Δόξα
opinionative, δοξαστός
opposite, ἀντίθετος
opposition, ἀντίθεσις
order (n.), κόσμος
order (v.), συντάσσειν
ordering, διακόσμησις, διάκοσμος
origin, γένεσις
originator, ἀρχηγός
Orpheus, Ὀρφεύς
Ouliades, Οὐλιάδης
overturn, ἀνατρέπειν
own, ἴδιος
pair of corresponding opposites, ἀντιστοιχεία
paltriness, εὐτέλεια
Panathenaea, Παναθήναια
parallel, συμπαραθεῖν
Parmenidean, Παρμενίδειος
Parmenides, Παρμενείδης, Παρμενίδης
Parmenides', Παρμενίδειος
part, μέρος, μόριον
participate, μεταλαμβάνειν, μετέχειν
participation, μέθεξις
partisan, στασιώτης
partition, μερίζειν
passage, λέξις, ῥῆσις
past, περεληλυθός
path, κέλευθος
pay attention to, παρακολουθεῖν, προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν
peculiar, ἴδιος
peculiar character, ἰδιότης
per accidens, κατὰ συμβεβηκός
per se, καθ' αὑτό
perceive, αἰσθάνεσθαι
Pericles, Περικλῆς
perish, ἀπόλλυσθαι, διαφθείρεσθαι, φθείρεσθαι
perishing, ὄλεθρος, φθορά
permit, ἀνέχεσθαι, συγχωρεῖν
perpetual, ἐνδελεχής
persist, διαμένειν, μένειν
Phaedrus (title of Plato's work), Φαῖδρος
phenomenon, φαινόμενον (τό)
philosopher, φιλόσοφος, φιλόσοφος ἀνήρ
philosophical, φιλόσοφος
philosophize, φιλοσοφεῖν
Philosophus Historia (title of Porphyry's work), Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία
philosophy, φιλοσοφία
Phocaean, Φωκαιεύς
Phocylides, Φωκυλίδης
physically, φυσικῶς
physician, ἰατρός, ἰητρός
Physics (title of Eudemus' work), Φυσικά (τά)

Physics (title of Parmenides' work), Φυσικόν (τό)
place, τόπος
Plato, Πλάτων
Platonic, Πλατωνικός
Platonist, Πλατωνικός
plausibly, πιθανῶς
plurality, πλῆθος
pluralize, πληθύνειν
poem, ποίημα
poet, ποιητής
poetic, ποιητικός
poetry, ἐποποιΐα, ποίησις
pore, πόρος
Porphyry, Πορφύριος
pose a puzzle, ἀπορεῖσθαι
Posidonius, Ποσειδώνιος
posit, ποιεῖν, τίθεσθαι
position, θέσις, στάσις
possible, δυνατός
posterior, δεύτερος
potentiality, δύναμις
power, δύναμις
practice, ἐπιτήδευμα
preach monism, ἑνίζειν
precede, προηγεῖσθαι
precise, ἀκριβής
precisely, ἁπλῶς
predicate (n.), κατηγορία
predicate (v.), κατηγορεῖν
predominate, ὑπερβάλλειν
premise, πρότασις
present, διατιθέναι, παραδιδόναι
present topic, προκείμενα (τά)
press on, σπεύδειν
pretended wisdom, δοξοσοφία
prevail, δυναστεύειν, ἐπικρατεῖν
prevent, προαναστέλλειν
primarily, πρώτως
primary, πρῶτος
principal, κύριος
principle, ἀρχή
problem, πρόβλημα
proceed, μετέρχεσθαι, ὁδεύειν, περαίνειν, προέρχεσθαι, προιέναι
procession, πρόοδος
proclaim, ἀνακηρύττειν
produce, ἀποδιδόναι, ἀποτελεῖν, ἐκφέρειν
productive, γόνιμος
profound, ἄκρος
pronounce, ἀποφθέγγεσθαι
proof, τεκμήριον
proper, οἰκεῖος
property of being indivisible, ἀδιαίρετον (τό)
property of being unmoved, ἀκίνητον (τό)
propose, προτιθέναι
proposed, προκείμενος
propound, ἐρωτᾶν
prose, πεζός
prose composition, λόγος
prose writer, ἰδιότης
Protagoras, Πρωταγόρας
prove, δεικνύναι, πιστοῦν
prove first, προδεικνύναι
prove to be, γί(γ)νεσθαι
provide, παρέχεσθαι
providence, πρόνοια
psychic, ψυχικός
pure, ἀκραιφνής, εἰλικρινής, καθαρός
pursue, ἐφέπεσθαι
put, τίθεσθαι
put ahead, προβάλλεσθαι
put forward, προάγεσθαι
put to the test, βασανίζειν
puzzle, ἀπορία
Pyres, Πύρης
Pyrres, Πύρρης
Pythagoras, Πυθαγόρας
Pythagorean, Πυθαγόρειος, Πυθαγορικός
Pythagoreans, Πυθαγορικοί
Pythia, Πυθία
Pythodorus, Πυθόδωρος

quality, ποιόν, ποιότης
quantity, ποσόν, ποσότης
question, ἐρωτηθέν (τό), ἐρώτησις
quibble, συκοφαντεῖν
quote, παρακεῖσθαι

rank, τάξις
rare, ἀραιός, μανός
rare texture, ἀραιότης
ray, ἀκτίς
read, ἀναγιγνώσκειν
real, οὐσιώδης
reality, φύσις
really, ὄντως
reason, αἰτία, λόγος
reason why (the), διότι (τό)
recall, ἀπομνημονεύειν
receive, καταδέχεσθαι
reckon, λογίζεσθαι
recognise, γνωρίζειν
red-hot, πεπυρωμένος
refer, ἀνάγειν
refuse, παραιτεῖσθαι
refuse to accept, ἀναίνεσθαι
refutation, ἔλεγχος, λύσις
refute, ἐλέγχειν, ἐξελέγχειν, λύειν
region of the earth (the), περίγεια (τά)
reject, ἀποδοκιμάζειν, καταβάλλειν, καταγι(γ)νώσκειν
relate, ἀφηγεῖσθαι, διεξέρχεσθαι
reliance, πίστις
rely on, ἐπαναπαύεσθαι
remain, μένειν
remind, ἀναμιμνήσκειν
remove, ἀφαιρεῖν, ἐξαιρεῖν
report, ἱστορεῖν
representation, μίμημα
Republic (title of Plato's work), Πολιτεία
reputable, ἔνδοξος
reputation, δόξα
rescue, ἀναφέρειν
responsible, αἴτιος
rest, ἠρεμία, στάσις
restive, στασιώτης
result, γί(γ)νεσθαι, προέρχεσθαι, συμβαίνειν
return (n.), ἐπιστροφή
return (v.), ἐπιστρέφεσθαι
reveal, ἐκφαίνειν
ridiculous, γελοῖος
right, δεξιός
ring, στεφάνη, στέφανος
Roman, Ῥωμαῖος
room, χώρα
rotate, περιάγεσθαι
rotation, περιφορά
roughly, ὁλοσχερῶς
round, περιφερής, στρογγύλος
rule, κανών
ruler, ἄρχων

say something definite, ἀφορίζειν
school, διδασκαλεῖον
science, ἐπιστήμη, μάθημα
scientific, ἐπιστημονικός, φυσικός, φυσιολογικός
second, δεύτερος
secondarily, δευτέρως
secret, κρύφιος
secretion, ἀπόκρισις
section, τμῆμα
see, συνορᾶν
seed, γόνος
sensation, αἴσθησις
sense, αἴσθησις
sensible, αἰσθητός
separate (adj.), διακεκριμένος, κεχωρισμένος
separate (v.), διακρίνειν
separate off, ἀποκρίνειν
separation, διάκρισις
set apart, ἀφαιρεῖν
set at odds, διϊστάναι
set of contradictory alternatives, διαιρετικόν
set of exhaustive contradictory alternatives, ἀναγκαῖον διαιρετικόν
set out, ἐκτίθεσθαι
shake, κραδαίνεσθαι
shape, σχῆμα
she who steers, κυβερνῆτις
short passage, ῥησείδιον
show, δηλοῦν, ἐπιδεικνύναι
show up as well, παραφαίνεσθαι
sign, σημαινόμενον, σημεῖον
significant, σημαντικός
signify, σημαίνειν
silence, σιωπή

similar, προσόμοιος
simple, ἁπλοῦς
simply, ἁπλῶς
snatch, ἁρπάζειν
Socrates, Σωκράτης
soft, μαλθακός
solemn, σεμνός
solid, ναστός, στερεός
sophist, σοφιστής
Sophist (title of Plato's work), Σοφιστής
sophistry, σόφισμα
Sophocles, Σοφοκλῆς
Sotion, Σωτίων
soul, ψυχή
soulless, ἄψυχος
sound, φωνή
source, πηγή
south, μεσημβρία, νότιος
southerly, νότιος
spare, ἰσχνός
Spartan, Σπαρτιάτης
speak about nature, φυσικῶς λέγειν
speak at random, εἰκοβολεῖν
spend time, διατρίβειν
Speusippus, Σπεύσιππος
sphere, σφαῖρα
spherical, σφαιροειδής
stable, ἑστώς, μόνιμος
stage, σκηνή
stand, ἱστάναι
standard, κανών
star, ἀστήρ, ἄστρον
starting point, ἀρχή
state (n.), ἕξις
state (v.), ἐκφέρειν
statement, λόγος
station, ὑποτάττειν
steady, ἀκλινής
sticking to the text, γλισχρός
stillness, ἡσυχία
Stilpo, Στίλπων
story, μῦθος
straight, εὐθύς
strain, ἀνατείνεσθαι
Stranger (the Eleatic Stranger, character in Plato's *Sophist*), Ξένος
strictly, κυρίως
strictly speaking, κυρίως
Strife (in Empedocles), νεῖκος
strive, ἐφιέναι
student, μαθητής
study (n.), παιδεία
study (v.), μεταχειρίζεσθαι
subject, ὑποκείμενον
subject matter, ὑπόθεσις
subject to generation, ἐν γενέσει
subject to variation, πλανητός
subordinate, πάρεργος
substance, οὐσία
substrate, ὑποκείμενον
Successions (title of Alexander's work), Διαδοχαί
successor, διάδοχος
suffice, ἐξαρκεῖν
suit, οἰκεῖος εἶναι
suitably, συμμέτρως
summer, θερινός
sun, ἥλιος
superficial, ἐπιπόλαιος
superfluous, περιττός
superior, ἐπέκεινα
superiority, ὑπερβολή, ὑπεροχή
suppose, τίθεσθαι, ὑπολαμβάνειν
surprising, θαυμαστός
surround, περιέχειν
suspect, ὑποπτεύειν
suspension of judgment, ἐποχή
symbol, σύμβολον
synthesis, σύνθεσις

take, λαμβάνειν
take a position on, ἵστασθαι
take care, προνοεῖν
take up, ἀναλαμβάνειν
teach, διδάσκειν
teacher, διδάσκαλος
teaching, διδασκαλία, μάθησις
Teleutagoras, Τελευταγόρας
tell, διηγεῖσθαι
temperate, εὔκρατος
temporal, χρονικός
tempt, πειρᾶσθαι

tend, ῥέπτειν
testify, ἀπομαρτύρεσθαι, μαρτυρεῖν
Thales, Θαλῆς
that causes combination, συγκριτικός
that has parts, μεμερισμένος
that has to do with opinion, δοξαστικός
that produces, προαγωγός
Theaetetus (the character in Plato's dialogue), Θεαίτητος
Theodorus, Θεόδωρος
Theognis, Θέογνις
theologian, θεολόγος
Theophrastus, Θεόφραστος
theorizing, θεωρία
theory, θεωρία
thesis, θέσις, πρόθεσις
thing, πρᾶγμα
thing beheld, θέαμα
thing of a certain nature, φύσις
think, νοεῖν, ὑπολαμβάνειν, φρονεῖν
think highly of oneself, φρονεῖν μέγα
thinking, νοεῖν (τό)
thought, γνῶσις, διάνοια, νόημα, νῶσις (= νόησις), φρόνησις
tightly connected, συνημμένος
Timaeus (character in Plato's work), Τίμαιος
Timaeus (title of Plato's work), Τίμαιος
time, χρόνος
tool, ὄργανον
torrid, διακεκαυμένος
touch, ἐφάπτειν
touch upon, ἅπτεσθαι
touching, ἐπαφή
trace back to, ἀναπέμπειν
training, γυμνασία
transcend, ἐξῃρῆσθαι
transcendent, ἐξῃρημένος
transfer, μεταφέρειν
transformation, ὁδός
transmit, ἀναδιδόναι
treat, μετιέναι, πραγματεύεσθαι
treatise, γράμματα, σύγγραμμα
Treatise on Nature, φυσικόν
treatment, πραγματεία
treatment of opinion (part of Parmenides's work), τὰ πρὸς Δόξαν
treatment of truth (part of Parmenides' poem), τὰ πρὸς Ἀλήθειαν
trope, τροπή
tropic, τροπικός
true, ἀληθής
true meaning, ἀλήθεια
trust, πίστις
trustworthy, οὐκ ἀνεχέγγυος
truth, ἀλήθεια, ἀληθές, ἀληθῆ
try, ἐπιχειρεῖν
turn away from, ἀποστρέφειν
turn into vapor, ἐξατμίζειν
turn out to be, συμβαίνειν
turn to, μεταβαίνειν
turned on a lathe, ἔντορνος

unadorned, ἀκαλλώπιστος
unaffected, ἀπαθής
unapprehended, ἀπερίληπτος
unbendingness, ἀκλινές (τό)
uncertain, ἀβέβαιος
uncertainty, πλάνη
unchangeability, ἀμετάβλητον (τό)
unchanging, ἀμετάβλητος
unclear, ἀσαφής
under the influence of divine inspiration, ἐνθουσιῶν
undergo locomotion, φέρεσθαι
underlie, ὑποκεῖσθαι
understand, ἀκούειν, ἐκδέχεσθαι, κατανοεῖν, μανθάνειν, συνιέναι
understand along with, συνεπινοεῖν
undifferentiated, ἀδιάφορος
undiscussed, ἄρρητος
unevenness, ἀνωμαλία
unevident, ἀφανής
unfold, ἀναπλοῦν
ungenerated, ἀγέηντος, ἀγέννητος
unhypothetical, ἀνυπόθετος
unify, ἑνοῦν
uninhabitable, ἀοίκητος
uninterrupted, ἀνέκλειπτος
unique, μονογενής
unit, ἑνάς

unitary, ἑναδικός, ἑνοειδής
unity, ἕν, ἕνωσις
unknown, ἀγνώς
unlikeness, ἀνομοιότης
unlimited, ἄπειρος
unlimitedness, ἀπειρία
unmixed, ἀμιγής
unmoved, ἀκίνητος
unnamed, ἀκατονόμαστος
unnatural, ἀφύσικος
unqualified, ἁπλοῦς
unqualifiedly, ἁπλῶς
unrefuted, ἀνέλεγκτος
unseen, ἀϊδής
unshaken, ἀτρεμής
unstable, ἀστάθμητος
unthinkable, ἀδόκητος
untrustworthy, ἀναξιόπιστος
unwritten, ἄγραφος
usage, χρῆσις
use, χρῆσις
use as a title, ἐπιγράφειν
used for ascent, ἀναβατικός
used for descent, καταβατικός
uterus, μήτρα
utterance, φωνή

vapor, ἀναθυμίασις
variable, ποικίλος
verse, ἔπος, στιχοποιΐα
view, θεᾶσθαι
virtue, ἀρετή
virtuous, σπουδαῖος
visible, ἐμφανής
visual faculty, ὁρατικόν (τό)
void, κενόν
void (the), κενόν (τό)

water, ὕδωρ
way, ὁδός
way something is expressed, φωνή
weakness, ἀδυναμία
what appears, φαινόμενον (τό)
what is beneath, ὑποβεβλημένον (τό)
what is moved, κινούμενον (τό)
which causes motion, κινητικός
whole, ὅλος, ὅλον
whole (the), ὅλον (τό)
whole of limb, οὐλομελής
winter, χειμερινός
wisdom, σοφία, φρόνησις
wise, σοφός
wise man, σοφός
with experience, ἔμπειρος
with precision, δι' ἀκριβείας
without a beginning, ἄναρχος
without an end, ἀτελεύτητος
without demonstration, ἀναποδείκτως
without experience, ἄπειρος
without parts, ἀμερής
without qualification, ἁπλῶς, εἰλικρινῶς
woman, γυνή
word, λέξις, λόγος, ὄνομα, ῥῆμα
wording, ῥῆμα
work, ἔργον
world order, διάκοσμος
worse, χείρων
write, γράφειν
write down, συγγράφειν
writing, γράμμα
writings of Parmenides, Παρμενίδεια (τά)

Xenocrates, Ξενοκράτης
Xenophanes, Ξενοφάνης

Zeno, Ζήνων
Zeus, Ζεύς
zone, ζώνη

3. GREEK–ENGLISH INDEX

^ designates words quoted from another author quotations from Parmenides are not indexed

Ἀβδηρίτης, of Abdera, **43**: 28,16; **157**: 106
ἀβέβαιος, uncertain, **113**: 1114C6; **136**: 215,8
ἀγαθοποιός, beneficial, **190**: 55,8

ἀγαθός, good, **5**: 135c9; **21**: 185b21.22 (ter).23; **190**: 55,8.9; ἀγαθόν (τό), the Good, **144**: 8,9
ἀγαθότης, goodness, **171**: 705,3
ἀγάπη, affection, **127**: 15,4
ἄγειν, carry along, **108**: 45B5
ἀγένητος, ungenerated, **20**: 298b19; **40**: 31,12; **43**: 28,7; **60**: 332,2; **87**: 581,3; **90**: 564,20; **91**: 9,3; **202**: 137,2; **203**: 557,4; **204**: 30,4; **207**: 38,20.22^; **208**: 78,24; 79,30; **210**: 116,18^; **213**: 142,32; 144,3.17; 147,3.6; **214**: 162,12
ἀγέννητος (sic), ungenerated, **87a**: 108,5
ἀγνοεῖν, be ignorant, **152**: 337,12; **172**: 708,11.24; **203**: 559,27; **211**: 120,21; not know, **5**: 136e1; ἀγνοεῖσθαι, be unknown, **153**: 166,6
ἄγνοια, ignorance, **207**: 39,21; **211**: 120,13
ἀγνώς, unknown, **154**: 267,1
ἄγραφος, unwritten, **174**: 1033,16
ἀδιαίρετος, indivisible, **21**: 185b8.16.18; **38**: 143,1.7; **209**: 86,23; 87,4.7; **211**: 120,24; **212**: 139,27^; **213**: 143,1.7; ἀδιαίρετον (τό), the property of being indivisible, **213**: 144,21
ἀδιάκριτος, inseparable, **184**: 35,14; **211**: 120,24
ἀδιάλειπτος, incessant, **43**: 28,11
ἀδιάπτωτος, infallible, **136**: 213,5
ἀδιάφορος, undifferentiated, **210**: 116,14^
ἀδόκητος, unthinkable, **175**: 1077,26
ἀδολεσχία, idle talk, **5**: 135d5
ἄδοξος, unreputable, **113**: 1113F3
ἀδυναμία, weakness, **35**: 765b17
ἀδύνατος, impossible, **5**: 136e2; **21**: 185a27.30; 186a4; 187a10; ἀδύνατον, 'can't', **11**: 245a5
ἀήρ, air, **32**: 330b15; **61**: 335,17.22; **61a**: 622,23; **87**: 581,4; **152**: 337,4
ἀθάνατος, immortal, **133**: 23,5.6
αἰγόκερως, Capricorn, **133**: 21,7; 22,7.9; 23,1
Αἰγύπτιος, Egyptian, **133**: 23,7
Ἅιδής, Hades, **150**: 6,6^
ἀιδής, unseen, **207**: 39,20
ἀίδιος, eternal, **40**: 31,10; **60**: 332,2; **87**: 580,21; **90**: 564, 19.23; **113**: 1114D7; **177**: 1084,36; **203**: 557,7; **208**: 77,13^.19^; 79,2^; **211**: 120,24
αἰθήρ, aether, **61**: 335,23; **61a**: 622,23; **65**: 345,16
αἷμα, blood, **35**: 765b21.23 (bis)
αἱματώδης, bloody, **35**: 765b25
αἱρεῖν, grasp, **194**: 65,6
αἵρεσις, choice, **11**: 245b6
αἰσθάνεσθαι, perceive, **4**: 128b8; **45**: 499,22; 500,3.4
αἴσθησις, sensation, **26**: 986b32; **28**: 1009b13.14; **31**: 325a13; **45**: 499,1; 500,2; **80**: 397,4; **113**: 1114C9; 1114E5; **114**: 1116A8; **141**: 10,4; **184**: 36,5; **192**: 277,21.27; **193**: 22,12; **197**: 28,1; sense, **46**: 3,11; **79**: 396,16; **87**: 581,1; **114**: 1116A7; **132**: 1,2; **136**: 213,6; 214,24; 215,8.15; **140**: 448,11; **199**: 80,1
αἰσθητός, sensible, **20**: 298b21; **80**: 397,5; **113**: 1114D9; 1114E11; **137**: 306,33; **144**: 8,16; **162**: 46,29; **164**: 171,16; **166**: 252,2.3; **189**: 42,27.29; **191**: 202,13; **193**: 22,9.11; **203**: 557,3^.8.12.13^.14.22; 558,4.8.12.14.15.16; 559,14.18.20; **204**: 30,15; **207**: 38,26; 39,11; **208**: 80,3; **213**: 144,5.10; 147,27; 'on the level of the senses', **177**: 1084,32.35
αἰσχρός, disgraceful, **113**: 1113F1; **115**: 1124E3; αἰσχρόν (τό), disgrace, **117**: 1126D11
αἰτία, cause, **25**: 984b3.4.21.30; **26**: 986b33; **33**: 336a3.9; **55**: 284 app.,6; **61**: 335,13; **75**: 380,15; **203**: 557,1; **207**: 38,12; 39,17; 40,2; **213**: 147,16; 148,10; explanation, **172**: 709,5; **186**: 122,22; reason, **31**: 325a17; **35**: 765b19; **133**: 23,4; **214**: 162,14; αἰτίαν ἔχειν, come under attack, **144**: 8,23
αἴτιον, cause, **25**: 984a21.b13; **40**: 31,14; **41**: 448,1; **43**: 28,12; **90**: 564,22; **183**:

1240,35; **190**: 55,8; **204**: 29,9.12; 31,11; **205**: 34,15.16; **207**: 38,23^.27; **209**: 87,10; **211**: 120,26; **213**: 144,12.22; 147,13
αἴτιος, responsible, **205**: 34,16
αἰών, eternity, **142**: 11,2
αἰώνιος, eternal, **169**: 639,28
ἀκαλλώπιστος, unadorned, **170**: 665,21
ἀκαταληψία, impossibility of cognitive impressions, **94**: 1122A3
ἀκατονόμαστος, unnamed, **219**: 26,27
ἀκινησία, motionlessness, **207**: 40,2
ἀκίνητος, unmoved, **6**: 181b1; **20**: 298b19; **21**: 184b16.26; **25**: 984a31; **31**: 325a3.15; **43**: 28,7; **56**: 303,17; **57**: 320,13; **87**: 580,22; **90**: 564,24; **91**: 9,3; **144**: 8,18; **180**: 1153,7.9; **193**: 22,4.13; **203**: 557,4.9; **204**: 29,16; **207**: 37,23^.29^.30^.31^; 38,5.11.14.15.16.17.20; 39,22; **208**: 79,13; **209**: 87,11; **211**: 120,24; **213**: 143,9; 147,4*.7; **215**: 179,29; **221**: 201,3 (bis); ἀκίνητον (τό), the property of being unmoved, **213**: 144,21
ἀκλινής, steady, **142**: 11,4; ἀκλινές (τό), unbendingness, **178**: 1129,27
ἀκμάζειν, flourish, **97**: 449,1
ἀκοή, act of hearing, **136**: 214,24; ἀκοῇ εἰδέναι, hear of, **202**: 137,1
ἀκολουθεῖν, accept, **36**: 115,25; be a follower, **41**: 447,13; **96**: 447,15; follow, **26**: 986b31; **31**: 325a14; **137**: 306,32 (bis); **204**: 31,10
ἀκόλουθον, consequence, **99**: 125,12
ἀκούειν, be a student of, **15**: 419,4; **41**: 447,12 (bis); hear, **5**: 135d8; **38**: 143,5; **134**: 505F3; **206**: 36,26; **208**: 78,1; **210**: 116,25; **213**: 143,5; listen to, **130**: 138,1,1; understand, **37**: 133,22; **194**: 65,5; **209**: 87,3; **213**: 147,5
Ἀκουσίλεως, Akousilaus, **1**: 178b8
Ἀκραγιντῖνος, of Acragas, **39**: 25,19; **154**: 267,18; **157**: 106
ἀκραιφνής, pure, **175**: 1079,10
ἀκρίβεια: δι' ἀκριβείας, with precision, **155**: 38,37
ἀκριβής, accurate, **140**: 448,11; **192**: 277,27; **197**: 28,1; **199**: 80,1; precise, **38**: 143,8; **144**: 8,24; **213**: 143,8
ἀκροᾶσθαι, be a student of, **148**: 258,7
ἀκρόασις, lecture, **171**: 704,24
ἄκρον, extremity, **133**: 21,5; **191**: 202,19
ἄκρος, high, **172**: 708,9; **184**: 35,3.16; , profound, **213**: 148,15
ἀκτίς, ray, **82**: 404,3
Ἀλέξανδρος, Alexander, **33a**: 287,26; **36**: 115,11; **37**: 133,24; **42**: 115,11; **139**: 101,25; **207**: 37,22; 38,2.18.25; **208**: 79,7.12; **212**: 140,23;
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀφροδισιεύς, Alexander of Aphrodiaias, **208**: 77,9
ἀλήθεια, truth, **5**: 135d6; **17**: 5,12; **25**: 984b10; **31**: 325a17; **40**: 31,11; **87**: 580,23; 581,2; **130**: 137,2,1; **136**: 215,16; **140**: 448,4; **167**: 346,1; **184**: 35,2; 36,6; **199**: 80,1; **203**: 556,13; 557,23; **204**: 30,15; **207**: 38,19; 39,11; **215**: 179,33; 'true meaning', **4**: 128b8; τὰ πρὸς Ἀλήθειαν, the treatment of truth (part of P.'s poem), **193**: 22,3.6.8
ἀληθεύειν, be true of, **213**: 144,7
ἀληθής, true, **6**: 181a7; **11**: 243a2.e7; 245a8; **21**: 186b10; 187a4; **28**: 1009b14; **130**: 138,1,1; **164**: 171,12; **171**: 704,38; **174**: 1033,20.33; **175**: 1078,26; **193**: 22,8; **199**: 80,2; **203**: 557,2; **208**: 79,3^; ἀληθές (τό), truth, **5**: 136e2; **163**: 75,29; ἀληθῆ, truth, **2**: 195c3; ἀληθέστατα, 'quite right', **11**: 245b7; κατὰ τὸ ἀληθέστατον, 'in truth', **164**: 171,12, τὸ ἀληθές, 'in truth', **4**: 128c6
ἄληπτος, incomprehensible, **172**: 708,31
Ἀλκίδαμας, Alcidamas, **15**: 419,3
Ἀλκμέων, Alcmeon, **14**: 268,7
ἀλλοιοῦσθαι, alter, **208**: 79,27
ἀλλοίωσις, alteration, **28**: 1009b13; **137**: 306,33
ἀλλότριος, another's, **112**: 929A11; s, **113**: 1114C3
ἄλογος, irrational, **78**: 392,7; **136**: 214,20; **193**: 22,12

Ἀμεινίας, Aminias, **96**: 447, 13.17
ἀμερής, without parts, **11**: 245a8; , **212**: 139,27^
ἀμέριστος, indivisible, **209**: 87,11
ἀμετάβλητος, unchanging, **187**: 133,23; ἀμετάβλητον (τό), unchangeability, **188**: 136,23; **194**: 65,15
ἀμετακίνητος, immovable, **136**: 215,6
ἀμιγής, unmixed, **208**: 77,24
ἀμφίβολος, ambiguous, **184**: 36,7
ἀναβαίνειν, ascend, **143**: 8,1; **184**: 35,3
ἀναβατικός, used for ascent, **133**: 23,1
ἀνάγειν, elevate, **142**: 11,1; **173**: 997,21; **175**: 1079,10; **184**: 36,7; refer, **45**: 499,13; ἀνάγεσθαι, ascend, **171**: 705,2
ἀναγιγνώσκειν, read, **149**: 25,6
ἀναγκάζειν, compel, **5**: 137a4; **11**: 244d7; **25**: 984b10; **26**: 986b31; **207**: 39,21
ἀναγκαῖος, necessary, **31**: 325a12; **36**: 116,3; **175**: 1077,26; 'must', **175**: 1078,24; 1079,1; ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, 'h'ave to', **10**: 241d3; **11**: 245d9
ἀνάγκη, necessity, **2**: 195c3; **58**: 321,7; **58a**: 321 app.,4; **61**: 335,16; **191**: 202,10; 'it is necessary', **21**: 186a32; **185**: 66,8; 'it must', **11**: 244e7; 'it will have to be', **11**: 244d13, 'must', **5**: 136e8; **21**: 184b15; 186b16; **27**: 1001a33; **33**: 336a9; **120**: 987b10.11; **171**: 705,3; **187**: 133,23; **203**: 557,4; **204**: 29,8; 'necessary', **29**: 1089a5; ἐξ ἀνάγκης, 'must', **28**: 1009b14; **31**: 325a3; 'necessarily', **175**: 1079,12; of necessity, **26**: 986b29; οὐκ ἀνάγκη, 'need not', **120**: 987b14
ἀναγωγή, 'referring', **94**: 1122A4
ἀναδιδόναι, transmit, **82**: 404,9
ἀναθυμίασις, vapor, **66**: 346,20
ἀναίνεσθαι, refuse to accept, **201**: 131,5
ἀναιρεῖν, eliminate, **18**: 9,5; **20**: 298b15, **21**: 185a2; **57**: 320,12; **110**: 402E7; **113**: 1114B5; 1114D4.5; **114**: 1116A5; **115**: 1124D9; **171**: 704,24; **172**: 708,33; **203**: 559,15; **213**: 147,19.31; **216**: 243,32
ἀναίρεσις, elimination, **113**: 1114E11; **213**: 144,29; , 'eliminating', **171**: 704,31
ἀνακηρύττειν, proclaim, **178**: 1130,5
ἀναλαμβάνειν, take up, **113**: 1113E11
ἀναμιμνήσκειν, remind, **152**: 337,11
Ἀναξαγόρας, Anaxagoras, **17**: 5,12; **36**: 116,4; **39**: 25,20; **45**: 499,3; **79**: 396,14; **80**: 397,1; **84**: 420,1; **138**: 6,28; **190**: 55,7; **199**: 80,2
Ἀναξίμανδρος, Anaximander, **41**: 447,12; **41a**: 59,12; **135**: 191,19
Ἀναξιμένης, Anaximenes, **62**: 339,21; **69a**: 356 app.,1; **135**: 191,18
ἀναξιόπιστος, untrustworthy, **36**: 115,25
ἀναπέμπειν, trace back to, **212**: 140,25
ἀναπεπταμένως, explicitly, **144**: 8,11
ἀναπλοῦν, unfold, **171**: 705,10
ἀναπνοή, exhalation, **61**: 335,19
ἀναποδείκτως, without demonstration, **36**: 116,3
ἀναπτύσσειν, develop, **171**: 705,11
ἀναπυνθάνεσθαι, interrogate, **11**: 243d8
ἀνάρρησις, declaration, **178**: 1130,3
ἀναρτᾶσθαι, depend on, **137**: 307,2; **185**: 66,9
ἄναρχος, without a beginning, **204**: 29,27
ἀνατείνεσθαι, strain, **184**: 35,12
ἀνατιθέναι, attribute, **174**: 1033,10; dedicate, **119**: 2,6
ἀνατολή, east, **83**: 419,15
ἀνατρέπειν, overturn, **172**: 709,1
ἀνατρέχειν, ascend, **174**: 1033,25; **183**: 1240,37
ἀναφέρειν, attribute, **208**: 79,1^; **211**: 120,27; rescue, **93**: 448,17
ἀνέκλειπτος, uninterrupted, **204**: 30,4
ἀνέλεγκτος, unrefuted, **208**: 77,11
ἀνέλιξις, exposition, **171**: 705,9
ἀνενδεής, not lacking, **204**: 30,11 (bis); **207**: 40,7
ἀνέχεσθαι, permit, **188**: 136,18

ἀνήρ, man, **34**: 648a29; **94**: 1122A4; **113**: 1114C2; **117**: 1126E2; **125**: 119,13; **203**: 557,21; **204**: 30,13; **207**: 38,5.7.10
ἀνιέναι, ascend, **133**: 22,9; 23,4; **174**: 1033,34
ἀνομοιότης, unlikeness, **113**: 1114E4
ἀντιδιαιρεῖσθαι, be coordinate with, **188**: 136,22; **198**: 75,6
ἀντιδιαστέλλειν, contrast, **213**: 148,17
ἀντίθεσις, opposition, **204**: 30,20; 31,8; **205**: 34,14.17
ἀντίθετος, opposite, **204**: 31,7
ἀντικείμενος, contradictory, **171**: 704,38; **173**: 997,20; ἀντικείμενον (τό), the contradictory claim, **171**: 704,30; **210**: 117,3
ἀντιλέγειν, contradict, **179**: 1134,18; **207**: 38,16.17; **208**: 77,10; object to, **209**: 86,20; **213**: 147,17.18; 148,12
ἀντίληψις, apprehension, **82**: 404,7; **141**: 10,4.5; , grounds for attack, **113**: 1114F3
ἀντιλογία, counter-argument, **36**: 116,2; **213**: 142,30; 147,19; 148,7
ἀντιστοιχεία, pair of corresponding opposites, **204**: 29,13
ἀντιστρόφως, 'just the opposite', **83**: 419,19
ἀντίφασις, both members of a contradiction, **21**: 187a5; **210**: 116,20.23; 117,2
Ἀντιφών, Antiphon, **3**: 127a7
ἄντρον, cave, **133**: 21,3; 23,2
ἀνυμνεῖν, celebrate, **204**: 29,17; **209**: 86,21; **213**: 148,18.21; make proclamations, **152**: 337,13
ἀνυπόθετος, unhypothetical, **174**: 1033,35
ἀνώλεθρος, imperishable, **213**: 144,4.18; 147,4
ἀνωμαλία, unevenness, **108**: 45B2
ἀνώνυμος, nameless, **154**: 267,2
ἀξιοῦν, claim, **26**: 986b29; consider right, **132**: 1,5; **171**: 704,14; consider worthwhile, **208**: 77,10; consider worthy, **203**: 557,22; 558,16
ἀοίκητος, uninhabitable, **99**: 125,22
ἀπαγγελία, narrative, **170**: 665,22
ἀπᾴδειν, be discordant, **213**: 144,9
ἀπαθής, unaffected, **147**: 18,39.43
ἀπάντησις, objection, **149**: 25,8
ἀπατᾶν, deceive, **36**: 115,26; **213**: 147,30
ἀπάτη, deception, **93**: 448,17; **213**: 147,29
ἀπατηλός, deceptive, **207**: 39,10; **213**: 144,5; 147,28
ἀπεικάζειν, compare, **5**: 137a3; liken, **144**: 8,20
ἀπειρία, unlimitedness, **204**: 29,9
ἄπειρος, unlimited, **13**: 1,14; **14**: 268,5; **21**: 185b17; **24**: 207a16; **26**: 986b21; **31**: 325a15; **43**: 28,8.9; **120**: 987b12; **142**: 11,3; **203**: 557,17^; **204**: 29,28; 30,4; **209**: 87,4; εἰς ἄπειρον, ad infinitum, **21**: 185b10; ἐπ' ἄπειρον, ad infinitum, **209**: 87,22
ἄπειρος, without experience, **135**: 192,2
ἀπέραντος, endless, **11**: 245d12
ἀπερίληπτος, unapprehended, **219**: 26,28
ἀπίθανος, implausible, **207**: 37,29^.31^; 38,2.3.4
ἀπιστεῖν, disobey, **12**: 258c7
ἀπλανής, fixed star, **219**: 26,27
ἁπλοῦς, simple, **171**: 704,32; 705,7^; **196**: 53,6.7; **201**: 131,5; unqualified, **30**: 318b4
ἁπλῶς, in only one way, **21**: 186a24; precisely, **209**: 87,9; simply, **201**: 131,6; **213**: 147,14; ἁπλῶς, unqualifiedly, **21**: 187a6; **23**: 191b36; **30**: 318b5.6; **113**: 1114D3; **203**: 557,23; **207**: 39,10; **208**: 79,19^.20^.23.24.26; **216**: 243,32; without qualification, **171**: 704,16; **208**: 78,28
ἀποβλέπειν, look off, **122**: 70,37; , **171**: 704,14; , **216**: 243,32
ἀπογεννᾶν, generate, **168**: 69,14
ἀπογι(γ)νώσκειν, give up on, **213**: 144,16; **110**: 402E7

ἀποδεικνύναι, demonstrate, **12**: 258c10. d5; **117**: 1126D11; **171**: 704,22; **208**: 78,1.24
ἀπόδειξις, demonstration, **168**: 68,22 (bis); **178**: 1129,35
ἀποδέχεσθαι, accept, **178**: 1129,38; **179**: 1134,19; **207**: 38,7; 'agree with', **11**: 244c11
ἀποδιδόναι, assign, **33**: 336a1; **113**: 1114D5; expound, **40**: 31,10.13; give, **36**: 115,19; **184**: 35,1; produce, **213**: 144,15
ἀποδοκιμάζειν, reject, **171**: 704,39
ἀποκαλύπτειν, make known, **204**: 31,9
ἀποκλήρωσις, chance, **214**: 162,16
ἀποκρίνειν, separate off, **68**: 349,13; **85**: 422,22; ἀποκρίνεσθαι, answer, **11**: 244b9.c6; **204**: 31,6
ἀπόκρισις, answer, **11**: 244c3; secretion, **61**: 335,17;
ἀπολαμβάνειν, attain, **204**: 29,10.12
ἀπολείπειν, admit, **113**: 1114E5.6; **114**: 1116A8; , leave, **87**: 581,4; **136**: 214,28; leave behind, **11**: 243b1; **115**: 1124E1; omit, **45**: 499,12
ἀπολελυμένος, detached, **21**: 185a28
Ἀπολλόδωρος, Apollodorus, **98**: 450,2
ἀπόλλυσθαι, perish, **13**: 1,14; 1,15; **193**: 22,12
Ἀπόλλων, Apollo, **151**: 333,14; **152**: 337,2
ἀπολογεῖσθαι, defend, **174**: 1033,14
ἀπομαρτύρεσθαι, testify, **9**: 237a6
ἀπομνημονεύειν, recall, **210**: 116,19
Ἀπομνημονεύματα, Memorabilia (title of Favorinus' work), **123**: 449,4
ἀπορεῖσθαι, pose a puzzle, **155**: 38,36
ἀπορία, puzzle, **11**: 245d12; **27**: 1001a30; **201**: 131,12; **212**: 140,24
ἀπόρρησις, 'what he prohibited', **12**: 258c6
ἀποστρέφειν, turn away from, **208**: 78,5
ἀποτείνειν, extend, **82**: 404,4
ἀποτελεῖν, produce, **73**: 365,12; **113**: 1114B9
ἀποτέμνειν, cut off, **45**: 500,5
ἀποτίθεσθαι, name, **177**: 1084,26
ἀποτμήγειν, cut off, **200**: 67,25
ἀποφαίνειν, declare, **6**: 180d8; **11**: 243a4; **12**: 258d7; **40**: 31,10; **41**: 447,18; **99**: 125,16; **111**: 756E10; **164**: 171,15; **180**: 1152,19; **187**: 133,17; **204**: 29,28; declare one's opinion, **28**: 1009b21; **31**: 325a17; **178**: 1129,34
ἀποφάναι, deny, **175**: 1079,4
ἀπόφασις, denial, **175**: 1077,22; 1078,11
ἀποφάσκειν, deny, **175**: 1077,24; **177**: 1084,22; **178**: 1130,6; **182**: 1177,2
ἀποφατικῶς, negatively, **175**: 1079,12
ἀποφεύγειν, avoid, **213**: 147,32
ἀποφθέγγεσθαι, pronounce, **203**: 560,2
ἅπτεσθαι, be in contact, **31**: 325a7; **113**: 1114E2; touch upon, **25**: 984a28; **26**: 986b19; **144**: 8,14
ἀραιός, rare, **61**: 335,6; **61a**: 622,22; **68**: 349,14; **73**: 365,11; **204**: 30,21; 31,4
ἀραιότης, rare texture, **83**: 419,23
Ἄρατος, Aratus, **219**: 27,3
ἀρετή, virtue, **115**: 1124E6^
ἀριστερός, left, **84**: 420,4 (bis); **85**: 422,23
Ἀριστοτέλης, Aristotle, **18**: 9,3; **37**: 133,22; **99**: 125,18; **135**: 192,3; **187**: 133,17; **193**: 22,1; **203**: 557,1.13.19; 560,2.4; **204**: 31,10; **206**: 36,26.27; **207**: 38,3.6; **208**: 79,10; **209**: 86,19; 87,2.9.19; **210**: 116,7.19; 117.15; **213**: 146,28; 147,17; 148,7.11.16.19
Ἀριστοφάνης, Aristophanes, **131**: 2,1
Ἀρκεσίλαος, Arcesilaus, **94**: 1121F3
ἀρκτικός, arctic, **99**: 125,20
ἄρκτος, north, **83**: 419,17.20
ἁρμόττειν, apply to , **213**: 144,17; **198**: 75,6
ἁρπάζειν, snatch, **174**: 1033,27
ἄρρην, male, **35**: 765b20; **83**: 419,12.15.20.; **125**: 119,12
ἄρρητος, ineffable, **174**: 1033,13; **213**: 147,16; undiscussed, **113**: 1114C2
ἀρχαῖος, ancient, **25**: 984a32; **31**: 325a3; **113**: 1114C2; **211**: 120,28
ἄρχεσθαι, begin, **5**: 137b1.3; **11**: 242d5; **174**: 1032,29; 1033,22; **175**: 1077,22;

1079,5; 'have a beginning' **203**: 559,21; ἀρχόμενος, 'from start', **9**: 237a5
ἀρχή, beginning, **25**: 984a27 (bis); **175**: 1078,22; **209**: 87,8; magistrate, **116**: 1126A11; principle, **18**: 9,5; **21**: 184b15; 185a2.3 (bis).4; **22**: 188a19.21; **25**: 984a26.b8.11.21.25; **26**: 986b33; **40**: 31,13; **43**: 28,16; **90**: 564,21; **127**: 15,4; **174**: 1032,29.35; **175**: 1078,27; **189**: 42,30; **193**: 22,3.15; **204**: 29,6.11; 30,20; 31,10; **207**: 37,22^.24^.25^ (bis).26^ (bis).27^.29^ (bis); 38,5.9.11.12.14.16.22^; **213**: 146,27.29^; **215**: 179,31.31^; 180,13; starting point, **21**: 185a20; ἀρχὴν ποιεῖσθαι, begin, **175**: 1077,21; 1078,10
ἀρχηγός, originator, **99**: 125,15; **135**: 192,4
Ἀρχίλοχος, Archilochus, **108**: 45A10
ἄρχων, ruler, **115**: 1124E4
ἀσαφής, unclear, **167**: 345,13
ἀστάθμητος, unstable, **184**: 36,8
ἀστήρ, star, **65**: 345,18; **66**: 346,19; **72**: 361,26
ἄστρον, star, **64**: 342,7; **113**: 1114C1
ἀσυλλόγιστος, invalid, **21**: 185a10; ἀσυλλόγιστον (τό), invalidity, **210**: 117,15
ἀσυμπέραντος, invalid, **21**: 186a25
ἀσώματος, incorporeal, **204**: 31,11
ἄτακτος, disorderly, **113**: 1114D9
ἀτελεύτητος, without an end, **204**: 29,27; 30,12
ἀτελής, incomplete, **204**: 29,11
ἄτομος, (n.), atom, **43**: 28,9.13; individual, **213**: 144,9.10; (adj.), atomic, **21**: 187a3
ἄτοπος, absurd, **21**: 185a30 (bis); 187a8; ἄτοπον (τό), absurdity, **209**: 87,2.19
ἀτρεμής, unshaken, **142**: 11,3; **171**: 705,7^; **175**: 1077,25; **180**: 1153,8
ἄτρεπτος: ἄτρεπτον (τό), immutability, **178**: 1129,28; **188**: 136,23
αὔξεσθαι, grow, **113**: 1114C7
αὐτόζωον, living being itself, **172**: 708,32
ἀφαιρεῖν, deprive, **113**: 1113F4; remove, **33**: 336a2; **111**: 756E9; set apart, **167**: 346,3
ἀφαίρεσις, abstraction, **213**: 144,3
ἀφανής, unevident, **130**: 137,2,6
ἄφατος, indescribable, **213**: 144,25
ἀφηγεῖσθαι, relate, **113**: 1114C1
ἄφθαρτος, imperishable, **60**: 332,2; **113**: 1114D7; **208**: 79,16.30; **210**: 116,18^; **213**: 142,33
ἀφίστασθαι, abandon, **136**: 213,6; 215,16; ἴσον ἀφίστασθαι, be equidistant, **75**: 380,14
ἀφορᾶν, look off, **175**: 1079,7; **204**: 29,27
ἀφορίζειν, say something definite, **45**: 499,14; ἀφορίζεσθαι, determine, **74**: 377,18; **204**: 29,9; **207**: 38,10; **213**: 148,4
ἄφραστος, ineffable, **172**: 708,23
Ἀφροδίτη, Aphrodite, **111**: 756E11
ἀφύσικος, unnatural, **18**: 9,4 (bis)
Ἀχιλλεύς, Achilles, **123**: 449,12
ἄψυχος, soulless, **47**: 5a,2

βαρύς, heavy, **204**: 31,6
βασανίζειν, put to the test, **10**: 241d6
βεβαιότης, authority, **82**: 404,10
βεβαίωσις, confirmation, **94**: 1122A4
βιάζεσθαι, argue fiercely, **10**: 241d6
βιβλίον, book, **193**: 22,9; **194**: 65,32
βλάστειν, come forth, **83**: 419,20
βοήθεια, assistance, **4**: 128c6
βόρειος, north, **133**: 21,6; northerly, **133**: 22,9; 23,2
βορρᾶς, north, **133**: 23,3
βραχυλογία, brevity of speech, **211**: 120,29
βροτεῖος, mortal, **213**: 147,29

Γαῖα, Earth, **1**: 178b6^; **25**: 984b28^; **150**: 6,6^
γαλακτοειδής, milky, **73**: 365,11
γαλάξιος κύκλος, milky way, **61**: 335,20; **68**: 349,13
γελοῖος, ridiculous, **4**: 128d1
Γελῶος, from Gela, **139**: 101,24

γένεσις, birth, **133**: 23,2; coming to be, **11**: 245d5; 77,33; **191**: 202,14^; generation, **1**: 178b10; **20**: 298b15; **25**: 984a20.32.b26; **30**: 318b4.5 (ter); **40**: 31,10.13; **41**: 447,20; **43**: 28,11; **57**: 320,12; **61**: 335,14; **87**: 581,1; **114**: 1116A8; **196**: 53,6 (quater); **203**: 556,13; 559,15.18.26; **204**: 31,8.11.12; **205**: 34,16; **208**: 79,4^; 80,3; origin, **113**: 1114C1; Περὶ Γενέσεως, On Generation (title of Aristotle's work), **193**: 22,1; ἐν γενέσει, subject to generation, **208**: 77,12^; 79,5; 'in the sphere of generation', **213**: 148,9
γενητός, generated, **203**: 557,8; 559,27; **204**: 30,20; **208**: 78,28; **213**: 144,9
γεννᾶν, cause generation, **33**: 336a2; generate, **25**: 984b9; **47**: 5a4; **132**: 1,5; **142**: 11,5; **174**: 1033,15
γένος, birth, **91**: 9,2; **96**: 447,16; genus, **37**: 133,23
γεωγραφία, geography, **99**: 125,9
γεωμέτρης, geometer, **21**: 185a1
γῆ, earth, **1**: 178b9; **22**: 188a22; **25**: 984b6.7.12; **26**: 986b34; **30**: 318b4.5.7; **32**: 330b14; **40**: 31,14; **41**: 447,18.19; **44**: 415,5; **55**: 284 app.,7; **61**: 335,17; **62**: 339,22; **66**: 346,20; **74**: 377,19; **83**: 419,17; **87**: 581,4; **88**: 129,16; **90**: 564,21 (bis); **99**: 125,10; **113**: 1114B10; **115**: 1124E5^ (bis); **189**: 42,28.32; **193**: 22,3; **195**: 110,18.19; **196**: 53,4.6.7; **204**: 30,21; **207**: 38,22^ (bis).24^; **213**: 146,29^; **215**: 179,32^; **220**: 201,2; **221**: 201,3
γῆρας, old age, **86**: 443,12
γί(γ)νεσθαι, arise, **41**: 447,21; **192**: 277,22; **213**: 142,30; be born, **39**: 25,20; **103**: 346,20; be, **26**: 986b22; **39a**: 418,22; **41a**: 59,11.13; **55**: 284 app.,3; **95**: 419,2; **99**: 125,15; **131**: 2,1; **132**: 1,1; **134**: 505F5; **136**: 215,1; **144**: 8,12; **154**: 267,2; be due to, **137**: 306,33; be generated, **20**: 298b15; **33**: 336a6.9; **83**: 419,13.16; **84**: 420,5; **87**: 581,4; **90**: 564,23; **207**: 38,22^; **214**: 162,12.13.14.15.16 (bis); become, **35**: 765b25; **45**: 499,16; **143**: 8,3; **148**: 258,9; come to be, **1**: 178b4.9; **2**: 195c3; **11**: 243b4 (bis); 245d1.4 (bis); **13**: 1,14 (bis); **23**: 191b36; **25**: 984b12.28^; **43**: 28,12; **162**: 46,31; **190**: 55,9 (bis); **191**: 202,15^; **193**: 22,11; **203**: 557,22.24; 559,26; **208**: 77,16^.17 ^ (bis).18^.27.28.29.30; 78,27.28; 79,1^.9.27; **213**: 142,31; 'hold', **33a**: 287,26; occur, **34**: 648a31; **35**: 765b22; **80**: 397,5; **86**: 443,12; prove to be, **9**: 237a4; **11**: 245c8; **204**: 30,14; result, **45**: 499,23; γί(γ)νεσθαι κατά, 'accord with', **137**: 307,3; γενησόμενος, future, **213**: 148,12
γι(γ)νώσκειν, know, **143**: 8,5; **176**: 1079,36
Γλαῦκος, Glaucus, **131**: 1,1
γλισχρός, 'sticking to the text', **213**: 144,26
γνώμη, intelligence, **130**: 137,2,7
γνωμολογίαι, collection of maxims, **107**: 16C7
γνωρίζειν, recognise, **45**: 499,5; γνωρίζεσθαι, be known, **154**: 267,3; **157**: 104; 106
γνώριμος, acquaintance, **117**: 1126D8; **135**: 192,3; **136**: 213,4
γνῶσις, knowledge, **20**: 298b23; **136**: 214,23; **167**: 345,11; 346,1.3; **176**: 1080,1; **184**: 36,7; **188**: 136,18; **203**: 557,5; thought, **45**: 499,15; 500,5
γνωστός: γνωστόν (τό), kind of thing known, **167**: 345,12
γόνιμος, productive , **191**: 202,11
γόνος, seed, **85**: 422,21
Γοργίας, Gorgias, **14**: 268,8; **174**: 1032,35
γράμμα, writing, **3**: 127c3; **144**: 8,14; **171**: 704,23; **207**: 39,21; 'what I wrote', **4**: 128b8; , treatise, **4**: 128c7
γράφειν, write, **36**: 115,14.16; **37**: 133,24; **41a**: 59,14; **111**: 756E12; **128**: 6,2; **129**: 2,2; **136**: 213,7; **171**: 704,23; **175**: 1078,7; **193**: 22,7; **194**: 65,23; **202**:

137,2; **210**: 116,8; **212**: 139,25; **213**: 143,21; **214**: 162,17
γραφή, book, **113**: 1114C3; drawing, **119**: 2,5
γυμνάζειν, get training, **5**: 135c8.d4
γυμνασία, training, **5**: 135d7; **165**: 640,35; **173**: 997,19; **175**: 1078,11
γυναικεία, menstrual flow, **34**: 648a31
γυνή, woman, **34**: 648a29; **117**: 1126E1.2

δαίμων, daemon, **115**: 1124E4; goddess, **58a**: 321 app.,5; **61**: 335,15; **136**: 214,21; **205**: 34,16; (adj.), divine, **136**: 214,23
δεικνύναι (also δεικνύειν), prove, **29**: 1089a5; **36**: 115,17; **137**: 306,29; **164**: 171,19; **172**: 708,20; **174**: 1033,26; **175**: 1078,15.21; **177**: 1084,19; **208**: 79,7.13; **209**: 87,11; **211**: 120,15; **212**: 139,25.26^; **213**: 147,21.22; **214**: 162,12
δέχεσθαι, admit, **21**: 186a29; **113**: 1114D8; 1114E4
δηλοῦν, indicate, **189**: 42,30; **204**: 30,5; show, **170**: 665,22; **179**: 1134,27; **213**: 148,13
δήλωσις, indication, **113**: 1114F1
δημιουργός, creator, **41**: 447,19
Δημόκριτος, Democritus, **22**: 188a22; **43**: 28,15; **58**: 321,6; **75**: 380,13; **78**: 392,5; **79**: 396,14; **80**: 397,2; **113**: 1113E8; **157**: 106
Δήμυλος, Demylus, **117**: 1126D8
δεξιός, right, **84**: 420,2.3; **85**: 422,21; **125**: 119,12
δεύτερος, inferior, **171**: 704,33; **174**:1033,28; **175**: 1079,1; posterior, **213**: 144,18; second, **179**: 1134,29; **180**: 1152,23; δευτέρως, secondarily, **177**: 1084,31
διαγιγνώσκειν, determine, **204**: 31,8
Διαδοχαί, Successions (title of Alexander's work), **139**: 101,25
διάδοχος, successor, **41a**: 59,13
διάθεσις, condition, **45**: 500,1; **137**: 307,3; **142**: 11,2
διαιρεῖν, distinguish, **144**: 8,24; divide, **21**: 186b14; **33**: 336a10; **207**: 38,14; διῃρημένος, divided, **31**: 325a7.12
διαίρεσις, division, **99**: 125,14; **171**: 705,10; **207**: 37,28^; 38,10; **213**: 144,21; 148,7.10
διαιρετικόν, set of contradictory alternatives, **207**: 37,27^.28^; ἀναγκαῖον διαιρετικόν, set of exhaustive contradictory alternatives, **207**: 38,13
διαιρετός, divisible, **21**: 185b10; **31**: 325a8; **209**: 87,22; **213**: 144,11
διακεκαυμένος, torrid, **99**: 125,17.21
διάκενος, empty, **184**: 34,17; 36,9
διακοσμεῖν, adorn, **116**: 1126A11
διακόσμησις, ordering, **203**: 558,8.16
διάκοσμος, ordering, **213**: 147,19; world order, **113**: 1114B7
διακούειν, be a student of, **5**: 136e4; **41**: 447,10; **118**: 5,1
διακρίνειν, distinguish, **213**: 147,8; separate, **33**: 336a4; **201**: 131,11; **211**: 120,26 (bis); **213**: 143,26; 147,20; διακεκριμένος, separate, **207**: 38,12; **213**: 147,11.19.
διάκρισις, separation, **11**: 243b5; **201**: 131,6; **213**: 143,19.27 (bis); 144,19; 147,26; 148,11
διαλαμβάνειν, mark, **213**: 144,10
διαλέγεσθαι, discuss, **11**: 242c4; **21**: 185a6; **152**: 337,3; **164**: 171,13; **171**: 704,33; **189**: 42,27.29; **203**: 556,30; **204**: 29,6; **207**: 39,22; **213**: 146,27
διαλεκτική, dialectic, **135**: 192,2.4; **171**: 704,31
διαμαρτία, gross error, **203**: 557,1
διαμένειν, persist, **113**: 1114E7
διανοεῖν: διανοούμενος λέγειν, mean, **7**: 184a2
διανοητός, 'on the level of discursive thought', **177**: 1084,34
διάνοια, intelligence, **136**: 215,3; **165**: 640,37; thought, **45**: 499,16; **194**: 65,5; **203**: 557,7^; **213**: 148,14
διαπεραίνεσθαι, go through, **184**: 34,20

διάπυρος, fiery, **150**: 6,4
διαρρήδην, explicitly, **167**: 345,11
διασαφεῖν, clear up, **36**: 115,26
διασαφηνίζειν, make clear, **26**: 986b23
διαστατικῶς, in a way that involves extension, **213**: 147,27
διατείνειν, contend earnestly, **213**: 148,19
διατιθέναι, present, **174**: 1032,37
διατρίβειν, spend time, **14**: 268,1; **174**: 1032,27; **184**: 34,21
διαφέρειν, differ, **21**: 185a26; **210**: 116,12^.13^.15^.16^.17^; **213**: 147,1; make a difference, **30**: 318b2; οὐδὲν διαφέρειν, be no different, **31**: 325a6
διαφεύγειν, avoid, **107**: 16D1; escape, **5**: 135d6
διαφθείρεσθαι, perish, **110**: 402E8
διαφορά, difference, **113**: 1114D8; 1114F1; **211**: 120,21; **213**: 144,6
διαψεύδειν, deceive, **36**: 116,1
διδασκαλεῖον, school, **121**: 619,9
διδασκαλία, lesson, **165**: 640,36; teaching, **128**: 6,1; **130**: 137,2,1
διδάσκαλος, teacher, **55**: 284 app.,4; **121**: 619,6; **175**: 1078,14; 'teaching', **213**: 148,15
διδάσκειν, teach, **136**: 215,5; **152**: 337,12; **187**: 133,17; **203**: 558,4
διείργειν, keep apart, **31**: 325a5
διεξέρχεσθαι, relate, **11**: 242d6
διεξιέναι, go through, **8**: 217c5
διέξοδος, method, **5**: 136e2
διηγεῖσθαι, tell, **11**: 242c8
διϊστάναι, set at odds, **178**: 1129,39; διΐστασθαι, differ, **165**: 640,18; **183**: 1240,32
διϊσχυρίζεσθαι, maintain, **6**: 180e3
δίκαιος, just, **5**: 135c9
δικαιοσύνη, justice, **115**: 1124E3
δίκη, justice, **58**: 321,8; **58a**: 321 app.,5; **61**: 335,16
διορθοῦν, correct, **174**: 1032,33
διορίζειν, determine, **11**: 242c5; **45**: 500,1
διότι (τό), the reason why, **168**: 68,23
Διοχαίτας, Diochaitas, **96**: 447,14
διχοτομία, dichotomy, **21**: 187a3; **212**: 139,24.26^; 140,24
δόγμα, doctrine, **41**: 448,3; **94**: 1122A3; **110**: 402E9; **115**: 1124E1; **165**: 640,34; **184**: 35,18
δογματίζειν, hold doctrines, **91**: 9,4
δόξα, opinion, **33a**: 287,26; **40**: 31,7.12; **45**: 499,1; **82**: 404,10; **87**: 580,21; **90**: 564,20; **113**: 1113F5; 1114E5; **136**: 215,8; **140**: 448,4; **144**: 8,13.15; **189**: 42,27; **193**: 22,12; **194**: 65,24; **203**: 556,14; 557,24; **204**: 30,16; **206**: 36,27; **207**: 38,21^.25^; **210**: 116,8; **213**: 142,29; 147,29; Δόξα, 'Opinion' (title of part of Parmenides' work), **184**: 35,17; Πρὸς δόξαν, 'Concerning Opinion' (title of part of Parmenides' work), **166**: 252,2; τὰ πρὸς δόξαν, the treatment of opinion (part of Parmenides' work), **193**: 22,2.5.6.9; **215**: 179,31; δόξα, reputation, **94**: 1121F4
δοξάζειν, hold opinions, **13**: 1,13; **40**: 31,11; **137**: 306,29
δοξαστικός, that has to do with opinion, **184**: 35,18; 36,6
δοξαστός, opinable, **113**: 1114C5.6; **207**: 38,26; 39,10; opinionative, **136**: 213,4; δοξαστόν (τό), object of opinion, **113**: 1114E6; **166**: 252,3; **193**: 22,10.12; **209**: 87,5; **213**: 144,5.27; 147,28
δοξοσοφία, pretended wisdom, **184**: 36,9
δύναμις, potentiality, **204**: 29,16; **213**: 143,16; 148,21; power, **33**: 336a1; **108**: 45B5; **109**: 282B11; **184**: 35,1; **191**: 202,11; **192**: 277,21; εἰς δύναμιν, 'do our best', **11**: 244b7
δυναστεύειν, prevail, **164**: 171,14
δυνατός, possible, **36**: 115,16; οὐ δυνατόν, 'cannot', **13**: 1,13
δυσχερής: δυσχερές (τό), difficulty, **45**: 500,6

ἐγκαλεῖν, charge with, **94**: 1121F5; 'bring a charge against', **203**: 557,1
ἐγκρίνειν, approve, **171**: 704,38

ἐγχειρεῖν, maintain, **87**: 580,21
ἕδρα, location, **150**: 6,11
εἰδητικῶς, in a way appropriate to forms, **213**: 147,26
εἰδικός, formal, **196**: 53,3.5; εἰδικόν (τό), formal cause, **195**: 110,18
εἶδος, form, **12**: 258d6; **170**: 665,19.22; **178**: 1130,7; **195**: 110,21; **208**: 79,1^; (Platonic) Form, **5**: 135d1; **122**: 70,38; **176**: 1079,36; **203**: 557,7; **213**: 143,26.27; 147,23; kind, **213**: 144,21; 'kind of thing', **113**: 1114C9; ἡ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος, 'formal cause', **33**: 336a2
εἰκοβολεῖν, speak at random, **130**: 137,2,6
εἰκονικῶς, 'after the manner of an image', **177**: 1084,31
εἰκών, image, **133**: 21,3; **162**: 46,32; **177**: 1084,35
εἰλικρινής, pure, **208**: 77,25; εἰλικρινῶς, without qualification, **213**: 147,5
εἱμαρμένη, fate, **58**: 321,8
εἶναι (τό), being, **191**: 202,11; **210**: 116,12^.13^ (ter).15^.17^ (bis); essence, **21**: 186b13
εἰσάγειν, introduce, **36**: 115,27; **149**: 25,7; **164**: 171,18; **190**: 55,7
εἰσηγεῖσθαι, introduce, **17**: 5,13; **88**: 129,16; **128**: 6,1
ἐκδέχεσθαι, understand, **207**: 38,25
ἔκλειψις, absence, **45**: 500,3
ἐκπίπτειν, descend, **207**: 39,12
ἐκτίθεσθαι, set out, **36**: 115,12; **41**: 448,3; **42**: 115,12; **210**: 116,7
ἐκφαίνειν, reveal, **172**: 708,10; **213**: 147,26
ἐκφέρειν, produce, **39a**: 418,24; **110**: 402E8; state, **211**: 120,28
ἐλαττοῦσθαι, become less, **191**: 202,12
Ἐλέα, Elea, **103**: 346,20
Ἐλεάτης, of Elea, **40**: 31,9; **41**: 447,10; **41a**: 59,11.14; **43**: 28,4; **55**: 284 app.,2; **87**: 580,20; **87a**: 108,5; **88**: 129,16; **91**: 9,2; **98**: 450,2; **118**: 5,1; **121**: 619,7; **128**: 6,1; **130**: 138,1,2; **131**: 3,1; **153**: 166,13; **154**: 267,19; **221**: 201,3
Ἐλεατικός, Eleatic, **11**: 242d4; **213**: 143,11
ἐλέγχειν, refute, **206**: 36,26; **207**: 38,6; **210**: 117,14
ἔλεγχος, refutation, **203**: 560,3
Ἔλη, Ele, **103**: 346,19
Ἑλλάς: μεγάλη Ἑλλάς, Great Greece, **153**: 166,6; **160**: 220,5
ἔλλειψις, lack, **81**: 398,8
ἐλπίζειν, hope, **127**: 16,1
ἐλπίς, hope, **127**: 15,5
Ἐμπεδόκλειος, Empedoclean, **164**: 171,15
Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Empedocles, **14**: 268,6; **15**: 419,5; **34**: 648a31; **39**: 25,19; **41a**: 59,13; **45**: 499,2.12; **78**: 392,4; **79**: 396,12; **80**: 397,1; **81**: 398,8; **83**: 419,12; **107**: 16C6; **110**: 402E10; **127**: 15,4; **135**: 191,19; **140**: 448,10; **148**: 258,6; **150**: 6,8; **151**: 333,13; **152**: 337,6.12; **153**: 166,12; **154**: 267,18; **157**: 104; 106; **163**: 75,28; **168**: 69,23; **197**: 27,26; **199**: 80,2
ἐμπειρία, experience, **5**: 137a2
ἔμπειρος, 'with experience', **19**: 182b22
ἐμφαίνειν, make clear, **82**: 404,12; **213**: 147,12
ἐμφανής, visible, **207**: 39,19
ἔμφασις, appearance, **188**: 136,22
ἐμφέρειν, insert, **204**: 31,3
ἔμφρων, intelligent, **119**: 2,3
ἕν, unity, **142**: 11,4
ἑναδικός, unitary, **150**: 6,4
ἐναλλάσσειν, interchange, **208**: 77,31; ἐναλλάσσεσθαι, be reversed, **84**: 420,5
ἐναντίος, contrary, **6**: 180d8; **22**: 188a19; **25**: 984b8; **35**: 765b19; **43**: 28,6; **45**: 499,2.4; 500,2.4; **87**: 580,21; **132**: 1,1; **147**: 18,39.40; **195**: 110,19.20.22.23; **204**: 31,10; **205**: 34,13; **208**: 77,23.24.26; **215**: 179,30; 180,13; 'that contradict', **4**: 128d2
ἐναντιούμενος, 'in opposition', **6**: 180e2
ἐναντίωσις, contrariety, **204**: 30,14

ἐνάργεια, 'the manifest facts', **208**: 77,14^
ἐναργής, evident, **211**: 120,14; ἐναργῶς, evidently, **203**: 557,14; 558,16; **208**: 78,24
ἐναρμόττειν, fit into, **80**: 397,6
ἑνάς, unit, **184**: 35,12; **191**: 202,11
ἐνδεής, lacking, **204**: 29,11; **207**: 40,7.8; less, **11**: 245c2
ἐνδείκνυσθαι, indicate, **113**: 1114F2; **167**: 1,345,13; **174**: 1033,17; **184**: 34,19; **213**: 147,15
ἐνδελεχής, perpetual, **208**: 77,32
ἐνδιδόναι, make concessions to, **21**: 187a1
ἔνδοξος, reputable, **94**: 1122A4
ἐνέργεια, actuality, **204**: 29,16; **213**: 143,16; 147,8; 148,22
ἐνεργεῖν, be active, **141**: 10,3; ἐνεργοῦν (τό), acting, **178**: 1129,29
ἐνέργημα, activity, **141**: 10,5
ἔνθεος, divinely inspired, **186**: 122,20.21
ἐνθουσιᾶν: ἐνθουσιῶν, under the influence of divine inspiration, **186**: 122,22
ἑνίζειν, preach monism, **26**: 986b21
ἐννοεῖν, conceive, **203**: 557,4.8; have in mind, **210**: 116,21
ἔννοια, conception, **175**: 1079,11; **201**: 131,4; **204**: 30,5.13; **208**: 77,15^; **209**: 87,20; **213**: 144,3; 148,12
ἑνοῦν, unify, **143**: 8,3; **171**: 704,15; **207**: 38,11; ἑνοῦσθαι, 'be a unity', **162**: 46,28; ἡνωμένως, 'in a unified way', **213**: 144,13; 147,11; 148,6; 'in its unity', **213**: 143,26
ἔντορνος, turned on a lathe, **168**: 69,15^
ἐντυγχάνειν, encounter, **5**: 136e2; **95**: 419,3
ἔνυλος, enmattered, **213**: 144,10
ἐνυπάρχειν, belong in, **36**: 115,19^
ἕνωσις, unity, **164**: 171,14; **171**: 704,13; **172**: 708,23.28.30.39; **184**: 35,13; **185**: 66,9; **194**: 65,14; **201**: 131,10.11; **203**: 558,15; **211**: 120,25; **213**: 144,13.25; 148,20
ἐξαίρειν, remove, **144**: 8,19
ἐξαιρεῖν, ἐξῃρῆσθαι, transcend, **178**: 1129,37; **183**: 1240,31; ἐξῃρημένος, transcendent, **172**: 708,9; **204**: 29,17
ἐξαρκεῖν, suffice, **165**: 640,33
ἐξαρτᾶσθαι, depend on, **162**: 46,33
ἐξατμίζειν, turn into vapor, **61**: 335,18
ἐξελέγχειν, refute, **203**: 557,1
ἐξηγεῖσθαι, explain, **152**: 337,13
ἐξηγηματικός, give explanations', **152**: 337,9
ἐξήγησις, explanation, **156**: 146,3
ἐξηγητής, 'explanation', **144**: 8,12
ἕξις, state, **137**: 306,31
ἐξίστασθαι, depart, **113**: 1114E8; **208**: 79,13.14.15.25.27
ἐξορίζειν, banish, **213**: 143,30
ἔξω, external, **144**: 8,21
ἐπάγειν, continue, **203**: 558,4.8; **207**: 38,29l; **208**: 78,7; 79,31; **210**: 117,7; go on, **207**: 39,13; introduce, **207**: 40,2; **209**: 87,2.19
ἐπακολουθεῖν, follow, **11**: 243a7
ἐπαναπαύεσθαι, rely on, **208**: 79,8
ἐπανέρεσθαι, ask, **174**: 1032,26
ἐπαφή, touching, **82**: 404,6
ἐπέκεινα, superior, **174**: 1032,32; **175**: 1078,15; **183**: 1240,31; **184**: 36,6; **204**: 29,14.16; **213**: 143,17
ἐπέχειν, have, **196**: 53,4
ἐπιβολή, intuition, **171**: 704,32; 705,12; **184**: 34,18
ἐπιδεικνύναι, show, **213**: 144,15; 148,5; 'put up' (an argument), **21**: 186a5
ἐπιδέχεσθαι, admit, **37**: 133,26; **187**: 133,22
ἐπιγίγνεσθαι, come after, **40**: 31,8
ἐπιγράφειν, entitle, **126**: 487,13; **166**: 252,3; **203**: 556,25; 'give a title', **193**: 22,9; 'use as a title', **203**: 556,30; 557,11
ἐπιθυμία, desire, **25**: 984b24
Ἐπίκουρος, Epicurus, **77**: 899A8; **199**: 80,3

ἐπικρατεῖν, prevail, **137**: 307,3
ἐπιλέγειν, attribute, **37**: 133,27
ἐπινοεῖν, conceive of, **188**: 136,22; **180**: 1153,3
ἐπίνοια: κατ' ἐπίνοιαν, 'can be imagined to', **187**: 133,22
ἐπιπόλαιος, superficial, **203**: 557,20
ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, consider, **213**: 142,31
ἐπίστασις, observation, **165**: 640,19; 'observe', **136**: 215,16
ἐπιστήμη, knowledge, **136**: 215,6; **145**: 5,30^; **184**: 36,4; science, **21**: 185a2; **171**: 704,37; **203**: 557,6
ἐπιστημονικός, cognitive, **136**: 213,5a; 215,13; scientific, **203**: 557,5
ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, return, **213**: 147,10
ἐπιστροφή, return, **213**: 143,19
ἐπιτηδεύειν, employ, **170**: 665,17
ἐπιτήδευμα, practice, **36**: 115,23; **153**: 166,4
Ἐπιτομή, Epitome (title of Theophrastus' work), **41**: 447,11
ἐπιφέρειν, intend something to apply, **203**: 560,4
Ἐπίχαρμος, Epicharmus, **197**: 27,26
ἐπιχειρεῖν, try, **4**: 128c7
ἐπιχείρημα, argument, **164**: 171,20; **208**: 77,9
ἐπιχείρησις, argument, **184**: 34,17; 35,19
ἐποποιΐα, poetry, **95**: 419,3
ἐποπτικός, initiated, **174**: 1032,39
ἔπος, verse, **39a**: 418,23; **41a**: 59,15; **55**: 284 app.,4; **107**: 16C6; **156**: 146,5; **166**: 252,1; **177**: 1084,25; **183**: 1240,33; **187**: 133,19; **194**: 65,6; **201**: 131,8; **202**: 137,2; **204**: 30,5.22; 31,3; **210**: 116,6.27; 117,2; **213**: 144,26; 146,26; 147,29
ἐποχή, suspension of judgment, **94**: 1122A2
ἔργον, deed, **117**: 1126D11; **119**: 2,4; work, **111**: 756E11; **171**: 704,37
ἐρημία, absence, **147**: 18,43
ἐριστικός, contentious, **21**: 185a8; 186a6
Ἕρμιππος, Hermippus, **95**: 419,1
Ἔρος, Eros, **1**: 178b7; **25**: 984b29^
Ἔρως, Eros, **1**: 178b2.9.c1; **2**: 195c3.5; **111**: 756E8.10; **190**: 55,7
ἔρως, love, **5**: 137a4; **25**: 984b24; **152**: 337,8
ἐρωτᾶν, propound, **123**: 449,7; **202**: 137,1; ἐρωτηθέν (τό), question, **11**: 244c5
ἐρώτησις, question, **8**: 217c4
ἕσπερος, the evening star, **65**: 345,16; **123**: 449,3; **123a**: 398,23
ἑστία, hearth, **150**: 6,9; **171**: 704,19; **172**: 708,26
ἔσχατον, extremity, **11**: 244e6; **120**: 987b13 (bis)
ἑταῖρος, associate, **43**: 28,15; **55**: 284 app.,3; **87**: 580,20; **133**: 21,4
ἕτερος: θάτερον, the different, **164**: 171,18
ἑτερότης, difference, **146**: 4,23.25; **213**: 143,27; 144,7.10; 147,23.26
εὐγνωμόνως, charitably, **194**: 65,4; **207**: 38,6; **209**: 87,3
Εὐδήμειος, Eudemian, **37**: 133,24
Εὔδημος, Eudemus, **36**: 115,13.15; **37**: 133,21; **38**: 143,5; **42**: 115,13; **213**: 143,5
εὐθύνειν, examine, **203**: 556,25
εὐθύς, straight, **178**: 1129,27.38
εὔκρατος, temperate, **99**: 125,18.20
εὐνομεῖσθαι, be well governed, **103**: 346,22
εὐνομία, law and order, **160**: 220,4
Εὐριπίδης, Euripides, **108**: 45B1; **130**: 137,2,2
εὑρίσκειν, discover, **13**: 1,13
εὐτέλεια, paltriness, **108**: 45B1
εὐτροφεῖν, be well nourished, **35**: 765b26
εὐφεγγής, brilliant, **167**: 346,2
ἐφάπτειν, touch, **147**: 18,38; ἐφάπτεσθαι, apply oneself to, **184**: 35,10
ἐφαρμόττειν (also ἐφαρμόζειν), apply to, **37**: 133,28; **38**: 143,4; **203**: 557,9; 558,14; **213**: 143,4; 147,3
ἐφέπεσθαι, pursue, **175**: 1079,3
ἐφιέναι, strive, **175**: 1079,2

ἐφιστάνειν, consider carefully, **212**: 140,21
ἑῷος, the morning star, **65**: 345,15

Ζεύς, Zeus, **151**: 333,14; **152**: 337,4
ζηλοῦν, follow, **119**: 2,5
ζηλώτης, admirer, **95**: 419,2; follower, **39**: 25,20; **39a**: 418,22
ζῆν, live, **113**: 1113F6; **115**: 1124E2; **143**: 8,11; **180**: 1153,6.7
Ζήνων, Zeno, **3**: 127b1.4.c3; **4**: 128b7; **5**: 135d8; 136d4; **15**: 419,4; **19**: 182b26; **41a**: 59,14; **79**: 396,13; **98**: 450,2; **103**: 346,20; **117**: 1126D7; **118**: 5,1; **121**: 619,6.7; **132**: 1,3; **134**: 505F6; **135**: 192,4; **157**: 106; **171**: 704,18; **173**: 997,18; **174**: 1033,16; **212**: 140,21.24; **213**: 144,15
ζητεῖν, investigate, **25**: 984a26 (bis). b11.23; **37**: 133,25; **155**: 38,37; **175**: 1077,20; 1078,18.2; **207**: 38,7^.8^ (bis).18; **208**: 78,5; 'in our inquiry', **12**: 258c10; 'the investigation of', **43**: 28,8
ζήτησις, inquiry, **25**: 984a30; **175**: 1078,13; **213**: 147,32
ζόφος, darkness, **204**: 31,6
ζοφῶδες (τό), darkness, **72**: 361,25
ζωή, life, **142**: 11,3; **180**: 1153,5
ζώνη, zone, **74**: 377,20; **99**: 125,14 ; **99a**: 67,27
ζῷον, animal, **21**: 186b16; **36**: 115,20 (bis); **45**: 499,5; **78**: 392,6; **114**: 1116A8; **203**: 559,26; living being, **172**: 708,29.33

ἥλιος, sun, **41**: 447,20; **61**: 335,20; **65**: 345,17; **67**: 349,11; **68**: 349,12; **70**: 357,9; **71**: 358,19; **113**: 1114B10; **114**: 1116A4; **152**: 337,2.3
Ἥρα, Hera, **152**: 337,4
Ἡρακλείτειος, of Heraclitus, **21**: 185a7
Ἡράκλειτος, Heraclitus, **21**: 185b20; **45**: 499,3; **63**: 340,5; **64**: 342,6; **69a**: 356 app.,2; **94**: 1121A2; **115**: 1124D10; **135**: 191,20; **208**: 77,31
ἠρεμία, rest, **204**: 29,13
Ἡρόδοτος, Herodotus, **131**: 1,1
Ἡσίοδος, Hesiod, **1**: 178b3.8; **2**: 195c2; **25**: 984b23.27; **110**: 402E10; **140**: 448,9
ἡσυχία, stillness, **96**: 447,17

Θαλῆς, Thales, **71**: 358,19; **110**: 402E11; **135**: 191,20
θαυμάζειν, be surprised, **13**: 1,13; **174**: 1033,11; **209**: 86,19; **213**: 146,31
θαυμαστός, surprising, **213**: 148,4
Θεαίτητος, Theaetetus (the character in Plato's dialogue), **11**: 243b6
θέαμα, thing beheld, **184**: 35,7
θεᾶσθαι, behold, **172**: 708,24; **175**: 1079,9; **177**: 1084,25; **213**: 148,22; consider, **184**: 35,8; view, **204**: 29,16; **205**: 34,14.17
θεῖος, divine, **172**: 708,28
Θέογνις, Theognis, **107**: 16C7
Θεόδωρος, Theodorus, **6**: 180d8
θεολογεῖν, discuss theology, **187**: 133,17
θεολόγος, theologian, **133**: 22,7
θεός, god, **2**: 195c1.2; **47**: 5a,2; **88**: 129,16; **111**: 756E8; **113**: 1113F5; **115**: 1124E4; **120**: 987b8; **129**: 2,2; **131**: 1,2; **133**: 23,3.4 (bis); **177**: 1084,36; **185**: 66,5; **187**: 133,19; **188**: 136,18; **203**: 556,27; **207**: 39,17
θεότης, divinity, **185**: 66,9
Θεόφραστος, Theophrastus, **36**: 115,11; **39a**: 418,21; **40**: 31,7; **41**: 447,11; 22,4; **41a**: 59,12; **42**: 115,11; **44**: 415,5
θερινός, summer, **133**: 21,6 (bis)
θερμός, hot, **11**: 243b4.d8; **21**: 185a25; **22**: 188a20; **25**: 984b6; **26**: 986b34; 987a1; **33**: 336a3; **34**: 648a29; **35**: 765b20.21.27; **68**: 349,15; **86**: 443,13; **204**: 31,4; **213**: 146,29^; **215**: 179,31^; θερμόν (τό), the hot, **41**: 447,21; **45**: 499,15.16; 500,3; **152**: 337,4; **189**: 42,32
θερμότης, heat, **34**: 648a30; **35**: 765b23; **83**: 419,13
θέσις, adoption, **98**: 450,4; position, **150**: 6,5; thesis, **21**: 185a5; **171**:

704,30; **175**: 1079,3; **207**: 38,3; διὰ τὴν θέσιν, 'because he posited', **172**: 709,1
θεωρεῖν, contemplate, **171**: 704,35.38; **184**: 36,9; **194**: 65,14; observe, **36**: 116,2; **43**: 28,11; **45**: 499,5; **192**: 277,25; θεωρῶν (ὁ), contemplator, **143**: 8,4
θεώρημα, object of contemplation, **143**: 8,11
θεωρία, contemplation, **136**: 214,22; **143**: 8,1.3.11; theorizing, **173**: 997,20; theory, **174**: 1033,9
θῆλυς, female, **35**: 765b18.20; **83**: 419,12.17.22; **84**: 420,6
Θηριακά, Antidotes against Poisonous Bites (Nicander's work), **107**: 16C6
θώραξ, chest, **77**: 391,11

Ἰάμβλιχος, Iamblichus, **155**: 38,38; **156**: 146,3
ἰατρός, physician, **41a**: 59,14
Ἰβύκειος, 'in Ibycus' poem', **5**: 136e9
ἰδέα, class, **113**: 1114D6; idea, **155**: 38,37; **165**: 640,33
ἴδιος, own, **11**: 245c9; **113**: 1114C3; peculiar, **108**: 45B4; 'that apply specifically', **21**: 186a23; **194**: 65,24^
ἰδιότης, peculiar character, **171**: 705,6; **213**: 147,23; 148,4; prose writer, **1**: 178b3
ἱδρύεσθαι, be established, **150**: 6,10; **172**: 708,38; **205**: 34,15; **213**: 147,16; dedicate, **96**: 447,16
ἰητρός, physician, **157**: 106
ἰλύς, mud, **41**: 447,20 n.
Ἵππαρχος, Hipparchus, **82**: 404,3
Ἵππασος, Hippasus, **76**: 388,3
Ἱπποκράτης, Hippocrates, **157**: 106
ἰσάζειν, be equal, **45**: 499,23
Ἰσθμός, Isthmus, **139**: 101,24
ἰσορροπία, equilibrium, **75**: 380,15
ἰσόρροπος: ἰσόρροπον (τό), equilibrium, **150**: 6,10
ἰσοσθενής, equal in strength, **195**: 110,23
ἰσότιμος, of equal value, **162**: 46,30
ἱστάναι, stand, **213**: 144,22; ἑστηκέναι, be at rest, **6**: 180e3; **7**: 183e3, ἑστώς, at rest, **180**: 1152,20; stable, **142**: 11,4; ἵστασθαι πρός, take a position on, **164**: 171,9
ἱστορεῖν, report, **36**: 115,11; **42**: 115,11; **83**: 419,14; **121**: 619,10
ἱστορία, inquiry, **42**: 115,12; **212**: 140,24; Παντοδαπὴ Ἱστορία, Miscellaneous History (title of Favorinus' work), **123**: 449,8; Φυσικὴ Ἱστορία, Inquiry into Nature (title of Theophrastus's work), **36**: 115,12
ἰσχνός, spare, **170**: 665,21
Ἰταλία, Italy, **153**: 166,4
Ἰταλιώτης, Italian, **160**: 220,4
Ἴων, Ion, **14**: 268,7

καθ' αὑτό, per se, **36**: 115,27; **133**: 23,5
καθαρός, clear, **170**: 665,21; pure, **35**: 765b25; **45**: 499,16
καθηγεμών, master, **165**: 640,20; **171**: 704,24; 705,12; **174**: 1033,21
καθόλου, general, **45**: 499,1
καθορᾶν, discern, **165**: 640,38
καινοτομία, innovation, **94**: 1121F4
Καλλίμαχος, Callimachus, **123**: 449,4
καλλονή, beauty, **171**: 705,3
καλός, beautiful, **5**: 135c9; καλόν (τό), nobility, **113**: 1113F4; **115**: 1124E3; the beautiful, **168**: 69,9
κανονικόν, logical practice, **211**: 120,28
κανών, rule, **211**: 120,27; standard, **136**: 215,15
καρκίνος, Cancer, **133**: 21,6; 22,7.8.9
καταβαίνειν, descend, **160**: 220,3
καταβάλλειν, deposit, **84**: 420,2; reject, **132**: 1,2
καταβατικός, used for descent, **133**: 23,1
καταβατὸς ἀνθρώποις, 'places where humans descend', **133**: 23,3
καταβολή, depositing, **84**: 420,5
καταγι(γ)νώσκειν, reject, **136**: 213,5
καταδέχεσθαι, receive, **136**: 214,26

κατακολουθεῖν, follow, **37**: 133,22; **150**: 6,7
κατάληψις, cognition, **136**: 215,3
καταλογάδην, in prose, **41a**: 59,15; **204**: 31,3
καταμήνια, menstrual fluids, **35**: 765b20
κατανοεῖν, understand, **168**: 68,23
κατασκευάζειν, establish, **25**: 984b25; **164**: 171,20
κατατείνειν, apply, **175**: 1078,6
καταφάναι, affirm, **175**: 1078,12; 1079,4; **179**: 1134,29; **180**: 1152,20.23
κατάφασις, affirmation, **175**: 1077,23
καταφάσκειν, affirm, **175**: 1077,23; **178**: 1130,7
καταφατικός, affirmative, **175**: 1079,13; **176**: 1080,1
καταχρηστικῶς, loosely, **208**: 77,25; 79,5
κατηγορεῖν, predicate, **21**: 186a33; **36**: 115,18; **211**: 120,21.25
κατηγορία, predicate, **211**: 120,27
κατήγορος, accuser, **178**: 1130,1
κατιέναι, descend, **133**: 22,8; 23,2
κατονομάζειν, name, **219**: 27,1
κατορθοῦν, be right, **175**: 1078,17
καῦμα, heat, **99**: 125,22
κεῖσθαι, be situated, **41**: 447,18; **150**: 6,4
κέλευθος, path, **175**: 1078,1
κενός, empty, **208**: 79,22^; void, **22**: 188a23; **31**: 3254.5.8.9.16; κενόν (τό), the void, **43**: 28,14.16; **217**: 650,11
Κεραμεικός, Ceramicus, **3**: 127c1
κινεῖν, cause motion, **33**: 336a11.12; initiate, **99a**: 67,28 ; move (tr.), **6**: 181b1; **25**: 984b30; **108**: 45B5; κινεῖσθαι, be moved, **13**: 1,14 (bis); **18**: 9,6; **33**: 336a7; **75**: 380,18; **132**: 1,6; **180**: 1152,19; 1153,6; **207**: 39,25; 40,8 (bis); **208**: 79,14; move (intr.), **6**: 180e4; 'be motion', **31**: 325a4; κινούμενον (τό), what is moved, **208**: 79,13; κινούμενος, in motion, **43**: 28,8; moved, **21**: 184b16; **22**: 188a20; **207**: 37,29^; 38,15; 40,8
κίνησις, motion, **18**: 9,5; **25**: 984a27. b22; **31**: 325a12; **61**: 335,13; **144**: 8,19; **168**: 69,15; **180**: 1152,39; 1153,3.5; **181**: 1161,15; **204**: 29,13; **207**: 39,23 (bis).25; **208**: 79,16^.17^.21^; **213**: 143,11; 144,11.21; 147,8.24
κινητικός, which causes motion, **25**: 984b6
κληδοῦχος, keeper of the keys, **61**: 335,15
κοιλία, intestines, **35**: 765b26
κοινός, common, **21**: 185a3; **133**: 23,5; **147**: 18,41; **203**: 556,27; **205**: 34,15; **208**: 77,14^.22; κοινόν (τό), common property, **37**: 133,25
κοινότης, common characteristic, **213**: 144,2.5
κοινωνεῖν, associate with, **43**: 28,5; **96**: 447,13
Κολοφώνιος, of Colophon, **41a**: 59,12; **221**: 201,4
κοσμογονία, cosmogony, **111**: 756E11
κοσμοποιός, creator of the cosmos, **58**: 321,9
κόσμος, cosmos, **44**: 415,4; **59**: 327,9; **60**: 332,3; **87a**: 108,5; **90**: 564,22; **99**: 125,11; **133**: 21,4; **162**: 46,33; **177**: 1084,35; order, **213**: 147,29
κοῦφος, light, **204**: 31,5
κραδαίνεσθαι, shake, **75**: 380,17
κρᾶσις, blending, **45**: 499,23; **137**: 306,31.33; 307,2; **192**: 277,21
κρίσις, decision, **11**: 242c5
κριτήριον, criterion, **113**: 1114D10; **136**: 213,6; **140**: 448,10
Κρόνιος, Cronius, **133**: 21,4
Κρόνος, Kronos, **119**: 2,6
Κροτωνιάτης, of Croton, **154**: 267,4
κρύφιος, secret, **172**: 708,27
κυβερνῆτις, 'she who steers', **61**: 335,15
κύβος, cube, **150**: 6,4
κυΐσκεσθαι, be conceived, **125**: 119,12
κύκλος , see γαλάξιος κύκλος
κύριος, principal, **113**: 1114C3; κυρίως, strictly, **144**: 8,25; **171**: 704,14; **174**: 1033,26.31; **208**: 77,24.26.30;

78,1.11.24; 79,8.12.17^.25; **213**: 147,7.8; strictly speaking, **78**: 392,7
Κωλώτης, Colotes, **113**: 1113E8; 1113F2; 1114B6; 1114D2; 1114F3
κωμῳδεῖν, make fun of, **4**: 128d1; **184**: 35,4
Κῷος, of Cos, **157**: 106

λαμβάνειν, assume, **21**: 186a25.32; **204**: 31,7; 'assume a premise', **21**: 185a9; consider, **213**: 147,24; get, **11**: 245c9; take, **21**: 186a26; **36**: 115,21^; **45**: 499,4; **168**: 69,10.11; **207**: 38,15; **209**: 87,13.19.20; **211**: 120,13; εἰληφός, 'involving', **11**: 245e1
λαμπρός, bright, **113**: 1114B8
λέγεσθαι, be predicated, **21**: 186a35
λέξις, passage, **37**: 133,25; word, **207**: 38,1
Λεύκιππος, Leucippus, **43**: 28,4
λήθη, forgetting, **45**: 499,23
λογίζεσθαι, reckon, **184**: 35,3
λόγος, account, **4**: 128c7.d2; **10**: 241d5; **11**: 244d1; 245b2.c5; **20**: 298b24; **21**: 185b8.19; 186a28; **37**: 133,29; **39a**: 418,23; **55**: 284 app.,3; **113**: 1114D3; 1114E11; **131**: 1,1; **144**: 8,10.12; **149**: 25,7; **164**: 171,10.12; **167**: 345,11; **174**: 1033,1; **175**: 1079,10; **179**: 1134,20; **184**: 35,10.17; **193**: 22,8.10; **194**: 65,5.13; **203**: 558,3; **207**: 38,28; 39,10; **208**: 79,3^; **209**: 86,25.29; **210**: 116,8.20; **211**: 120,14.16; **213**: 147,12; argument, **5**: 137a6; **8**: 217c5; **19**: 182b26; **21**: 185a1.6.8 (bis); 186a22; 187a1; **27**: 1001a33; **29**: 1089a4; **31**: 325a13; **36**: 115,26; 116,2; **37**: 133,26; **42**: 115,11; **110**: 402E9; **123**: 449,8; **171**: 704,21.26.29.34; 705,9; **184**: 34,20; **202**: 137,1; **203**: 557,9.20; **207**: 38,27; **208**: 77,22; 79,8; **210**: 117,14; **212**: 139,24.26^; 140,22; **213**: 142,28; definition, **21**: 186b15; **26**: 986b19.32; **36**: 115,19.20; **142**: 11,6; discourse, **170**: 665,31; discussion, **134**: 505F1.3; doctrine, **14**: 268,4; **21**: 185b20.24; **117**: 1126D10; 'function', **196**: 53,4; logos, **99a**: 67,28; prose composition, **107**: 16C7; reason, **31**: 325a14; **115**: 1124E7; **132**: 1,2; **136**: 213,5; 214,22 (bis); 215,10.15; **140**: 448,10; **193**: 22,11; statement, **9**: 237a3; word, **119**: 2,4; **174**: 1033,18; **184**: 34,21; κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, in the strict sense, **11**: 245a9
λύειν, refute, **19**: 182b26; **21**: 185a8; 186a5; **29**: 1089a3
λύσις, refutation, **21**: 186a23; μάχεσθαι, contradict, **114**: 1116A7; μαχόμενος, inconsistent, **207**: 37,25^

μάθημα, lesson, **109**: 282B5; **213**: 148,15; science, **82**: 404,11
μαθηματικῶς, mathematically, **177**: 1084,33
μάθησις, teaching, **130**: 138,1,1
μαθητής, student, **26**: 986b22; **41a**: 59,11; **121**: 619,7
μαλθακός, soft, **204**: 31,5
μανθάνειν, understand, **4**: 128a4; **11**: 245b3; **21**: 187a8
μανός, rare, **22**: 188a22
μαρτυρεῖν, testify, **172a**: 71,24; **204**: 29,28; **213**: 148,15
μαρτύριον, evidence, **144**: 8,13
μεγαλόνοια, genius, **207**: 38,3
Μέγαρα, Megara, **139**: 101,24
Μεγαρικός, Megarian, **132**: 1,4
Μεγαρικοί (οἱ), the Megarians, **211**: 120,13
μέγεθος, magnitude, **21**: 186b12; 187a3; **219**: 27,2
μέθεξις, participation, **175**: 1079,9; **185**: 66,5
μέθοδος, inquiry, **11**: 243d7; **25**: 984a28; method, **165**: 640,31
Μέλισσος, Melissus, **6**: 180e2; **7**: 183e3; **14**: 268,8; **18**: 9,3; **20**: 298b17; **21**: 184b16; 185a9.b17; 186a6; **24**: 207a15; **26**: 986b19; **46**: 3,9; **57**: 320,11; **59**: 327,6; **60**: 332,1; **79**: 396,13; **126**: 487,13; **132**: 1,4; **138**:

6,28; **203**: 556,12.26; 557,11.16; 559,18; **204**: 29,7.19.27; **205**: 34,13; **207**: 37,22^.24^.32^; 38,4; **208**: 79,13; **209**: 87,6
μέλλον, future, **187**: 133,20; **188**: 136,19; 'what is about to happen', **5**: 137a2
μέμφεσθαι, fault, **208**: 78,2; 79,12.24; **210**: 117,3; **213**: 148,11
μένειν, persist, **187**: 133,24; remain, **75**: 380,14; **144**: 8,20; **162**: 46,31.32; **180**: 1153,9; **191**: 202,11; **208**: 77,11; **213**: 147,5*.8.9 (bis).20
μερίζειν, partition, **175**: 1078,23; μεμερισμένος, 'that has parts', **11**: 245a1
μερισμός, being divided into parts, **200**: 67,22
μέρος, part, **11**: 244e7; 245a2.b1; **84**: 420,3; **85**: 422,21; **125**: 119,12; **135**: 191,18; **209**: 87,18.20; **213**: 147,21; κατὰ μέρος, individual, **45**: 499,12; **80**: 397,4
μεσημβρία, south, **83**: 419,16.22
μέσον, center, **11**: 244e6; **41**: 447,18; **150**: 6,3.10; middle, **191**: 202,18
μέσος, intermediate, **172**: 708,22
μεσότης, centrality, **150**: 6,4
Μετὰ τὰ Φυσικά (ἡ), Metaphysics (title of Aristotle's work), **203**: 560,2; **213**: 149,19
μεταβαίνειν, 'turn to', **36**: 116,5
μεταβάλλειν, change, **25**: 984a22; **30**: 318b2.3; **187**: 133,21 (bis).24 (bis); **208**: 79,18^.19^.20^.23.24.26
μεταβολή, change, **25**: 984a33; **43**: 28,11; **113**: 1114C7; 1114E3; **187**: 133,22; **188**: 136,20; **204**: 29,16; **208**: 79,17^
μεταλαμβάνειν, participate, **121**: 619,9
μεταλλάσσειν, change, **113**: 1114E8
Μεταποντῖνος, of Metapontum, **154**: 267,10
μεταφέρειν, transfer, **20**: 298b23; **203**: 557,8; 558,14
μεταφορά, metaphorical use, **170**: 665,19
μεταχειρίζεσθαι, study, **139**: 102,1
μετέχειν, have a share, **83**: 419,21; participate, **169**: 639,28; **171**: 704,17; **175**: 1078,25.27 (bis); 1079,1.2; **208**: 77,14^
μετέρχεσθαι, proceed, **180**: 1152,18; **204**: 30,14
μετεωρολόγος, astronomer, **130**: 137,2,4
μετιέναι, treat, **164**: 171,14
μέτρον, meter, **9**: 237a7; **107**: 16C8
μήτηρ, mother, **85**: 422,23
μήτρα, uterus, **84**: 420,3; **85**: 422,21; **125**: 119,12
Μητρόδωρος, Metrodorus, **67**: 349,10; **79**: 396,15
μῖγμα, mixture, **32**: 330b15; **68**: 349,15; **73**: 365,11
μιγνύναι, blend, **113**: 1114B8
μικτός, mixed, **61**: 335,7
Μιλήσιος, of Miletus, **41a**: 59,13; **43**: 28,4
μίμημα, representation, **177**: 1084,20
μιμητής, imitator, **39a**: 418,22
μίξις, mixture, **45**: 499,23
μνεία, mention, **153**: 166,12
μνήμη, memory, **45**: 499,22
μνημονεύειν, mention, **178**: 1129,30; **213**: 146,28
μοναδικός, monadic, **150**: 6,9; **172**: 708,31
μονάς, Monad, **171**: 703,34; **177**: 1084,19.21.32.34
μοναχῶς λέγεσθαι, be said in only one way, **36**: 115,14^.17; **210**: 116,27; **213**: 148,8
μόνιμος, stable, **113**: 1114D1; **167**: 345,3
μονογενής, unique, **213**: 144,18; 147,15*; **172**: 708,32 (bis)
μόριον, part, **21**: 186b14; **203**: 559,26; **209**: 87,7^
μυθικός, mythical, **213**: 146,31
μῦθος, story, **11**: 242c8.d6

ναστός, solid, **43**: 28,13
νεῖκος, Strife (in Empedocles), **14**: 268,6
νεκρός, corpse, **45**: 500,3
Νίκανδρος, Nicander, **107**: 16C6

Νικόμαχος, Nicomachus, **121**: 619,10
νοεῖν, intelligize, **145**: 5,27; **176**: 1080,2.3; **181**: 1161,14; think, **20**: 298b22; **127**: 15,4; **131**: 2,2; **209**: 86,29; νοεῖν (τό), intellection, **144**: 8,19.21; **180**: 1152,38; 1153,6; **209**: 87,17; **213**: 143,20; 144,12.23.24 (bis); 'thinking', **185**: 66,4
νοερός, intellective, **167**: 345,2; **171**: 705,6; **177**: 1084,24; **184**: 35,6; **213**: 143,18 (bis).26; 147,19.26; 148,10
νόημα, thought, **192**: 277,26
νόησις, intellection, **168**: 69,15; **176**: 1079,36; 1080,4; **180**: 1153,4; **181**: 1161,15; **193**: 22,11; **209**: 87,12
νοητικός, intellectual, **180**: 1152,39
νοητός, intelligible, **113**: 1114C5.9; 1114D7; 1114E1; 1114F1; **127**: 16,1; **162**: 46,28.32; **164**: 171,13.18; **168**: 69,18; **171**: 704,36; **172**: 708,11.21.29.33.36.38; **175**: 1078,7; **176**: 1079,37; **184**: 35,18; 36,7; **188**: 136,24; **189**: 42,29; **191**: 202,13 (bis); **193**: 22,7.13.14; **194**: 65,14; **203**: 557,9.22; 558,12.14.15; **204**: 29,6; 30,15; **207**: 38,19.28; 39,11.26; **208**: 78,2; 80,4; **209**: 87,12.17; **213**: 143,19 (bis).20.23.26; 144,8.12.23 (bis).25; 147,7; 148,5.9.21; 'on the intelligible level', **177**: 1084,34
νομοθετεῖν, give laws, **160**: 220,3
νομοθέτης, lawgiver, **145**: 5,28
Νόμοι, Laws (title of Plato's work), **168**: 69,16
νόμος, law, **16**: 449,6; **115**: 1124D10; 1124E8; **116**: 1126A11; 1126B2; **145**: 5,28
νότιος, south, **133**: 21,5; southerly, **133**: 23,1.3
Νουμήνιος, Numenius, **133**: 21,4
νοῦς, intellect, **141**: 10,3; **143**: 8,2.6; **144**: 8,10 (bis).16; **145**: 5,26; **146**: 4,25; **168**: 69,13.15; **171**: 703,35; 704,35 (bis).36; **176**: 1079,35; 1080,3; **177**: 1084,20.21.23.31.34; **178**: 1129,28; **180**: 1153,2; **184**: 36,5; **185**: 66,3 (bis); **209**: 87,9.11; **213**: 143,20; 144,8.12.24; 147,4.5.6.9; 148,21; mind, **41**: 448,1; **78**: 392,5; **127**: 15,4; 16,1,1; **190**: 55,7; νοῦν ἔχειν, be intelligent, **5**: 136e2; προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, pay attention to, **208**: 79,11
νύμφη, nymph, **165**: 640,39
νύξ, night, **215**: 179,32
νῶσις (= νόησις) , thought, **93**: 448,17

Ξενοκράτης, Xenocrates, **115**: 1124E7
ξένος, foreigner, **119**: 2,2; Ξένος, Stranger (the Eleatic Stranger, character in Plato's Sophist), **175**: 1078,14
Ξενοφάνης, Xenophanes, **11**: 242d5; **26**: 986b21; **40**: 31,9; **41**: 447,10.12; **41a**: 59,12; **43**: 28,6; **55**: 284 app.,2; **60**: 332,1; **79**: 396,12; **87**: 580,20; **95**: 419,1; **96**: 447,17; **110**: 402E10; **132**: 1,3; **140**: 448,10; **204**: 29,6.7.12; **206**: 36,28; **221**: 201,4

ὄγκος, dignity, **107**: 16C8
ὁδεύειν, proceed, **171**: 704,34; **175**: 1078,11
ὁδός, transformation, **30**: 318b3; way, **40**: 31,9; **43**: 28,6; **128**: 6,2; **133**: 23,5; **208**: 78,5
οἰκεῖος, akin, **143**: 8,3; appropriate, **21**: 185a21; **80**: 397,5; one's own, **174**: 1032,29.38; **175**: 1077,20; 1078,12; 1079,6; **187**: 133,19; **208**: 77,9; proper, **99**: 125,10; **204**: 29,10; οἰκεῖος εἶναι, suit, **211**: 120,28
οἰκείωσις, becoming akin, **143**: 8,7
οἰκήσιμος, inhabitable, **99**: 125,23
οἰκούμενος, inhabited, **74**: 377,19
ὄλεθρος, perishing, **208**: 80,3
ὁλόκληρος, complete, **171**: 705,7^, **213**: 144,18
ὅλος, entire, **77**: 391,11; whole, **11**: 245a3. b5 (bis).c1.d4.8; **24**: 207a13.16; **175**: 1078,21.25; **177**: 1084,26; **185**: 66,5; **209**: 87,18.21; 'as a whole', **99**: 125,10; ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις,'at all', **87**: 581,3; ὅλα

(τά), all things, **55**: 284 app.,6; ὅλον, (a) whole, **11**: 244e2; 245d9; ὅλον (τό), the whole, **11**: 244d14; 245b4. c2.9.11.d5; **24**: 207a16; **31**: 325a9.11; **172a**: 71,24; **213**: 147,21; ὅλως, at all, **21**: 186b9; **45**: 499,14; **203**: 556,13; completely, **152**: 337,11; in any way, **38**: 143,1; **213**: 143,1; in general, **28**: 1009b12; **45**: 500,4; **175**: 1078,6; **214**: 162,15
ὁλοσχερῶς, roughly, **208**: 77,25; **213**: 147,2
ὁλοτελής, complete, **213**: 148,5
Ὅμηρος, Homer, **7**: 183e6; **150**: 6,5; **186**: 122,21
ὄμμα, eye, **127**: 15,4
ὁμοῖος, alike, **90**: 564,24; **210**: 116,13^.14^ (bis); like, **21**: 185a5; **45**: 499,2.3; **113**: 1114D1; **168**: 69,14; **213**: 143,7; ὁμοίως, equally, **11**: 243e5; in the same way, **208**: 77,19^
ὁμοιότης, likeness, **45**: 499,5.13; **113**: 1114D7
ὁμολογεῖν, agree, **1**: 178c1; **11**: 244c8; **23**: 191b36; **25**: 984a33; **207**: 37,25^; 38,18; **208**: 79,23
ὄνομα, name, **11**: 244c2.8.d1.3.6.7.8 (ter).11; **154**: 267,3; **203**: 558,16; **207**: 38,17; word, **19**: 182b23; **170**: 665,20; **203**: 556,27; **208**: 79,7
ὀνομάζειν, call, **103**: 346,20; name, **44**: 415,4; **196**: 53,4; **207**: 38,23^; ὠνόμασται, 'the names are given', **204**: 31,5
ὄντως, 'true', **171**: 705,2; **174**: 1033,32; **177**: 1084,25; **184**: 36,8; really, **113**: 1114E7; **143**: 8,10; **145**: 5,26; **164**: 171,16; **173**: 997,21; **175**: 1078,18; **193**: 22,8; **203**: 557,21; 558,3.15; 559,15; **207**: 38,11; **214**: 162,12
ὅρασις, act of seeing, **136**: 214,27
ὁρατικόν, the visual faculty, **82**: 404,8
ὀργανικός, instrumental, **33**: 336a2
ὄργανον, tool, **33**: 336a9.12
ὄρεξις, appetite, **81**: 398,9; **136**: 214,20
ὁρίζεσθαι, define, **5**: 135c8
ὁρμή, impulse, **136**: 214,20
ὅρος, boundary, **204**: 29,8; 30,13
Ὀρφεύς, Orpheus, **110**: 402E9; **151**: 333,15; **186**: 122,21; **213**: 147,1
ὅτι (τό), the fact, **168**: 68,22
Οὐλιάδης, Ouliades, **106**
οὐλομελής, whole of limb, **175**: 1077,25; 1078,23
οὐρανός, heaven, **37**: 133,28; **38**: 143,4.7; **44**: 415,4; **61**: 336,2; **62**: 339,23; **63**: 340,6; **65**: 345,18; **112**: 929A10; **113**: 1114B10; **133**: 21,5; **150**: 6,6^; **185**: 66,8; **213**: 143,4.7
οὖς, ear, **136**: 214,26
οὐσία, being, **11**: 245d4; existence, **174**: 1032,33; **177**: 1084,24; **183**: 1240,30; substance, **20**: 298b22; **21**: 185a23 (bis).27.29.31.32; **43**: 28,13; **133**: 23,6; **185**: 66,3; **203**: 557,3^.14^; **208**: 77,13^; 79,2^.16^.18^.20^.21^.23^; **213**: 143,11.16; 144,9.10; 148,8.21; essentially, **143**: 8,8
οὐσιώδης, real, **164**: 171,19
ὀφθαλμός, eye, **82**: 404,4

πάθος, affection, **152**: 337,8; attribute, **11**: 245a1.b4.c2; **113**: 1114C7; 1114E4; condition, **35**: 765b22; **47**: 5a,6
παιδεία, study, **14**: 268,1
παλαιός, ancient, **14**: 268,4; **94**: 1121F5; **125**: 119,13; **126**: 487,12; **144**: 8,13; **165**: 640,17; **178**: 1129,39; **208**: 77,11; 'of long ago', **11**: 243a3
πᾶν (τό), the All, **4**: 128b1; **7**: 183e4; **11**: 243e3; 244b6; **21**: 185b7; **22**: 188a20; **25**: 984b2.26; **31**: 325a7.15; **40**: 31,10.12; **43**: 28,8; **46**: 3,9; **57**: 320,13; **87**: 580,22; **90**: 564,21.23; **91**: 9,3; **113**: 1113F5; **162**: 46,28; **171**: 704,14.16; **193**: 22,4; **207**: 37,24^.31^; **177**: 1084,32; **219**: 26,27
Παναθήναια, Panathenaea, **3**: 127a8
παράγειν, create, **191**: 202,12; παράγεσθαι, 'belong to something as derived from something else', **213**: 147,7

παραγράφειν, append, **203**: 558,13; **213**: 144,27
παράδειγμα, example, **165**: 640,31.33; model, **168**: 69,10.18
παραδιδόναι, present, **174**: 1032,34; **203**: 558,8.15; 559,27; **204**: 31,12; **208**: 78,11; **213**: 147,13; 148,16.18
παραιτεῖσθαι, refuse, **203**: 556,30
παρακεῖσθαι, quote, **204**: 30,22
παρακοή, misunderstanding, **213**: 148,13
παρακολουθεῖν, pay attention to, **208**: 79,10
παραλαμβάνειν, employ, **165**: 640,33; **186**: 122,20; learn, **188**: 136,20
παραλογίζεσθαι, make fallacious inferences, **203**: 557,20
παραμειγνύναι, intermingle, **72**: 361,24
παραμυθεῖσθαι, explain, **207**: 38,2
παραμυθία, explanation, **207**: 37,30^
παραφαίνεσθαι, appear, **156**: 146,6; show up as well, **213**: 143,28
παράπτεσθαι, apply, **213**: 147,1
παρατίθεσθαι, cite, **156**: 146,3; **207**: 38,29; explain, **151**: 333,14
παρέχειν, display, **117**: 1126D11; παρέχεσθαι, provide, **4**: 128b1.3; **113**: 1114F3; **168**: 68,23; **171**: 705,1^
παρέπεσθαι, follow from, **164**: 171,19
πάρεργος, subordinate, **165**: 640,35
παρέρχεσθαι, disregard, **122**: 70,39; περεληλυθός, past, **187**: 133,19; **188**: 136,19
Παρμενείδης, Parmenides, **106**
Παρμενίδειος, Parmenides', **210**: 116,6; **213**: 144,28; , Parmenidean, **119**: 2,4; **164**: 171,10; **175**: 1078,8.18; **208**: 79,11; **210**: 116,19; **213**: 144,14; Παρμενίδεια (τά), the writings of Parmenides, **139**: 102,1
Παρμενίδης, Parmenides, **1**: 178b9; **2**: 195c2; **3**: 127b1 (bis).6; **4**: 128a4.c7; **5**: 135d7; 136e3.8; **6**: 180e2; **7**: 183e5 (bis); **8**: 217c5; **9**: 237a4; **10**: 241d5; **11**: 242c4; 244e2; **12**: 258c6; **14**: 268,7; **15**: 419,5; **16a**: 171,2; **17**: 5,12; **18**: 9,2; **19**: 182b26; **20**: 298b17; **21**: 184b16; 185a9.b18; 186a7.22.32; **22**: 188a20; **23**: 192a1; **24**: 207a15; **25**: 984b3.25; **26**: 986b18.22.27; **27**: 1001a32; **28**: 1009b21; **29**: 1089a3; **30**: 318b6; **32**: 330b14; **33a**: 287,26; **34**: 648a29; **36**: 115,11.15.16^.25^; 116,4; **37**: 133,23; **39**: 25,20; **39a**: 418,22; **40**: 31,7.8; **41**: 447,10; **41a**: 59,11; **42**: 115,11; **43**: 28,5 (bis); **44**: 415,6; **45**: 499,2.13; **46**: 3,8; **47**: 4d8; **55**: 284 app.,1; **56**: 303,17; **57**: 320,11; **58**: 321,6; **58a**: 321 app.,4; **59**: 327,6; **60**: 332,1; **61**: 335,4; **61a**: 622,21; **62**: 339,21; **63**: 340,5; **64**: 342,6; **65**: 345,14; **67**: 349,10; **68**: 349,12; **69**: 356,2; **69a**: 356 app.,2; **70**: 357,9; **71**: 358,20; **72**: 361,24; **73**: 365,10; **74**: 377,18; **75**: 380,13; **76**: 388,3; **77**: 391,10; **78**: 392,4; **79**: 396,13; **80**: 397,1; **81**: 398,8; **82**: 404,12; **83**: 419,19; **84**: 420,1; **85**: 422,20; **86**: 443,12; **87**: 580,20; **87a**: 108,4; **88**: 129,16; **90**: 564,19; **91**: 9,2; **93**: 448,16; **94**: 1122A2; **95**: 419,1; **98**: 450,4 (bis); **99**: 125,15 **99a**: 67,27; **103**: 346,20; **107**: 16C6; **108**: 45A11; **109**: 282B9; **110**: 402E10; **111**: 756E10; **112**: 929A11; **113**: 1113E9; 1113F1; 1114B5; 1114D4; **114**: 1116A4; **115**: 1124D10; **116**: 1126A10; 1126B1; **117**: 1126D8.10; **118**: 5,2 ; **120**: 987b8; **121**: 619,5.7; **123a**: 399,1; **125**: 119,13; **126**: 487,14; **127**: 15,5; **128**: 6,1; **129**: 2,1; **130**: 138,1,2; **131**: 3,1; **132**: 1,3; **133**: 23,6; **134**: 505F1.5; **135**: 191,19; 192,2; **136**: 213,4; 214,20; **137**: 306,29.34; **138**: 6,28; **144**: 8,15.24; **147**: 18,42; **148**: 258,7; **150**: 6,8; **151**: 333,13; **152**: 337,6.12; **153**: 166,12; **154**: 267,19; **155**: 38,36.38; **156**: 146,5; **157**: 104; 106; **160**: 220,3; **162**: 46,27; **163**: 75,28; **164**: 171,11; **165**: 640,17; **166**: 252,1; **167**: 345,12; **168**: 69,23; **169**: 639,29; **170**: 665,18; **171**: 704,13; **172**: 708,7.35; **172a**: 71,24; **173**: 997,19; **174**: 1032,27.30.33.38; 1033,7.13; **175**: 1077,21; 1078,16.22; 1079,7; **177**: 1084,24; **178**: 1129,30.36;

130,1.3; **179**: 1134,18; **180**: 1152,20; 1153,4; **181**: 1161,13; **182**: 1177,3; **183**: 1240,33; **184**: 34,18; 35,5.9; 36,4; **185**: 66,4; **186**: 122,21; **187**: 133,18; **188**: 136,24; **190**: 55,7; **191**: 202,12.15; **192**: 277,18.25; **193**: 22,2; **194**: 65,4.5 (not tr.).23; **195**: 110,17; **196**: 53,3.5; **197**: 27,26; **199**: 80,2; **200**: 67,24; **201**: 131,8; **202**: 137,1; **203**: 556,12.13.26; 557,6.17.24; 558,12; 559,15.18.20.27; 560,2^; **204**: 29,6.7.15.28; 30,15; 31,4.12; **205**: 34,13.14; **206**: 36,28; **207**: 37,22^.23^.32^; 38,4.19.25.29; 39,25; **208**: 77,34; 79,10.12.30; **209**: 86,20.25; 87,5.13; **210**: 116,7.25; **211**: 120,20.27; **212**: 139,24.26^; 140,22; **213**: 142.28.29.32; 143,8.29; 144,26; 146,26.28^; 147,13.17.28.31; 148,13; **214**: 162,11.15; **215**: 179,30; **216**: 243,32; **217**: 650,14; **219**: 26,28; **220**: 201,2; **221**: 201,3; Parmenides (character in Plato's work), **173**: 997,22; Parmenides (Plato's work), **204**: 29,14; **213**: 148,18

πάσχειν, be acted on, **33**: 336a5.7; be subject to, **213**: 144,6; 'have', **4**: 128d2; 'have an attribute', **11**: 245a5.b7; **175**: 1079,4; **201**: 131,9; πεπονθέναι, experience, **5**: 136e9; have as an attribute, **175**: 1078,24; 1079,7.8.12; 'have', **11**: 245c1

πατήρ, father, **85**: 422,22

πεῖραρ, limit, **203**: 557,17^

πειρᾶσθαι, attempt, **45**: 499,12; **212**: 139,25; tempt, **131**: 1,2

πεντάζωνος, 'has five zones', **99**: 125,13

πεπυρωμένος, red-hot, **114**: 1116A3

περαίνειν, limit, **24**: 207a16; **31**: 325a16; **120**: 987b7.13.15 (ter); proceed, **11**: 243b1; limited, **21**: 185b18.19; **26**: 986b20; **43**: 28,7; **56**: 303,17; **90**: 564,25; **120**: 987b12; **193**: 22,4.13; **204**: 29,7.10; **209**: 87,4

πέρας, end, **111**: 756E8; **213**: 142,28; extremity, **82**: 404,5; limit, **21**: 185b18; **24**: 207a15; **31**: 325a15; **120**: 987b7.10.11 (bis); **204**: 29,9 (bis).12; 30,5.13; **209**: 87,7.8; **213**: 144,22; 147,15

περιάγεσθαι, rotate, **219**: 26,27

περίγεια (τά), the region of the earth, **61**: 336,3

περιέχειν, surround, **61**: 335,8; **61a**: 622,22

περιϊστάναι, encircle, **61**: 335,22

περικαθάπτειν, fasten upon, **82**: 404,6

Περικλῆς, Pericles, **118**: 5,1

περιλαμβάνειν, grasp, **176**: 1079,37; include, **144**: 8,21; **168**: 69,12

περιληπτικός, inclusive, **168**: 69,12

περιληπτός, comprehended, **193**: 22,11

περιοχή, aggregate, **172**: 708,30

περιπλέκειν, intertwine, **61**: 335,4

περιττός, superfluous, **203**: 558,13

περίττωμα, excrement, **35**: 765b26

περιφερής, round, **178**: 1129,37

περιφορά, rotation, **62**: 339,22

περιωπή, contemplation, **184**: 35,4

πεζῇ, in prose, **9**: 237a6

πεζός, prose, **107**: 16D1; **170**: 665,31; **171**: 704,29

πεπλασμένον, fabrication, **31**: 325a10

πηγή, source, **171**: 704,19; **172**: 708,26

πιθανός: πιθανόν (τό), evidence, **45**: 499,4; πιθανῶς, plausibly, **210**: 116,7

πίλημα, compressed mass, **64**: 342,7

πίλησις, 'being compressed', **61**: 335,19

πιστεύειν, have faith, **127**: 16,1; have trust, **132**: 1,3

πίστις, reliance, **167**: 346,3; trust, **136**: 213,6; **213**: 144,27

πιστοῦν, prove, **144**: 8,13

πλανᾶσθαι, go astray, **204**: 31,8

πλάνη, uncertainty, **11**: 245e5; 'indirect', **5**: 136e2

πλανητός, subject to variation, **113**: 1114C6

πλάσμα, image, **213**: 147,1

πλάτος, breadth, **99**: 125,16.23

Πλάτων, Plato, **36**: 115,27; **41a**: 59,15; **45**: 499,3; **79**: 396,15; **94**: 1122A1; **113**: 1114C4; 1114F2; **115**: 1124E1; **129**: 2,1; **133**: 22,7; **134**: 505F2; **144**: 8,9.14.24;

152: 337,7.13; **164**: 171,11.13.15; **167**: 345,11; **170**: 665,16; **172**: 708,29; **173**: 997,17; **174**: 1032,32.37; 1033,9; **178**: 1129,35; 1130,4; **179**: 1134,19; **180**: 1153,1; **183**: 1240,33; **184**: 35,5; **186**: 122,20; **187**: 133,18; **191**: 202,14; **201**: 131,9; **203**: 557,6; **204**: 29,14; **206**: 36,27; **208**: 78,29; **209**: 87,12; **213**: 147,16.17.21.32; 148,11.14.17
Πλατωνικός, Platonic, **168**: 68,21; **178**: 1130,2; Platonist, **174**: 1033,7; **179**: 1134,18
πλέκειν, interweave, **61a**: 622,21
πλεονάζειν, be present in greater amount, **137**: 307,2
πλῆθος, number, **13**: 1,14; **14**: 268,5; **43**: 28,10; **112**: 929A10; plurality, **164**: 171,10.18; **172**: 708,11.24.25.33.34 (bis).36.38; 709,1; **184**: 35,13; **191**: 202,16.18.19; **194**: 65,12; **204**: 29,8
πληθύνειν, pluralize, **201**: 131,5
πλήρης, full, **22**: 188a22; **31**: 325a11; **43**: 28,13.16
πλησιαστής, adherent, **39**: 25,20
ποιεῖν, act, **33**: 336a5.8.11; **131**: 1,2; compose, **151**: 333,13; create, **111**: 756E9; **113**: 1114B8; do, **115**: 1124E6; **173**: 997,22; **206**: 36,27; make, **22**: 188a19; **25**: 984a22.b5; **32**: 330b14.15; **43**: 28,7; **45**: 499,2; 500,2; **47**: 5a3; **113**: 1113F3; **147**: 18,41; **153**: 166,12; **165**: 640,35; **171**: 704,20; **178**: 1130,1; **213**: 146,29^; 147,20; **215**: 179,30.32; posit, **21**: 187a3; ποιεῖσθαι, base on, **174**: 1032,31.34; 1033,1; **184**: 35,9; 'pursue', **11**: 243d7; 'seek', **94**: 1122A4; ποιοῦν, agent, **40**: 31,14; **90**: 564,22; efficient, **196**: 53,5
ποίημα, poem, **4**: 128a8; **39a**: 418,23; **82**: 404,13; **110**: 402E8; **123**: 449,5; **127**: 15,5; **140**: 448,9; **165**: 640,39; **171**: 704,28; **174**: 1033,12.14; **178**: 1129,36; **179**: 1134,19; **180**: 1152,21; **182**: 1177,3; **184**: 35,15
ποίησις, poetry, **167**: 345,13; **170**: 665,18; **175**: 1077,24; **213**: 146,31
ποιητής, poet, **1**: 178b3; **186**: 122,21; **197**: 27,26
ποιητική, the art of poetry, **107**: 16C8
ποιητικός, poetic, **170**: 665,19.31; efficient, **204**: 31,10; **205**: 34,14.16; **207**: 38,23^.27; 39,13; ποιητικόν (τό), efficient cause, **190**: 55,9; **195**: 110,18.22
ποικίλος, variable, **184**: 36,8
ποιόν, quality, **21**: 185a23.25.27.29.b17
ποιότης, quality, **207**: 39,23; **208**: 79,21^
Πολιτεία, Republic (title of Plato's work), **174**: 1033,35
πολλαχῶς, in many ways, **19**: 182b27; **21**: 185a21.b6; 186a25; **36**: 115,27; **213**: 148,7
πολυαιμεῖν, be abundant in blood, **34**: 648a30; **35**: 765b18
πολύδοξος, of high opinions, **93**: 448,16
πολυτίμητος, highly honored, **213**: 147,9
πόρος, pore, **80**: 397,4
Πορφύριος, Porphyry, **148**: 258,8; **210**: 116,6; **212**: 139,24
Ποσειδώνιος, Posidonius, **99**: 125,14
ποσόν, quantity, **21**: 185a23.28.29.b16
ποσότης, quantity, **207**: 39,24
πρᾶγμα, fact of the matter, **113**: 1114D3; object, **145**: 5,31^; thing, **2**: 195c2; **11**: 244d3; **25**: 984b30; **87**: 580,22; **113**: 1114E4; **136**: 215,3; **167**: 345,28; **174**: 1033,24; **188**: 136,18; **213**: 144,4
πραγματεία, treatment, **113**: 1114F2; **166**: 252,2; **174**: 1032,31; 1033,20; **184**: 34,19; 35,10; 36,9
πραγματειώδης, laborious, **5**: 137b2
πραγματεύεσθαι, treat, **118**: 5,1; **184**: 35,15
πρέπον, appropriate, **168**: 69,9.10.14
πρέσβυς, ancient, **1**: 178c1; πρεσβύτερος, old, **5**: 137a1; older, **173**: 997,16
πρεσβύτης, elderly, **3**: 127b2; **7**: 183e7; **8**: 217c7; **184**: 34,20; 'at an advanced age', **5**: 137a3

πρεσβυτικός, of an older person, **165**: 640,37
προάγειν, bring, **36**: 116,4; **136**: 214,24; προάγεσθαι, 'put forward', **152**: 337,10
προαγωγός, 'that produces', **207**: 38,13
προαναστέλλειν, prevent, **213**: 148,13
προβάλλειν, offer, **11**: 245b6; προβάλλεσθαι, put ahead, **184**: 36,5
πρόβλημα, problem, **180**: 1152,18
προδεικνύναι, prove first, **208**: 79,30
προέρχεσθαι, proceed, **172**: 708,25; **174**: 1033,29; **213**: 147,10.12; result, **37**: 133,26
πρόεσις, discharge, **35**: 765b21
προηγεῖσθαι, precede, **187**: 133,23
προηγουμένως, directly, **171**: 704,22
πρόθεσις, thesis, **165**: 640,18
προιέναι, proceed, **171**: 705,9; **172**: 708,37; **200**: 67,21.25
προκείμενος, proposed, **171**: 704,29; 'that he proposes', **175**: 1078,10; προκείμενα (τά), 'the present topic', **213**: 142,30
προλαμβάνειν, contain in advance, **177**: 1084,22; **213**: 143,27; 144,13; 147,11; 148,11
προνοεῖν, take care, **203**: 557,20
πρόνοια, providence, **58**: 321,8; **58a**: 321 app.,5
πρόοδος, procession, **200**: 67,22
προσάγειν, apply, **173**: 997,20; **175**: 1079,13; bring, **213**: 148,7
προσαρμόττειν, apply, **187**: 133,23
προσγίγνεσθαι, be generated in addition, **192**: 277,26
προσδιασαφεῖν, explain further, **136**: 215,8
προσηγορία, label, **113**: 1114E10
προσήκειν, be appropriate to, **165**: 640,36; belong to, **113**: 1114D6; 1114E7; **174**: 1033,24; **208**: 79,4^; **213**: 144,20; 147,4.9; προσῆκον (τό), attribute, **203**: 557,10
προσθεωρεῖν, observe in addition, **33**: 336a12
προσιέναι, belong to, **209**: 86,20; admit, **164**: 171,10
προσόμοιος, similar, **168**: 69,15
προσονομάζειν, call, **174**: 1033,35
πρόσρημα, designation, **198**: 75,7
προστάτης, champion, **207**: 37,32^
προστιθέναι, add, **144**: 8,18; **174**: 1033,9; **177**: 1084,20; **214**: 162,15
προστρίβεσθαι, attribute, **94**: 1122A1
πρότασις, premise, **210**: 116,26; 117,14; **211**: 120,14
προτάσσειν, classify as prior, **175**: 1078,17
προτέλεια, introduction, **171**: 704,23
προτιθέναι, propose, **203**: 557,9
προτρέπειν, encourage, **96**: 447,17
προχειρίζεσθαι, discuss, **203**: 556,12
πρόχειρος, obvious, **165**: 640,32
Πρωταγόρας, Protagoras, **79**: 396,15; **149**: 25,6; **174**: 1032,36; **199**: 80,3
πρῶτος, first, **204**: 29,6.14; highest, **171**: 704,31.36; primary, **172**: 708,22; **204**: 30,20; πρώτως, primarily, **171**: 704,15.36; **172**: 708,10; **177**: 1084,30
Πυθαγόρας, Pythagoras, **71**: 358,20; **79**: 396,12; **82**: 404,10; **123**: 449,4; **153**: 166,6
Πυθαγόρειος, Pythagorean, **39**: 25,21; **119**: 2,4; **154**: 267,1
Πυθαγορικός, Pythagorean, **95**: 419,3; **96**: 447,14; **103**: 346,21; **121**: 619,9; Πυθαγορικοί, Pythagoreans, **150**: 6,7
Πυθία, Pythia, **131**: 1,2
Πυθόδωρος, Pythodorus, **3**: 127a8.c1
πυκνός, dense, **22**: 188a22; **61**: 335,6; **61a**: 622,22; **68**: 349,16; **73**: 365,10; **83**: 419,21; **87**: 581,4; **204**: 30,21; 31,5
πύλη, gate, **133**: 22,7; 23,3.6
πυνθάνεσθαι, find out, **11**: 244b7
πῦρ, fire, **22**: 188a21; **25**: 984b6.7.12; **26**: 986b34; **30**: 318b3.6.7; **32**: 330b14; **33**: 336a7.12; **36**: 115,25; **40**: 31,14; **41**: 447,19; **45**: 500,4; **55**: 284 app.,8; **61**: 335,19.22; **61a**: 622,23; **64**: 342,7; **69a**: 356 app.,3; **88**: 129,16; **90**: 564,21.22;

113: 1114B5; **114**: 1116A3; **117**: 1126D9; **189**: 42,28.31; **193**: 22,2; **195**: 110,17.18.22; **196**: 53,5.6.7; **204**: 30,21; **207**: 38,22^.23^.24^.27; **213**: 146,29^; **215**: 179,32^
Πύρης, Pyres, **40**: 31,8; **41**: 447,10; **41a**: 59,11; **98**: 450,4; **106**
Πύρρης, Pyrres, **55**: 284 app.,2
πύρινος, composed of fire, **63**: 340,6; **67**: 349,11; **69**: 356,2
πυρώδης, fiery, **61**: 335,10.12; 336.1; **65**: 345,18; **72**: 361,25; **76**: 388,4

ῥεῖν, be in flux, **203**: 557,5
ῥέπτειν, tend, **75**: 380,17
ῥῆμα, word, **204**: 29,29; wording, **113**: 1114D3
ῥησείδιον, short passage, **204**: 31,3
ῥῆσις, passage, **179**: 1134,27
ῥητός, able to be spoken, **175**: 1078,7
ῥοή, flux, **208**: 77,31.33
ῥῦσις, flux, **188**: 136,17
Ῥωμαῖος, Roman, **133**: 23,7

σαφήνεια, 'making clear', **165**: 640,32
σαφής, clear, **26**: 986b30; **164**: 171,12; σαφῶς, clearly, **11**: 244a2; **36**: 115,15; **174**: 1033,26; **203**: 559,18; **204**: 31,7.9.12
σέβας, awe, **178**: 1130,5
σελήνη, moon, **61**: 335,21; **68**: 349,13; **109**: 282B6; **113**: 1114C1; **114**: 1116A4.6
σεμνός, solemn, **165**: 640,34
σημαίνειν, signify, **19**: 182b24.25; **21**: 186a26.33.b3.4.5.11 (bis).12; 187a2.4; **188**: 136,23; **198**: 75,7; **210**: 116,20.21; σημαινόμενον, 'sign', **209**: 86,19; κατά τι σημαινόμενον 'in some sense', **213**: 147,6
σημαντικός, significant, **188**: 136,20
σημεῖον, sign, **19**: 182b22; **35**: 765b19.27; **208**: 77,34; 78,11; 79,10; **213**: 142,32
σίδηρον, iron, **114**: 1116A3.6
σιωπή, silence, **45**: 500,4
σκέπτεσθαι, consider, **21**: 185b7
σκέψις, inquiry, **20**: 298b20
σκηνή, stage, **178**: 1130,2
σκληρός, hard, **203**: 557,2; **204**: 31,6
σκοπεῖν, consider, **7**: 183e4; **12**: 258c9; **21**: 184b26 (bis); 185a5; **174**: 1033,6; **182**: 1177,1
σκοτεινός, dark, **113**: 1114B8
σκότος, darkness, **61**: 335,7; **204**: 30,21; **207**: 38,24^; **215**: 179,33
σοφία, wisdom, **119**: 2,3
σόφισμα, sophistry, **113**: 1113F1
σοφιστής, sophist, **14**: 268,4; **94**: 1122A1
Σοφιστής, Sophist (title of Plato's work), **129**: 2,1; **164**: 171,20; **175**: 1078,14
Σοφοκλῆς, Sophocles, **108**: 45B1
σοφός, wise, **213**: 149,13; (n.) wise man, **150**: 6,9
Σπαρτιάτης, Spartan, **131**: 1,1
σπεύδειν, press on, **143**: 8,6
Σπεύσιππος, Speusippus, **16**: 449,6
σπουδαῖος, virtuous, **143**: 8,4
σπουδή, effort, **184**: 35,1
στάσις, position, **87**: 580,21; rest, **213**: 147,24; 'at rest', **18**: 9,4
στασιώτης, partisan, **6**: 181a7; 'restive', **18**: 9,3.4
στερεῖν, deprived of, **11**: 245c5
στερεός, solid, **61**: 335,9; **61a**: 622,23
στεφάνη, ring, **61**: 335,4.10; 'stephanē', **54**: 28,10
στέφανος, ring, **61a**: 622,21.23
Στίλπων, Stilpo, **132**: 1,4
στιχοποιΐα, verse, **108**: 45A11; **220**: 201,2
στοιχεῖον, element, **41**: 447,19; **43**: 28,9; **45**: 499,14; **61a**: 622,22; **113**: 1114B8; **150**: 6,3; **189**: 42,28; **204**: 31,7.9; **207**: 39,12
στοιχειώδης, elementary, **204**: 30,20; **205**: 34,14; **207**: 38,13
στόμιον, mouth, **133**: 22,8
στρογγύλος, round, **44**: 415,5; **178**: 1129,28
σύγγραμμα, treatise, **138**: 6,28; **144**: 8,22; **173**: 997,17; **203**: 556,25.29; **213**: 144,28

συγγράφειν, write down, **55**: 284 app.,4
συγκαταριθμεῖν, include, **127**: 15,4
συγκεραννύναι, mix together, **11**: 243b5
σύγκρασις, blending, **111**: 756E9
σύγκρισις, combination, **11**: 243b5
συγκριτικός, that causes combination, **127**: 15,4
συγχωρεῖν, admit, **146**: 4,23; **180**: 1153,1; **213**: 147,28; grant, **36**: 115,17; 116,3; permit, **43**: 28,8; **134**: 505F2
συκοφαντεῖν, quibble, **113**: 1114D2
συλλογίζεσθαι, deduce conclusions, **21**: 186a6; συλλογίζεσθαι (τό), 'deductive argument', **36**: 116,2
συμβαίνειν, happen, **25**: 984a21; result, **4**: 128d1; **5**: 137b4; **11**: 244d8; **21**: 185b21; **27**: 1001a33; **45**: 500,6; turn out to be, **11**: 245c3; **120**: 987b14; 'be credited with', **25**: 984b2; be attributed to, **21**: 186a35.b4.7; συμβεβηκός, accident, **208**: 79,28.29; **211**: 120,19; **213**: 144,11; 148,9; κατὰ συμβεβηκός, per accidens, **36**: 116,1
σύμβολον, symbol, **133**: 21,3
συμμετρία, appropriate proportion, **45**: 499,17; **80**: 397,3
σύμμετρος, 'in keeping with', **213**: 142,30; συμμέτρως, suitably, **152**: 337,11
συμμιγής, containing mixtures, **61**: 335,12.20
συμμιγνύναι, mix with, **208**: 77,26
συμπαραθεῖν, parallel, **188**: 136,17
συμπεραίνεσθαι, follow, **21**: 186a24
συμπέρασμα, conclusion, **213**: 144,17
συμπλέκειν, combine, **179**: 1134,30
συμπληροῦν, bring to completion, **204**: 31,12; complete, **203**: 558,3; **207**: 38,28
συμφάναι, agree, **1**: 178b8
συμφανής, evident, **136**: 215,14
συμφέρειν, combine, **208**: 78,2
συμφύρειν, blend together, **184**: 35,17
σύμφυτος, innate, **45**: 499,5
συμφωνεῖν, 'fit', **11**: 245b1
σύμφωνος, in agreement, **55**: 284 app.,3; **144**: 8,26
συνάγειν, bring together, **25**: 984b30; **144**: 8,16; **184**: 35,14; combine, **210**: 117,3; infer, **36**: 115,16;
συναιρεῖν, include, **213**: 144,8; συνῃρημένως, 'in a way that brings them together', **213**: 144,13
συναληθεύειν, be simultaneously true, **210**: 117,2
συναναφύρειν, mix up together, **208**: 77,23; 79,6
συνάπτειν, border against, **120**: 987b15; connect, **11**: 245e3; συνημμένος, tightly connected, **171**: 705,11
συναριθμεῖν, count together with, **188**: 136,21
συνδιαιρεῖν, distinguish so as to correspond with, **167**: 345,12
συνδιατρίβειν, associate with, **95**: 419,2
συνεισάγειν, add, **165**: 640,19; introduce along with, **207**: 37,26^; 39,22.24
συνεισφέρειν, bring in together with, **164**: 171,11
συνέχεια, continuity, **209**: 87,21; 'being continuous', **21**: 186a28
συνεχής, continuous, **21**: 185b8.10 (bis); **31**: 325a6; **208**: 77,31; **209**: 86,21; 87,18
συνεπιγράφειν, name as a joint author, **82**: 404,10
συνεπινοεῖν, understand along with, **189**: 42,28
σύνθεσις, synthesis, **171**: 704,34; 705,10
συνιέναι, understand, **7**: 184a2; **11**: 243b7
συνιστάναι, bring about, **204**: 31,8; bring together, **33**: 336a4; συνίστασθαι, be composed of, **41**: 448,1; **69a**: 356,3
συννεύειν, converge, **168**: 69,19; συννεῦον (τό), convergence, **178**: 1129,29
συνορᾶν, see, **21**: 186a32; **25**: 984b2; **113**: 1114C5; **204**: 31,9
συνουσία, conversation, **174**: 1033,17
συντάσσειν, order, **171**: 703,35
συντιθέναι, compose, **113**: 1114C3
συντόμως, briefly, **208**: 77,10

συντρέχειν, amount to, **207**: 38,1^
συνυπάρχειν, coexist, **210**: 116,22; **213**: 144,16
σύζυγος, coordinate, **176**: 1079,36
σφαῖρα, sphere, **38**: 143,7 (bis); **168**: 69,15^; **177**: 1084,26.33; **181**: 1161,13; **213**: 143,7 (bis)
σφαιροειδής, spherical, **40**: 31,12; **41**: 447,18; **56**: 303,18; **90**: 564,20.24; **91**: 9,3; **99**: 125,10; **168**: 69,9; **178**: 1130,6; **181**: 1161,15
σχῆμα, figure of speech, **170**: 665,20; shape, **43**: 28,9; **91**: 9,3; **168**: 69,11.14; **178**: 1129,37
Σωκράτης, Socrates, **3**: 127c2.4; **4**: 128a4.b7; **5**: 135c8; 136e3; **94**: 1122A1; **113**: 1114C4; **115**: 1124D10; **134**: 505F2; **162**: 46,31; **211**: 120,16.17 (bis).18; **213**: 218,15
σῶμα, body, **33**: 336a1; **82**: 404,7; **114**: 1116A6.8; **137**: 306,31.33; **171**: 703,36; **204**: 31,11; **209**: 87,5 (bis).6^.8.18
σωματικός, corporeal, **38**: 143,1; **137**: 307,2.3; **144**: 8,19; **213**: 143,1
σωστικός: σωστικός ἐστι, 'preserves', **195**: 110,21
Σωτίων, Sotion, **96**: 447,14

Ταραντῖνος, of Tarentum, **154**: 267,20
ταυτότης, identity, **164**: 171,14
τάξις, rank, **41**: 447,20; **109**: 282B10; **172**: 708,21; **174**: 1033,24; **209**: 87,20
τεκμήριον, proof, **4**: 128b1.2; **171**: 705,1^.5
τετελεσμένον, complete, **213**: 147,15
τί ἦν εἶναι, essence, **21**: 185b9
τιθέναι, 'give', **16**: 449,6; τίθεσθαι, posit, **11**: 244c8; **25**: 984b4.22.24; **26**: 986b34; **43**: 28,16; **133**: 22,7; **171**: 704,21.26; **172**: 708,21; 709,3; **175**: 1079,5; **190**: 55,8; **204**: 29,14; 30,20; 31,10; **205**: 34,16; **207**: 37,22^.24^.25^.30^; **213**: 142,32; put, **113**: 1114D6; **144**: 8,17; **180**: 1152,38; **182**: 1177,4; **184**: 36,6; **209**: 87,6; suppose, **11**: 243e4; 244d3.6; 245d6; **115**: 1124E6
Τίμαιος, Timaeus (character in Plato's work), **193**: 22,10; **208**: 79,1; (title of Plato's work), **187**: 133,17; **188**: 136,19
τίμη, honor, **109**: 282B11
τμῆμα, section, **207**: 38,10.14
τόπος, place, **35**: 765b18; **74**: 377,19; **90**: 564.24; **146**: 4,24.26; **207**: 39,24
τροπή, trope, **170**: 665,21; **81**: 398,9
τροπικός, tropic, **74**: 377,20; **99**: 125,17 (bis).19.20.23; **133**: 21,5

ὑγρός, liquid, **35**: 765b24
ὕδωρ, water, **25**: 984b7; **32**: 330b15; **36**: 115,24; **61a**: 622,24; **113**: 1114B6; **220**: 201,1
Ὑέλη, Hyele, **103**: 346,19
ὕλη, matter, **26**: 986b20; **40**: 31,14; **41**: 447,20; **90**: 564,21; **122**: 70,40; **145**: 5,30^; **195**: 110,20.2; **196**: 53,4; **207**: 38,23^
ὑλικός, material, **196**: 53,2; ὑλικόν, material cause, **195**: 110,19
ὕμνος, hymn, **152**: 337,2.5
ὑπαντᾶν, object to, **203**: 557,20
ὕπαρξις, existence, **198**: 75,8
ὑπάρχειν, be, **41**: 447,21; **61**: 335,9.14; **67**: 349,11; **91**: 9,4; **96**: 447,16; **140**: 448,11; belong, **21**: 186a31.b1; belong to, **180**: 1153,1; **188**: 136,24; **213**: 147,10; exist, **25**: 984b22.30; **43**: 28,12; **87**: 581,2; **191**: 202,13; **194**: 65,13; hold of, **11**: 245d1
ὑπεραίρειν, be in excess, **45**: 499,15
ὑπερανέχων, above, **204**: 29,13
ὑπερβάλλειν, predominate, **45**: 499,15
ὑπερβολή, excess, **35**: 765b23; superiority, **213**: 144,25; καθ' ὑπερβολήν, in an exceeding degree, **162**: 46,28
ὑπεριδρύεσθαι, be established as superior, **184**: 35,16
ὑπεροχή, superiority, **213**: 148,18
ὑπερπίπτειν, extend beyond, **99**: 125,17

ὑποβεβλημένον (τό), what is beneath, **220**: 201,1
ὑπόθεσις, hypothesis, **5**: 137b3; **11**: 244c4; **99**: 125,12; **174**: 1032,28.38; 1033,3.8.19.33; **179**: 1134,30; **180**: 1152,23; **204**: 29,14; **209**: 87,2; subject matter, **108**: 45A11
ὑποκεῖσθαι, be posited, **21**: 186b4; underlie, **195**: 110,20; ὑποκείμενον, subject, **21**: 185a32; 186a34; **143**: 8,5; **191**: 202,10; **211**: 120,18; substrate, **25**: 984a22.29
ὑπολαμβάνειν, think, **25**: 984b20; suppose, **11**: 243e2; **20**: 298b22; **26**: 986b32; **28**: 1009b12; **35**: 765b22; **38**: 143,4; **40**: 31,12; **135**: 192,4; **195**: 110,18; **203**: 557,3.14^; 558,12; 559,14; **213**: 143,4
ὑπόληψις, deficiency, **86**: 443,13; assumption, **45**: 500,6; **87**: 581,2; **136**: 213,5
ὑπομιμνήσκειν, bring to mind, **178**: 1129,35
ὑπόμνημα, comment, **213**: 144,27; ὑπομνήματα, hupomnēmata, commentary, **155**: 38,38
ὑπομνηματιστής, commentator, **193**: 22,2
ὑποποιεῖσθαι, lay claim to, **94**: 1121F5
ὑποπτεύειν, suspect, **25**: 984b23
ὑπόστασις, existence, **203**: 557,3.21; **213**: 143,18
ὑποτάττειν, station, **61**: 336,1
ὑποτίθεσθαι, hypothesize, **5**: 137b1.4; **9**: 237a3; **11**: 243b5; **43**: 28,13; **90**: 564,19; **99**: 125,10; **113**: 1114D4; **136**: 213,5a; **171**: 708,31; **174**: 1033,8.32; **189**: 42,27.29; **195**: 110,22; **201**: 131,11; **203**: 557,7.21; **207**: 38,11.23^; **210**: 116,16^; **213**: 146,27; **220**: 201,1; 'make', **11**: 244c5
ὑποφαίνειν, come to light, **11**: 245e3
ὑστερογενής, generated later, **213**: 144,2
ὕστερον (τό), 'what comes after', **142**: 11,6
ὕφεσις, descent, **174**: 1033,29; **200**: 67,22
ὑφηγεῖσθαι, expound, **174**: 1033,21
ὑφίστασθαι, exist, **162**: 46,31.32; **172**: 708,35; **208**: 78,29; 79,5; **213**: 143,19; 144,3; lay the foundations of, **135**: 191,18
Ὑψιπύλη, Hypsipyle, **165**: 640,39

Φαβορῖνος, Favorinus, **44**: 415,1 **123**: 449,3.8
Φαῖδρος, Phaedrus (title of Plato's work), **152**: 337,7
φαινόμενον (τό), appearance, **26**: 986b31; **113**: 1114B9; **207**: 38,21^.25^; phenomenon, **40**: 31,13; 'the apparent meaning', **203**: 557,19; 560,3; what appears, **28**: 1009b14; **163**: 75,29; **164**: 171,9; **207**: 39,12
φανερός, evident, **13**: 1,13; **21**: 186b15; 187a3; **45**: 500,2; **191**: 202,16.19
φαντασία, impression, **93**: 448,17; **132**: 1,2
φάος, light, **136**: 214,28; **204**: 31,5
φάσις, assertion, **45**: 500,6
φέρεσθαι, undergo locomotion, **43**: 28,14
φθαρτικός, destructive, **195**: 110,20
φθείρεσθαι, perish, **20**: 298b16; **33**: 336a6; **90**: 564,22; **132**: 1,6; **203**: 559,26; **208**: 77,16^.17^.18^ (bis).20^ (bis).21^.27.28.29.31; 79,9.15.25; **213**: 142,31
φθίνειν, decrease, **113**: 1114C7
φθορά, perishing, **20**: 298b15; **25**: 984a20.32; **30**: 318b4.5; **57**: 320,12; **196**: 53,7 (bis)
φιλανθρώπως, 'benefiting mankind', **213**: 148,12
φιλία, friendship, **113**: 1113F2; Love (in Empedocles), **14**: 268,6; **164**: 171,15
φιλοθεάμων, fond of contemplating, **184**: 35,2
φιλοσοφεῖν, philosophize, **140**: 448,9; **179**: 1134,28; **180**: 1152,22; **203**: 558,13; **207**: 38,10

φιλοσοφία, philosophy, **43**: 28,5; **110**: 402E7; **140**: 448,4; **178**: 1129,39; **208**: 77,11
φιλόσοφος, philosopher, **41a**: 59,11.13; **110**: 402E9; **157**: 104; 106 (bis); **167**: 345,28; **206**: 36,26; **211**: 120,13; (adj.) philosophical, : 214,22; Περὶ Φιλοσόφων, On Philosophers (title of a work by Speusippus), **16**: 449,7; Φιλόσοφος Ἱστορία, Philosophus Historia (title of Porphyry's work), **148**: 258,8; φιλόσοφος ἀνήρ, philosopher, **153**: 166,5; φιλοσοφώτερος, 'a better philosopher', **174**: 1032,39
φιλότης, affection, **111**: 756E9; Love (in Empedocles), **127**: 15,4
φρονεῖν, think, **45**: 499,22; 500,1; **137**: 306,32; 307,2; **208**: 77,16^; φρονεῖν μέγα, 'think highly of oneself', **13**: 1,13
φρόνησις, thought, **28**: 1009b13; **137**: 306,32; wisdom, **17**: 5,12; **20**: 298b23
φύειν: πεφυκέναι, 'be endowed by nature', **108**: 45B5; 'it is the nature', **33**: 336a3; **187**: 133,21
φύλαξ, guardian, **115**: 1124E5
φυσικός, natural, **135**: 191,17; **193**: 22,1; **194**: 65,13; **207**: 39,24; (n.) natural philosopher, **21**: 184b17; **106**; **153**: 166,11; **203**: 556,24.25; **213**: 148,17; **215**: 179,30; **219**: 27,1; Οἱ Φυσικοί, Natural Philosophers (title of Theophrastus' work), **41**: 448,2; Περὶ τῶν Φυσικῶν, On the Natural Philosophers (title of Theophrastus' work), **40**: 31,8; scientific, **151**: 333,12; **152**: 337,9; Φυσικόν (τό), Physics (title of Parmenides' work), **133**: 23,7; Φυσικά (τά), Physics (title of Eudemus' work), **36**: 115,15; **37**: 133,23; φυσική, natural philosophy, **20**: 298b20; **36**: 115,12; Φυσικὴ Ἱστορία, Inquiry into Nature (title of Theophrastus' work), **42**: 115,12; φυσικόν (τό), Treatise on Nature, **15**: 419,4; natural thing, **38**: 143,8; **203**: 556,29; 557,12; **207**: 39,22; **213**: 143,8; φυσικὸς φιλόσοφος, natural philosopher, **157**: 104; 106; φυσικῶς λέγειν, speak about nature, **20**: 298b18; φυσικῶς, physically, **177**: 1084,32
φυσιολογεῖν, discuss nature, **207**: 38,21^; 'explain on natural principles', **152**: 337,8
φυσιολογία, natural philosophy, **41a**: 59,14; ἀνὴρ ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ, natural philosopher, **113**: 1114C2
φυσιολογικός, scientific, **152**: 337,5
φύσις, birth, **98**: 450,3; entity, **20**: 298b23; nature, **11**: 245c9; **13**: 1,14; **17**: 5,11; **18**: 9,3.5; **21**: 184b26; **24**: 207a14; **25**: 984a31.b7.9; **26**: 986b30; **35**: 765b28; **113**: 1114E9; **114**: 1116A6; **118**: 5,2; **122**: 70,39; **142**: 11,6; **143**: 8,2; **144**: 8,27; **150**: 6,9; **151**: 333,14; **152**: 337,3; **164**: 171,18; **166**: 252,4; **171**: 703,36; **175**: 1078,8.20; **184**: 36,7; **203**: 556,25.27 (bis).28.29; 557,9.11; **213**: 144,14; reality, **113**: 1114C5; 1114D5; thing of a certain nature, **203**: 557,5; Περὶ Φύσεως, On Nature (title of Empedocles' work), **39a**: 418,23; (title of Melissus's work), **203**: 556,25,30; (title of Parmenides' work), **203**: 556,25,30; (title of works of early writers), **126**: 487,13; Περὶ Φύσεως ἢ Περὶ τοῦ Ὄντος, On Nature or On That-which-is (title of Melissus's work), **203**: 557,10
Φωκαιεύς, Phocaean, **103**: 346,19
Φωκυλίδης, Phocylides, **108**: 45B1
φωνή, sound, **45**: 500,3; **136**: 214,26; the way something is expressed, **113**: 1114D2; utterance, **132**: 1,1
φωρᾶν, detect, **123**: 449,2

φῶς, light, **45**: 500,3; **61**: 335,7; **112**: 929A11; **136**: 215,1; **167**: 346,2; **204**: 30,21; **207**: 38,24^.27**215**: 179,32
φωσφόρος, the morning star, **123**: 449,3; **123a**: 399,1
φωτίζειν, illuminate, **70**: 357,10; **71**: 358,20; **114**: 1116A7

Χάος, Chaos, **1**: 178b3.8; **25**: 984b28^
χειμερινός, winter, **133**: 21,5.7
χείρων, worse, **189**: 42,32
χρόα, color, **35**: 765b24
Χρονικά, Chronica (title of Apollodorus' work), **98**: 450,2
χρονικός, of time, **188**: 136,22; temporal, **198**: 75,7
χρόνος, time, **14**: 268,1; **15**: 419,4; **142**: 11,4.5; **169**: 639,28; **204**: 29,26; **208**: 79,1^.4^; διὰ χρόνου, 'after all this time', **5**: 136e4
χρῶμα, color, **36**: 115,23; **73**: 365,12
χώρα, room, **6**: 180e4; **201**: 131,12; **213**: 144,20; 148,6; **217**: 650,11
χωρεῖν, go, **156**: 146,6
χωρίζειν: κεχωρίσθαι, be separate, **191**: 202,10; **211**: 120,15 (bis).17; κεχωρισμένος, separate, **31**: 325a5
χωριστός: χωριστὸς εἶναι, exist separately, **21**: 185a31; 186a30 (bis)

ψευδής, false, **21**: 185a9; 186a24 (bis); **46**: 3,11; **79**: 396,16; **87**: 581,1; **171**: 704,39; **207**: 38,26; 39,10
ψεῦδος, false, **183**: 1240,31; (n.) falsehood, **9**: 237a4; **46a**: 139,20; **210**: 117,14
ψευδοφανής, false-shining, **72**: 361,26
ψυχή, soul, **21**: 185a24; **41**: 448,1; **78**: 392,6; **117**: 1126E2; **133**: 22,9; 23,2.5; **136**: 214,20; **141**: 10,4; **143**: 8,2.4.7; **144**: 8,10; **152**: 337,8; **171**: 703,36; 705,4; **184**: 35,7; **207**: 39,19; **213**: 147,4.6.9
ψυχικός, of the soul, **192**: 277,21; psychic, **213**: 143,8.11.17
ψυχρός, cold, **11**: 243b4.d9; **22**: 188a21; **25**: 984b6; **26**: 986b34; **33**: 336a4; **68**: 349,16; **204**: 31,6*; **213**: 146,29^; **215**: 179,31^; ψυχρόν (τό), the cold, **41**: 447,21; **45**: 499,15; 500,4; **189**: 42,32
ψυχρότης, cold, **35**: 765b17; **83**: 419,13

ᾠεόν, egg, **213**: 147,2^

II Commentary

1. SUBJECTS

allegory 281
amphisbaena 301
assertions 293f.
atomism 325f., 348, 399
axioms 295f.
axle 273f.

being 283, 286–361 *passim*, 381f., 387
beliefs 284f., 334f., 342f.
book-titles 269f.

cause
  efficient 319f., 362, 369, 373
  final 224
chronology 281f.
circularity (in exposition) 287f.
coinage 387
condensation 207f.
consciousness (in inanimate things) 377
contract (linguistic) 343f.
contradiction, law of 298f., 311

difference (name of night) 347
divisibility 324f., 393
dualism (physical) 342f., 347, 350, 360

earth
  synonym for night 347, 361
  centrality of 354f., 362f., 366f.
  roots of 376
  sphericity of 363
empiricism 300, 310, 346
equality 340f., 360f.
excluded middle, law of 295
experience 330f., 346
extension
  spatial 325, 329
  temporal 325, 329

fetters 327f., 329
fire 343, 346f., 353f., 361f., 371
forms 343f., 359f.
fulness 308, 325, 360

gates 277f., 371f.
genetics 383f.
globes 366
God 297, 327
Goddess 269f., 275f., 280f., 318, 362f.
Good 331

habit 309f.
heaven 355f., 368f.
heredity 382f.
homosexuality 383f.

identity (name of light) 347
ignorance 300
indivisibility 324f.
infinitive with ἐστι 290, 296f., 332
innovations (linguistic) 277, 360, 375f.

judgment (practical) 343, 351f.

language, correct use of 311
light and night 343, 359f.
likeliness 349f., 356
likeness 324
limit 327, 336, 340, 358f., 392f.

magnitude 339, 390f.

mares 270
method 289
meter 307, 317, 330, 365
milky way 354, 357f.
monism (physical) 303, 345f.
moon 354f., 373f.

names
  conferment of 334, 343f., 359
  plurality of 280f., 359
  postponement of 273
nave 273
necessity 280f., 284f., 292f., 294, 318, 329, 345
night 347, 361f.
  house of 274f.
nominalism (in physics) 344, 351
not-being 290f., 299, 318f., 330, 340
Nothing 299, 360
now 316, 340, 397

olympus 358
opposites 343, 359f., 369

perfection 337f.
personification 281f., 372
persuasion 284, 292
planets 353f., 356

rarefaction 307f.
realism (descriptive) 274, 277
relativity 304, 347f.
rings (celestial) 362f.

science (demonstrative) 313
self-equality 221f.
sense-perception
  in relation to knowledge 272, 377
  right use of 303f., 308f.
sex-determination 383f.
soul
  chariot-image for 273
  constitution of 301, 382
  journeys of 276f., 280f., 370f.
source (concept of) 318
sphere 337f., 353f., 366

stars 353, 358
subject
  of predicates 326
  omission of 290f.
sun 354f.

temperament 380f.
  female 270, 369
tenses
  forms (periphrastic) 299, 323
    (second aorist infinitive in –ν) 319
    (unreduplicated perfect) 360
  use 270, 275, 365
thresholds 277
time 315f., 333f., 397
timelessness 316
tropics 366, 369f.

unity 316, 324f.

vision (mental) 305f.
void 308f., 340, 360f.

war 373

zodiac 354f., 369
zones 366

2. GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES

ἀγένητον 314
ἀδαῆ 347f.
ἀίδηλα 354
αἰεὶ 329
αἰθέριος 277, 346, 353
αἰθήρ 353f., 368f.
αἰθόμενος 273
αἶσα 365
ἀκίνητος 327
ἄκριτα 303
ἀληθείη 282, 342
ἀληθῆ 334
ἀλλότριον φῶς 374f.
ἀμηχανίη 301

ἀμοιβαδὸν 279
ἀμοιβούς 279
ἀμφίσβαινα 300
ἀνάγκη 280, 329, 356, 369
ἀναπτάμεναι 279
ἄναρχον 328
ἀνῆκε 321
ἄν κε 323
ἄντην 271
ἀνώλεθρον 314
ἄξων 279
ἀπατηλὸν 342
ἄπαυστον 328
ἄπειρον 392f.
ἀπεόντα 306
ἀποτμήξει 307
ἀπτερέως 279
ἀραιόν 346
ἄρχει 371
ἄστρα 359
ἄσυλον 340
ἀτέλεστον 315, 326
ἀτελεύτητον 329
ἀτρεμὲς 282, 315, 326
αὖθι 328
αὐξηθέν 317
αὐτέων 280
ἀφάντου 360
ἀχανὲς 279

βαλανωτὸν 278
βεβαίως 306
βιᾶσθαι 310
βροτοὶ 300

γάλα οὐράνιον 358
γένεσις 324, 372
γένναν 317
γλῶσσαν 311
γνώμη 344, 351
γόμφοις 280

δαίμων 270f., 371
δαμῇ 309
δέμας 345f.
δεσμῶν 327f.
διάκοσμον 348f.
διζήσιος 300
δίκη 277, 280
δίκρανοι 287, 300f.
δινωτοῖσιν 274
δοκίμως 284f.
δύναμις 385

ἐάσω 318
ἔγεντο 323
ἐγκύρω 341
εἰδώς 300
εἰλίξασαι 280
εἶναι 290f., 299, 307, 331, 392
ἐκ 318
ἑκάστοτε 377f.
ἐκρίναντο 345
ἐλαφρόν 346
ἔλεγχον 311
ἐμβριθές 348
ἕν 316
ἐν μέσῳ 366f.
ἐν τωὐτῷ 328f.
ἐοικότα 349f.
ἐὸν 298f., 313f.
ἐπείγετο 274
ἐπέων 342
ἐπιδεές 330
ἐπίσημον 387
ἐπιφραδέως 279
ἔσχατος 358
ἐτήτυμον 322
εὐαγέος 354
εὐκυκλέος 283f.
εὐκύκλου 338
εὐπειθέος 283
ἐφήσει 319

ζόφος 347

ἡλιάδες 274
ἥλιος 358
ἦτορ 283f.
ἠχήεσσαν 311

θέμις 282
θυμὸς 270
θυρέτροις 277

ἴεται 365
ἶσον 340, 361, 394, 397
ἰσοπαλές 337f.

καθαρῆς 354
καθ' ἑαυτό 328
καί νυν 387
καλύπτρας 275
κατέθεντο 334, 343f., 387
κέλευθος 289, 292
κενόν 308
κήρ 386
κληῖδας 278
κόσμος 308, 342
κοῦρος 281
κυβερνᾶν 371
κύκλωπος 355

λαμπάδος 354
λαοφόρος 272
λέγω 372f.

μὲν . . . καὶ 324
μέτα 361
μηδέν 299, 319, 361
μητίσατο 371f.
μοῖρα 280, 296, 318, 333
μόνος 314
μορφὰς 343f.
μουνογενές 314f., 326f.
μῦθος 314

νενόμισται 302f.
νοεῖν 302f., 306, 331f., 380
νόημα 331f., 380f.
νόος 297, 301, 306, 381f.
νύκτα 347
νυκτιφαὲς 375f.
νῦν 316, 397

ξυνός 286f., 358

ὁ αὐτὸς ὅσπερ 380
ὄγκῳ 338
ὁδός 270f., 289
ὄλεθρος 324
ὄλυμπος 358
ὁμοῖον 324
ὅμως 306
ὄν 346
ὄνομα 334
ὀνόμασται 359
οὐκ ἄνευ 332
οὐλομελές 314
οὖλον 315, 327
οὐ μὴ 309, 351
οὕνεκεν 331
οὐρανὸν 355f.
οὔτε . . . δὲ 317
ὀχῆα 278

παλίντροπος 304, 393
παναπευθέα 293
παρελάσσῃ 351
πάρεξ 333
παρέστηκεν 379
πᾶς 285, 325, 336, 360
πάχος 391
πεῖρας 327, 337, 357
περᾶν 284f.
περίφοιτα 355
περὶ φύσεως 269
περόνῃσιν 280
πίστις 284, 319, 328
πλαγκτὸν 301
πλάζεσθαι 299f., 327f., 345f.
πλανᾶσθαι 345f.
πλέον (plenum) 361
πλέον (plus) 379f.
πλῆνται 277
πλῆντο 277, 365
ποιητικὸν αἴτιον 362
πολλά 391
πολύδηριν 312
πολύπειρον 301
πολυπλάγκτων 362
πολύποινος 272

πολύφημος 266
πολύφραστος 268
πολυχάλκους 274
προλιποῦσαι 270
πρόνοια 357
πυκινὸν 335
πῦρ 333
πῶς ἂν ἔπειτα 313

σήματα 314, 315f., 353f.
σκιδνάμενον 299
στεινότεραι 349
στεφάναι 348f.
στυγεροῖο 372
συνεχές 307, 314
συνέχεσθαι 314
συνιστάμενον 307
σῦριγξ 268, 274
σφαίρη 326
σφας 271

τεθηπότες 304f.
τετελεσμένον 337f.
τῆλε 328
τὸ ἕτερον 334
τόπον 334
τῷ 325, 333
τωὐτόν 347

ὑδατόριζον 376
ὕλη 361f.
ὑποταγῆναι 368

φανὸν 334f.
φατίζω 331, 349
φορεῦνται 302
φράζω 293
φύσις 269, 353
φῶς-σκότος 343

χειρότερον 324
χνοίη 273
χρέος 319
χρεών 292, 319, 344
χρῆν 285
χρόνος 333
χρώς 335

ὥστε 322

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III Proper Names in the Introduction, Commentary and Appendix

Academy 1, 26
Achilles 10–11, 273, 282, 344, 379, 384–385, 395
Adrastus 370
Aeneas Tacitus 278
Aeschylus 12, 273–274, 277, 280, 281–282, 290, 291–292, 301, 310, 315, 319, 331, 340, 343, 359, 371, 372, 382, 386
Aëtius 5, 12, 26, 280, 353–355, 358, 362–366, 368–369, 374, 376, 383–385
Alcidamas 41
Alcinoüs 277
Alcmeon of Croton 284, 354, 374, 383, 385–386
Alexander of Aphrodisias 34, 38, 320, 361, 364, 378–379, 389, 392
Alexis 272
Aminias 40
Ammonius 2, 38, 364
Anatolius 368
Anaxagoras 23–24, 28, 40, 281, 290, 297, 307, 316, 318–321, 346–348, 374–375, 383, 385, 394, 397–399
Anaximander 19–20, 308, 314, 328, 330 333, 336–338, 344–345, 355–356, 366, 368, 371, 375
Anaximenes 19–20, 305, 307–308, 344–346
Andromache 283
Antiochus of Ascalon 35
Antiphon 334
Antisthenes 32
Apelt O. 298
Aphrodite 15, 280, 329, 356, 370, 373
Apollo 41, 44, 382
Apollodorus 40
Apollonius Rhodius 279–280, 331
Aratus 307, 353, 356–357
Arcesilaus 34
Archelaus 40, 394
Archilochus 378
Ares 15, 329, 334
Aristarchus grammaticus 354
Aristocles 27
Aristophanes 272, 278, 301, 327, 329, 375, 379
Aristotle 1–4, 18, 22, 26–27, 31–39, 269, 284, 295–296, 298, 303, 208–309, 312–315, 318–320, 321–322, 324, 326, 331–334, 336–337, 340–344, 347–349, 353, 359, 360–361, 369–370, 372–373, 376–385, 392, 394–379
Asclepius 2, 34, 38, 320
Athena 9–10
Athenaeus 40
Atlas 329, 355

Bacchylides 310
Basil 2
Blomfield C. J. 285
Boll 355
Brandis C. A. 321
Burnet J. 3, 14, 40, 361
Burton R. W. B. 378

Caelius Aurelianus 2, 384–386
Callias 40
Callimachus 305, 331, 355

Cancer 369–371
Capricorn 369–371
Carneades 35
Carratelli G. P. 44
Censorinus 383
Cephalus 40
Charis 10
Cicero 7, 12, 26–27, 35, 354, 359, 364, 368–369, 373
Circe 274
Claudian 41, 386
Clement of Alexandria 2–5, 296, 305–306, 314–315, 352
Colotes 4, 27, 36
Cornford F. M. 366
Coxon A. H. 325
Cronus 357
Ctesias 338

Damascius 2, 37
Delphi 277
Democritus 25, 36, 308, 342, 348, 376–377, 381–383
Demosthenes 321
Demylus 25
Denniston J. D. 317, 324
Didymus 275
Diels H. 1, 3, 6–9, 11, 18, 270, 273–275, 277–280, 282–289, 298, 300–301, 304, 307–309, 321–323, 329, 333, 341, 345–348, 350–351, 358–361, 365, 368, 371–376, 378–379, 383–390, 394
Diès A. 3
Dike 10, 277–279
Diogenes Laertius 2, 4, 12, 25–27, 34, 40, 344, 366, 376
Diogenes of Apollonia 303, 345, 371, 385
Diomedes 274, 334
Dius 331
Divina Commedia 269
Döring K. 26–27

Eirene 10
Elea 8, 25–26, 30, 41
Eleatics 22, 31–32, 269
Empedocles 4, 7, 15, 23–24, 41, 269, 276, 281, 304–306, 318–321, 334, 341, 360, 365, 374–375, 377–381, 397–399
Ephippus 290
Epicharmus 304, 329
Epicurus 36
Er 371
Eros 373
Euclides 26–27
Eudemus 2, 22, 32–34, 38, 392
Eunomia 10
Eupolis 290
Euripides 272–273, 306, 319, 322, 329, 331, 334, 340, 342–343, 351, 354, 371, 375
Eusebius 3

Favorinus 7, 36, 353
Fraenkel E. 284, 292, 371
Fränkel H. 305, 378, 392
Frank 363

Galen 2, 7, 36, 39, 382–384
Ge-Themis 281
Genesis 280, 356, 370, 373
Gigante M. 44
Gorgias 32, 298, 320–321, 398
Gow A. S. F. 300, 379

Hades 276, 358
Hadrian 384
Hecataeus 269-270
Hecate 281
Hector 333, 344, 379
Heiberg J. L. 355
Heindorf L. F. 372
Heliades 13–14, 273–275, 301
Hephaestus 10, 15, 281, 329
Hera 9–10, 273
Heraclides Ponticus 12
Heracliteans 302
Heraclitus 19–20, 285, 287, 300, 304–307, 344–346, 359, 371–373
Hermann K. F. 372
Hermippus 41
Hermogenes 344

Herodotus 338, 360
Hesiod 3, 8, 11–12, 15, 273–277, 279–281, 291, 299, 307, 323, 327–329, 341, 346, 350, 354, 357–358, 372, 376
Hestia 368
Hesychius 301
Heyne C. G. 271
Hippocrates 269, 287, 311, 334, 360, 379
Hölscher U. 321
Homer 7–12, 15, 270–277, 279–284, 299–301, 304–308, 310, 314–318, 322–323, 325, 327–331, 333–334, 342, 350–351, 355, 358, 361, 364, 371–372, 374–376, 378–379, 382, 384–386
Horae 10, 277
Hypsipyle 280

Iamblichus 2, 12
Iris 304
Isocrates 380

Jaeger W. 276, 376
Jeanmaire H. 282
Jebb R. C. 270
Jucker H. 44
Justice 13, 280–281, 363

Karsten S. 282, 289, 298, 321, 346, 361, 372, 384

Lactantius 383, 387
Laestrygonia 9, 275
Lampetië 274
Lawrence A. W. 279
Leucippus 23–24, 41, 281, 298, 308, 325, 348, 399
Lucretius 276
Lycophron 32, 279

Macrobius 15, 40, 281, 382
Maier F. G. 280
Maximus of Tyre 363
Megarians 22, 26–27, 38
Melissus 25–26, 32–33, 36, 281–283, 299, 307–308, 311, 316, 318–321, 324–325, 334–338, 346–348, 360–361, 391, 395, 397–399
Menander Rhetor 15, 281, 373
Menelaus 10
Mourelatos A. P. D. 292
Mullach F. W. A. 372
Muses 12, 284
Mutschmann H. 271

Neoplatonists 7, 36
Nicander 300, 331
Nile 285
Numenius 276, 371
Nutton 44

Odysseus 10–11, 277, 350, 378
Olympiodorus 2, 38
Olympus 9
Orpheus 277, 281, 289, 375
Owen G. E. L. 315

Patroclus 11, 384–386
Penelope 350
Pericles 40
Phaedrus 14, 372
Phaëthon 274, 282
Phaëthusa 274
Phasis 285
Philetas 342
Philistion 360
Philodemus 364, 373
Philoponus 2, 4–5, 38, 342, 361, 364
Pindar 22, 270, 284–285, 327, 378–379, 387
Pisander 10, 282
Plato 1–6, 14–18, 22, 25–40, 44, 269–273, 280–284, 287, 289–294, 296–303, 305–306, 309–312, 315–316, 320, 326, 329–332, 334, 337–339, 341–342, 344, 349–351, 354, 356–360, 366, 368, 370–376, 386, 391, 393–398
Pliny the elder 338, 355
Plotinus 2, 36–37, 296, 315
Plutarch 2–5, 7, 25, 27, 28, 35–36, 40–41, 44, 279–280, 310, 314, 342, 350, 356–357, 370, 373–374

Polybius 366
Porphyry 3, 15, 25, 272, 371
Poseidon 10, 329, 358
Posidonius 2, 7, 14, 36, 39, 366, 384
Preller L. 333
Proclus 2–6, 37–38, 281–283, 286–287, 296–297, 314–315, 364, 370, 373
Prometheus 328
Protagoras 23, 25, 281, 352
Pyres 41
Pythagoras 12, 20, 25, 281, 306, 347, 366, 369, 375, 385–386
Pythagoreans 12, 14–15, 18, 44, 271, 308, 334, 343–344, 368–369
Pythodorus 39–40

Reinhardt K. 321, 329, 365–366
Robinson D. B. 274
Robinson R. 29
Rohde E. 276
Ross W. D. 295, 347
Rostagni A. 378

Samos 25, 40, 44
Scholfield A. F. 300
Schütz C. G. 285
Schuhl P.-M. 366
Schwyzer E. 360, 379
Semonides 300–301
Sextus Empiricus 2, 4–5, 7, 12–13, 35–36, 269–271, 274, 280, 304, 309, 312, 341
Simonides 309
Simplicius 1–8, 19, 34, 37–39, 269, 272, 275–276, 280, 283, 292, 295, 297–302, 308–309, 312, 314–315, 318, 320–322, 325, 330, 333–334, 342, 344, 346–347, 357–364, 366, 368–372, 387–393, 398
Snell B. 351, 379
Socrates 26–30, 39–40, 294, 344, 391, 394
Solon 310, 342, 357
Sophocles 273, 279, 292–293, 306, 311, 317–319, 323, 327, 329, 331, 333, 336, 343, 354, 379
Soranus 2, 7, 36, 384, 386
Sosicrates 12
Sotion 40–41
Speusippus 41
Stallbaum G. 372
Stein H. 309, 321
Stephanus H. 378
Stilpo 27, 32
Stobaeus 331–332, 334
Stoics 2, 5, 12–13, 36, 274, 369, 379, 382–384
Strabo 366
Syrianus 34, 37, 280, 320

Tannéry P. 15, 281, 370, 374–375
Tarán L. 363
Tartarus 9–11, 20, 275–277, 328, 371
Taylor A. E. 40
Thales 344–346, 366, 375–376
Theagenes of Rhegium 15, 281
Themistius 295
Theognis 319, 343
Theologoumena arithmeticae 369
Theon of Smyrna 370
Theophrastus 2, 4–5, 18, 23, 34, 41, 298, 348, 356, 361–363, 368–369, 376–382
Thetis 10, 284, 379
Thrinacia 274
Thucydides 278, 322, 338, 344, 349, 360, 387
Timaeus 27, 41
Timon of Phlious 26, 35, 282, 301, 340
Titans 357
Trajan 384

Varro 383
Velia 41

Wachsmuth C. 334
Wenkebach E. 384
Westman R. 4
Wilamowitz-Moellendorf U. v. 321, 372

Xenocrates of Acragas 285
Xenophanes 5–6, 18–20, 26, 33–35, 40, 284, 291, 297, 301, 305, 314–315, 327, 329, 340, 349–350, 376, 387
Xenophon 269–270, 278, 285, 387

Zeller E. 296, 368, 372, 396
Zeno of Elea 23, 25–29, 34–36, 39–41,
281, 292, 298, 301, 312, 316, 337–339,
341, 348, 358, 389–399
Zeus 9, 270, 284, 304, 344, 358, 371
Zeuxis 357

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